

Inventing a Language: Translation Words in Meiji Japan

by

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Abstract

This thesis considers translation practices, debates on language reform, and lexicography of the Meiji period (1868-1912). During this critical time in Japan's modern history, Japan dealt with an enormous influx of Western culture and technology. Japanese scholars and intellectuals read and translated various works of Western scholarship in order to enlighten the people with brand new concepts from the West. The translation methods most frequently employed in the Meiji period were translation words, loanwords, and analogs. Translation words were *wasei kango*, which were generally coined by referring to classical Chinese literature. However, scholars and intellectuals also created neologisms, which did not have their origin in Chinese literature, as the concepts they imported did not have currency in Japan. Because these concepts had no currency in Japan, they experienced immense struggles, and reformers even had discussions to abolish parts or all of their native language to substitute European languages. Out of dissatisfaction with the unsuitability of translation words, some intellectuals even preferred the use of loanwords in the 1870s, claiming that loanwords most appropriately presented the original meanings of Western terms. However, the Japanese lexicon was modernized in the first twenty years of the Meiji period, and not only did the number of translation words increase, but many translation words that appeared in dictionaries of the 1880s also survive in the modern lexicon. Moreover, those intellectuals who employed loanwords due to their discontent with translation words in the 1870s switched back to the use of translation words in the second half of the Meiji period. Arguments by prominent reformers about abandoning the Japanese language also ceased in this period. Indeed, the mid-1880s and the 1890s, or the period of reversal culture, were the time in which Japan more selectively emulated the West and worked to revive or preserve its native traditions and Confucian ethics. Grounded in current scholarship, this thesis aims to identify a

pattern in Meiji translation practice, lexicography, and language reform discussions that is parallel to patterns that intellectual and political historians have studied. This hypothesis-building study examines translation practices by Meiji intellectuals, language reform discussions among Meiji intellectuals, and Meiji English-Japanese dictionaries in order to document that Westernizing thinkers in the reversal period recognized that unselective borrowing from the West did not suit their country, with its different history and traditions, and that they partly retreated from their early project of forcing enlightenment on the people of Japan through European literature and languages.

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Introduction

The Meiji period (1868-1912) was a pivotal time in which Japan rapidly assimilated various elements of Western culture and technology.¹ Since the *Meiji ishin* 明治維新 (Meiji Restoration), Japan worked on borrowing as much as it could from the West to push the nation towards modernization. While the areas of the West that Japan emulated were varied, it valued practical matters such as science and technology more than moral values.² This led to remarkable development of Japan's intellectual, literacy, and linguistic culture. In order to import Western learning into Japan, Japanese scholars and intellectuals worked enthusiastically to read and translate Western scholarship and published a significant number of works based on Western knowledge.

Meiji intellectuals used multiple translation techniques for representing Western terms and concepts that had no currency in Japan, and as reformers struggled with the challenge of translating foreign ideas, they even considered abandoning parts or all of their native language. To translate Western concepts that had never existed in Japan, they coined many new words. For instance, *tetsugaku* 哲学 was created by a philosopher, Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-1897), to translate a Western concept, “philosophy.” *Tetsugaku* did not derive from either Chinese or Japanese vocabulary, and was thus coined solely by Nishi. However, not only did he employ this translation word for “philosophy,” but he also often used the loanword *firosofi* フイロソフイー. Nishi was not the only one who employed Western loanwords using *katakana* or *kanji* to

¹ By “the West” in this thesis, it mainly refers to countries such as Holland, England, France, Germany, and the United States.

² Kenneth B. Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Marrius B. Jansen. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 676-678; Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 243.

transliterate the sounds of Western terms. The reason such translators did this was that loanwords presented the meaning of Western concepts more accurately than *kanji* translations. Moreover, there appeared proposals for the reform of *kanji*, or Chinese characters, which some thinkers viewed as a hindrance to Japan's civilization. Some thinkers proposed that they must be abandoned and replaced with European languages, which in their view were superior to Japanese and Chinese. These views were conspicuous in the 1870s. However, by the end of the 1880s, the modernization of the Japanese lexicon was completed, and there was a tremendous increase in the number of *wasei kango* 和製漢語 (Sino-Japanese words).³ Another major distinction between the 1870s and the roughly mid-1880s to the 1890s is that while the former period is recognized as the decade of uncritical and unselective borrowing from the West and a wholehearted commitment to modernization, the latter is known as a period of reversal culture in which Japan attended to revival or preservation of its native traditions and Confucian ethics as well as more selective borrowing from the West to seek a fusion of traditionalism and modernism. In this period, the intellectuals who had expressed their discontent with the unsuitability of translation words and the inconvenience of *kanji* in the 1870s also ceased arguing against them.

This thesis examines the transition from modernization to conservatism in Meiji translation practices and reveals such phenomena as the increase in the number of *kanji* translations surviving in the modern lexicon and the disappearance of intellectuals' enthusiasm for loanwords, their arguments for the abandonment of *kanji*, and their proposals for replacement

³ Wolfgang Lippert, "Language in the Modernization Process: The Integration of Western Concepts and Terms into Chinese and Japanese in the Nineteenth Century," in *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Lackner et al. (Boston: Brill, 2001), 63-64; Takashima Toshio, *Kanji to nihonjin* (Tokyo: Bunshun shinsho, 2001), 129; *Wasei kango* is words written in Chinese characters but made in Japan to present Western concepts.

of Japanese with European languages in the period of reversal culture. This thesis attempts to identify a pattern in translation practice, discussion of language reform, and lexicography that is analogous to patterns that intellectual and political historians have observed in the cultural reversal. Current scholarship in the field of history of lexicography as well as linguistic, political, and intellectual history has described patterns in such phenomena as the appearance and standardization of translation words, the disappearance of intellectuals' arguments for language reform, and the increased number of *wasei kango* in the 1880s, and they have identified that they occurred in the process of modernizing the nation and standardizing the national language. I study translation practices by Meiji intellectuals and debates between intellectuals about the language reform, and I compare sources such as dictionaries and monographs from the 1870s and the 1880s to documents that not only did Westernizing thinkers in the second half of Meiji come to the realization that a whole-package Westernization did not suit Japan and its people of distinct traditions and history, but they also partly withdrew from their early Meiji project of imposing a radical language reform on Japanese, which had coexisted and incorporated elements of Chinese for over a thousand years.

Meiji Modernization and Translation:

State of the Field

Current scholarship has characterized key events and people of the Meiji period, including its intellectual history and the modernization of Japan's intellectual traditions through importation of Western works and terms. Scott L. Montgomery has broadly illustrated the development of intellectual traditions in the area of academia, such as science, technology, and language, through

examination of historical texts.⁴ Paul Varley and Andrew Gordon have outlined key events in modern Japanese history, and highlighted the modernization and conservative movements of Meiji.⁵ After the Meiji Restoration, Japan abruptly imported Western science and culture to modernize the state and to ensure its national survival in the face of Western imperialism and competition with the West.⁶ Westernizing thinkers argued that Western imperialism was inevitable due to Japan's backward nature, and Japanese reformers adopted this view in the beginning of the Meiji period.⁷ In order to modernize the nation, Japan unselectively absorbed various areas of the West: politics, law, industry, architecture, transportation, education, painting, music, novels, military police, clothing, foods, as well as sports and games.⁸

Scholars such as Thomas Havens and Barry D. Steben have viewed the Meiji period's intellectual development through the lens of cultural history. Havens has introduced the biography of Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-1897) to illustrate his transformation from a Confucian scholar to a Western scholar, and he explains the development of Meiji intellectual traditions through Nishi's life-long efforts to assimilate Western learning.⁹ Steben has also portrayed Nishi's life and depicts his efforts to import Western philosophy into Japan, but Steben is narrowly interested in the philosophical transition of Meiji Japan from employing Eastern

⁴ Scott L. Montgomery, *Science in Translation: Movements of Knowledge through Cultures and Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁵ Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 690; Kokawa et al., "Historical Development of English-Japanese Dictionaries in Japan (2): *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (An English and Japanese Dictionary, 1873) by Masayoshi Shibata and Takashi Koyasu," *Lexicon* (2000): 80.

⁷ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 688.

⁸ Takashima, 129; Gordon, 108.

⁹ Thomas R. H. Havens, *Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

philosophy to assimilating Western philosophy.¹⁰ Scholars have described how such intellectuals as Nishi referred to the civilization of Japan along Western lines as *bunmei kaika* 文明開化 (civilization and enlightenment), where the word *bunmei* was invented by Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835-1901) as a translation of “civilization.”¹¹

Fukuzawa was one of a number of influential intellectuals who spent his life as an educator. Nishi, Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828-1902), and Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836-1916) are also known to have worked as educators. Mitsukuri Shūhei 箕作秋坪 (1826-1866) was a Westernizing scholar whereas Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-1891) was a Confucian scholar. Tsuda Mamichi 津田真道 (1829-1903) and Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889) were recognized as a statesman. While they all stepped into the Meiji period as Japanese Enlightenment thinkers, each had distinct interests. Fukuzawa established a School of Western Learning (*Seiyō juku* 西洋塾) in 1858. In 1868, it was renamed *Keiō Gijuku* 慶應義塾, known today as Keio University. He supported utilitarian thought and was recognized as a liberal and a utilitarian throughout his life.¹² Nishi was also known as a bureaucrat who worked as an instructor at the Bansho Shirabesho 蕃書調所 (Translation bureau) from 1857. He went to study in Holland on the order of the government in 1862 with Tsuda who also worked at the bureau. They both attended Leiden University, where they were taught by Professor Simon Vissering until 1865. After returning to Japan, Nishi spent his life teaching philosophy, politics, and

¹⁰ Barry D. Steben, “Nishi Amane and the Birth of ‘Philosophy’ and ‘Chinese Philosophy’ in Early Meiji Japan.” in *Learning to Emulate the Wise: The Genesis of Chinese Philosophy as an Academic Discipline in Twentieth-Century China*, ed. John Makeham. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2012), 39-72.

¹¹ Douglas R. Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 84-86.

¹² Havens, 223.

economics at various institutions and attempted to assimilate Western philosophy into Japanese thought, characterizing it as the Western equivalent of Confucianism. Tsuda specialized in law and also criticized the idealistic aspect of Confucianism and Buddhism, arguing for utilitarianism.¹³ Mitsukuri worked at the bureau, and he specialized in law and introduced French law to Japan on the order of the Meiji government.¹⁴ Mori was also a strong advocate of Westernization. He was from the Satsuma domain and worked as a politician. In 1873 he founded the Meirokusha 明六社 (Meiji Six Society), which was the most prominent organization in Meiji for discussion of Western enlightenment and civilization. He was appointed Japan's first Minister of Education from 1885 to 1889. However, his enthusiasm for Westernization caused a conservative to assassinate him on the day of the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889.¹⁵ On the other hand, although Nakamura turned his attention from Confucianism to Christianity and became Christian in 1874, he worked to revive Confucianism around 1877.¹⁶ Katō also spent his life as a politician and a bureaucrat, and he taught politics at the Translation bureau. Through the theory of evolution, however, he came to criticize his previous claim about natural rights of humankind in 1882 and enraged people in the Jiyū Minken Undō 自由民権運動 (Movement for Freedom and People's Rights).¹⁷ Lastly, Nishimura came to be recognized as a conservative, especially after his appointment as Emperor's lecturer in 1876. Nishimura also

¹³ Steben, 41-42; *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. "Nishi Amane," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000173647> & *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. "Tsuda Mamichi," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000153368>

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, s.v. "Mitsukuri Rinshō," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000222172>

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. "Mori Arinori," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000230197>

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, s.v. "Nakamura Masanao," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000172358>

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, s.v. "Katō Hiroyuki," accessed February 19, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000051859>

founded an organization called the Tokyo Shūshin Gakusha 東京修身学社, a Confucian school, in the same year to disseminate the Confucian principles of loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, and righteousness.¹⁸ Another significant intellectual was Hozumi Nobushige 穂積陳重 (1855-1926), who was a lawyer. Because he was several years younger than the other intellectuals, he gave great credit to Nishi, Katō, Tsuda, and Mitsukuri for importing the European law and coining the majority of translation terms through it. In one of his texts, *Hōsō yawa* 法窓夜話 (A night talk about the legal circle), published in 1926, he often referred to the above intellectuals as his teachers and analyzed the times at which translations of important Western concepts appeared in Japan.¹⁹ His writing will be an important source of information for this thesis.

All of the above-mentioned reformers except Hozumi were charter members of the Meirokusha. In addition to holding biweekly meetings, they also published *Meiroku zasshi* 明六雑誌 (Meiji Six Magazine), which circulated their discussions of topics such as politics, education, religion, women's rights, and the Japanese language.²⁰ Because the pursuit of Chinese learning had been encouraged in the Tokugawa period (1603-1867), a considerable number of Confucian and even Westernizing scholars in the early Meiji period held the view that Eastern learning was superior to Western learning due to Eastern learning's emphasis on ethics. However, it was through the Meirokusha that reformers shifted their attention to Western values.²¹

All of the above-mentioned reformers contributed a great deal to the modernization of Japan's intellectual culture. They acquired Western learning through Western scholarship, such

¹⁸ Warren W. Smith, *Confucianism in Modern Japan, A Study of Conservatism in Japanese Intellectual History*, (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1959), 64; Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 683-684.

¹⁹ Hozumi Nobushige, "Hōritsu no gakugo," in *Hōsōyawa*, (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1926), 165.

²⁰ Steben, 40; Havens, 223-227; Varley, 242.

²¹ Steban, 40.

as texts by Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, and translated them to Japanese.²² In this process, they coined new words to present Western concepts that did not exist in Japan. Douglas Howland claims that three translation methods were most frequently employed: translation words, loanwords, and analogs.²³ He is narrowly concerned with linguistic phenomena of Meiji intellectual history and examines political, social, and philosophical aspects of the Meiji period through translations of such Western concepts as civilization, liberty, rights, sovereignty, people, and society.²⁴ Other scholars such as Saitō Tsuyoshi, Suzuki Shūji, and Yanabu Akira have also scrutinized the historical processes in which translations of Western concepts such as society, religion, freedom and liberty, and rights were invented in the Meiji period.²⁵

Translation Methods

Wolfgang Lippert and Kokawa Takahiro et al. have examined the history of lexicography in the Meiji period by studying an English-Japanese dictionary, *Fuon Sōzu Eiwa Jii* 英附音挿図和字彙 (English and Japanese Dictionary, Explanatory, Pronouncing, and Etymological), of two editions, 1873 and 1882, by Shibata Masayoshi 柴田昌吉 (1841-1901) and Koyasu Takashi 子安峻 (1836-1898). They distinguished their dictionary from others of the era by adopting elements of Western dictionaries.²⁶ Shibata was also a member of the Meirokusha, and he encountered Koyasu during their appointments as translator at the Kanagawa court.²⁷ Lippert

²² Kokawa et al., 81.

²³ Howland, *Translating the West*, 76.

²⁴ Douglas R. Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Douglas R. Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts to translate Western knowledge: Sound, Written Character, and Meaning" *Semiotica* 83 (1991): 283-310.

²⁵ *The Emergence of the Modern Sino-Japanese Lexicon: Seven Studies*, edited and translated by Joshua A. Fogel (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

²⁶ Kokawa et al., 85-86.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 82-83, 87.

studies the modernization of the Japanese lexicon by comparing the number of *wasei kango* in the two editions.²⁸ Kokawa et al. also observes their dictionary to describe the characteristics of Meiji bilingual dictionaries.²⁹ Lippert and Kokawa et al. both refer to the frequent use of *wasei kango* that were created to translate foreign concepts. These *wasei kango* are what Howland calls translation words. While all *kanji* translations are grouped into this category and also called neologisms, I divide the category further into general translation words and neologisms. The former was invented by referring to classical Chinese literature, including Confucian and Buddhist literature, but were given new Western definitions. In other words, intellectuals replaced the terms' original meanings with those of Western concepts.³⁰ Fukuzawa's invention of *bunmei* is one such example. He implanted the concept of "civilization" into 文明. On the other hand, neologisms are newly coined words composed of *kanji* that did not derive meanings from existing literature. In *Shinrigaku* 心理學, a translation of *Mental Philosophy, Including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will* by Joseph Havens, Nishi stated that he referred to Confucian texts to help him with the translation.³¹ However, not only did Western psychology consist of more details and deeper layers, but it also contained concepts that Eastern psychology never encountered. For this reason, he inevitably coined neologisms such as *kannen* 觀念 (idea), *shukan* 主觀 (subjective), *kansei* 感性 (sensitivity), and many others that remain in today's

²⁸ Wolfgang Lippert, "Language in the Modernization Process: The Integration of Western Concepts and Terms into Chinese and Japanese in the Nineteenth Century," in *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*, ed. by Lackner et al. (Boston; Brill, 2001), 57-66.

²⁹ Kokawa et al., "Historical Development of English-Japanese Dictionaries in Japan (2): *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (*An English and Japanese Dictionary*, 1873) by Masayoshi Shibata and Takashi Koyasu," *Lexicon* (2000): 77-130.

³⁰ Lippert, 62.

³¹ *Mental Philosophy, Including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will* was published in 1857 by Joseph Havens. Nishi translated this work between 1878 and 1879.

Japanese lexicon.³²

Loanwords or *gairago* 外来語 are phonetic transcription of foreign words.³³ They keep the original pronunciations of foreign words intact by using *katakana* or *kanji* to transliterate foreign words. One example is ‘America.’ It is written as a *katakana* loanword as アメリカ or as a *kanji* loanword as 亜米利加. Both are pronounced *amerika*. Loanwords can also appear in superscript or subscript like *furigana*: if they are indicated in *kana* in subscript to *kango* in horizontal writing, they supplement the pronunciation of the *kanji*, which was historically foreign to the Japanese (Figure 1).

椅子
いす

Figure 1. Example of a loanword appearing in subscript to the *kango*, 椅子, to assist its reading.

This form of translation is called analogs. Analog is an alignment of words that simultaneously employ Western words, *kanji*, and *kana*. This format is equivalent to *furigana*, except analogs at times could have words in both subscript and superscript. Analog was used wildly in Nishi’s work, especially in the *Hyakugaku renkan* 百學連環 (Encyclopedia) published around 1871.³⁴ The most common analog used in this work was the one in which he used a foreign word listed vertically as the main sign, and its translation word was aligned on the left in subscript. But he also occasionally used analogs where the loanword and translation word of a foreign word were

³² Nishi Amane, *Shinrigaku* in vol. 2 of *Nishi Amane Zenshū*, ed. Okubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Shūkōshobō, 1960), 8-9.

³³ Howland, *Translating the West*, 84; Kokawa et al., 99.

³⁴ Nishi Amane, *Hyakugaku renkan* in vol. 4 of *Nishi Amane Zenshū*, ed. Okubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Shūkōshobō, 1971).

juxtaposed in both superscript and subscript.³⁵

In the process of translation, authors also needed to consider the intelligibility of translations to their readers. Among the three translation methods, analogs were the most authentic form. They conveyed words as close to their original words as possible without only indicating its original pronunciation, as in the case of loanwords, or possibly causing misinterpretation of meanings by readers, as the case might have been in translation words. An analog's problem, however, was that it focused on authenticity rather than accessibility to its readers.³⁶ In contrast, preference for accessibility rendered translated texts more intelligible to readers but decreased the authenticity of the original text. Accessible texts were thus more comprehensible to readers.³⁷ Neologisms were most likely selected to balance accessibility and authenticity. Although both words and meanings of neologisms could not be found in existing literature, literate people were already familiar with *kanji*. Translators selected general translation words if they prioritized accessibility. However, readers had to wonder whether the words carried the original meanings from the existing literature or new Western meanings. Lippert also claims that in Nishi's life, he created 787 translation words, among which 332 survived in the modern Japanese lexicon. Within them, 90 words are neologisms coined by Nishi.³⁸ Moreover, *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (Conditions of the West) by Fukuzawa, first published in 1866, emphasized accessibility, and he thus invented general translation words rather than neologisms.³⁹ Although his works were extensively read by the public and employed as school textbooks, many of his translation words never came into the public use. Nonetheless, a number

³⁵ Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts," 284, 286.

³⁶ Howland, *Translating the West*, 82.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

³⁸ Lippert, 61-62.

³⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Seiyō jijō* in vol. 1 of *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969).

of his translation words such as *bunmei* and *jiyū* 自由 survive in today's lexicon.⁴⁰ Survival of words depended on multiple factors, such as the balance between accessibility and authenticity, degree of circulation of texts, and usefulness of their words in accordance with the people and state's needs at the time.

Jiyū was one such term that met all the requirements. Although the Western concepts of 'liberty' and 'freedom' were first imported around 1855, they were most popularized in Japan by Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō* and Nakamura Masanao's *Jiyū no ri* 自由の理, the translation of *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill, published in 1872.⁴¹ While the initial use and discussions of this Western concept were confined to the circle of Meiji intellectuals and leaders, the wide circulation of these two books caused this concept to escape into discourse of the public. This led the people to form the *Jiyū Minken Undō* around 1874, in which they argued for their right to freedom, most enthusiastically the right to *genron no jiyū* 言論の自由 (freedom of speech).⁴² This included the liberty of writing, which they used to leak the internal affairs of the government. The government responded by issuing the Newspaper Law (新聞条例 *shinbun jōrei*) in 1875, which gave the leaders of the government the authority to control the *jiyū* of the public. The leaders, since the dawn of the Restoration, had argued that the "ignorant" and "foolish" people had to be enlightened through education in Western knowledge. However, once the people accordingly gained literacy and knowledge and seized interest in the concepts of liberty and freedom, the government responded by controlling their *jiyū*.⁴³

⁴⁰ Howland, *Translating the West*, 84-86.

⁴¹ Ibid., 95-96; Nakamura Masanao, *Jiyū no ri*, (N.p.), accessed April 19, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/2309/76876>.

⁴² Howland, *Translating the West*, 115; Gordon, 81.

⁴³ Ibid.

Another term, which was also noticeable in the modernization of Japan was *tōkeigaku* 統計学 (statistics). *Tōkeigaku* is another term that is related to the idea of *jiyū* in that it was translated as a concept of “statistics,” which gave the government knowledge of Western statistics to improve their surveillance and control of the people’s lives. This thesis will thus highlight conspicuous features of Meiji translation practice. *Tōkeigaku*, unlike *jiyū*, is a neologism. It was coined in the Meiji period as a result of assimilating European statistics, mainly German, to modernize the census system in Japan.⁴⁴ Akira Hayami is concerned with the development of statistics in the Meiji intellectual history, and he has scrutinized this process through the biography of Sugi Kōji 杉亨二 (1828-1917) depicting how he contributed to the modernization of statistics in Japan.⁴⁵ Unlike *jiyū*, *tōkeigaku* was a term that did not gain popular currency. Meiji leaders used it to comprehend the demographics of the people. The development of industrialization and urbanization in the Meiji period suddenly increased the mobility of the people, and Japan was thus in great need of a centralized nationwide census.⁴⁶ To resolve this, the government turned to Sugi in 1871. He is known as the father of modern Japanese statistics. Using the knowledge he obtained from the West, he helped Japan develop modern statistics in the 1870s. This allowed Japan for the first time to run a national census on such details as age, occupation, marriage, vital statistics, and it enabled the collection of data on people’s immigration and emigration due to employment.⁴⁷ This in turn improved Japan’s surveillance of the people to better control and govern their lives. *Jiyū* and *tōkeigaku* both appeared as translations of concepts from the West, and while *jiyū* caught the attention of the public, which

⁴⁴ Hayami Akira, “Koji Sugi and the Emergence of Modern Population Statistics in Japan: the Influence of German Statistics,” in *Population, Family and Society in Pre-Modern Japan: collected papers of Akira Hayami*, (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009) 371-373.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 369-376.

⁴⁶ “The Statistical System: Evolution to 1868,” *Population Index* 12 (1946): 6.

⁴⁷ Hayami, 371, 374.

used it against the government, both words presented new concepts that nevertheless worked in favour of the government's control of the people.

Standardization of Language

Current scholarship has described the language reform movement that was most prominent in the first twenty years of the Meiji period. Takashima Toshio broadly observes this linguistic phenomenon by studying various proposals made by intellectuals about the reform and illustrates Japan's treatment of *kanji* in accordance with each proposal.⁴⁸ Paul H. Clark describes the reformation of the Japanese language in the Meiji period.⁴⁹ The broad use of European languages as well as *kanji* and *kana* at the beginning of the Meiji period confused the people, as there had not been standardization in the Japanese language. Subsequently, intellectuals discussed how to best standardize their national language. This is called the *genko kaikaku ron* 言語改革論 (discussion of language reform) by modern Japanese linguists. Two proposals were conspicuous: the abolishment of *kanji* called the *kanji haishiron* 漢字廢止論 (discussion of the abolition of *kanji*), which would have made *kana* the only writing system; and the abandoning of *kana* as well as *kanji* for the sole use of the Roman alphabet, named the *onhyōmoji ron* 音標文字論 (discussion of phonetic texts).⁵⁰ There were two intellectuals who most notably advocated such language reform in the 1870s: Mori and Nishi. John E. Joseph describes the language reform movement in the Meiji period by studying Mori's proposal for language reform and correspondence he had with an American linguist, William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894).⁵¹

⁴⁸ Takashima Toshio, *Kanji to nihonjin* (Tokyo: Bunshun shinsho, 2001).

⁴⁹ Paul H. Clark, *The Kokugo Revolution: Education, Identity, and Language Policy in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: University of California, 2009).

⁵⁰ Montgomery, 196-197; Takashima, 170 & 173.

⁵¹ John E. Joseph, " 'The Unilingual Republic of the World'. Reactions to the 1872 Proposal to Make English the National Language of Japan," *Revista argentina de historiografía lingüística* 3 (2011), 53-65.

While Mori and Nishi both argued for replacing the Japanese language, their approaches were distinct. Mori proposed to first replace written Japanese with the Roman alphabet and later replace spoken Japanese with European languages, preferably English.⁵² He argued that the Japanese language was not useful and *kanji*, which had substantially influenced the development of Japanese, was a drawback to Japan's civilization. He saw a fault in the morphosyllabic nature of *kanji*, as it caused inconsistency between written and spoken Japanese. He therefore maintained that Japanese had to be replaced by English, which was phonetic, unlike *kanji*.⁵³ Nishi also based his argument on the morphosyllabic nature of *kanji*, which caused discrepancy between written and spoken Japanese. However, he held that language and civilization originated from a written form rather than a spoken one.⁵⁴ He consequently proposed to eliminate the discrepancy by replacing written Japanese with the Roman alphabet, which would then unify written and spoken Japanese. Nevertheless, this was only his initial stage of the proposal, and he indicated that the final goal was to employ European languages in Japan.

Reversal Culture

In contrast to scholars such as Varley and Gordon who broadly highlight the key events of the Meiji period, Kenneth B. Pyle is narrowly concerned with the conservative movement of the Meiji period, which emerged in the mid-1880s and the 1890s.⁵⁵ He illustrates the significant features and events of conservatism and the key conservative figures who argued with Westernizing thinkers. Warren W. Smith broadly examines the function of Confucianism in

⁵² Tanaka Shō, *Nihon Kindai Shisō Taikei I* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 316; Joseph, 62.

⁵³ Tanaka, 323-324.

⁵⁴ Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts," 286.

⁵⁵ Kenneth B. Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, edited by Marrius B. Jansen. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 674- 720; Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan, Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

Japan and depicts its role in building a philosophical foundation for Japan as it transitioned from modernization to conservatism.⁵⁶ In contrast to the first half of Meiji, the mid-1880s and the 1890s, which I call the period of reversal culture, turned to the emphasis of unity, morality, and national autonomy.⁵⁷ In the middle of a wholehearted commitment to modernization, people began to feel emotional attachment to their nation and to worry about the loss of national sentiments and Japan's autonomy.⁵⁸ At the same time, conservatives' opinions began to dominate due to a few aspects of *bunmei kaika*: it considered Japanese civilization, such as its teaching and institutions, to be backwards, just as Fukuzawa had criticized his own national traditions; it prioritized practical learning such as utilitarian knowledge, science, and technology over moral learning; and it adopted a new concept of humanity in which heaven did not create men above others or men below others.⁵⁹ Moreover, what further ignited the people's national sentiment was Japan's failure to revise the unequal treaties with the West in 1887.⁶⁰

Starting in the mid-1880s, Japan worked to revive or preserve its native traditions. Officials around the emperor began to compile texts discussing Japanese morality.⁶¹ In these works, authors were in pursuit of inventing Japaneseness (日本人論 *nihonjinron*). One notable *nihonjinron* text was written by Nishimura in 1887 and was called *Nihon dōtokuron* 日本道徳論 (Discussion of Japanese virtue). Although he came to be recognized as a conservative, he indicated in the text that he never dismissed the advantages of the West. He therefore claimed to borrow selectively from Western ethics by assimilating the advantages and discarding the

⁵⁶ Warren W. Smith, *Confucianism in Modern Japan, A Study of Conservatism in Japanese Intellectual History*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1959.

⁵⁷ Varley, 241, 247; Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676.

⁵⁸ Havens, 221; Varley, 247; Gordon, 94; Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 680.

⁵⁹ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676-678; Varley, 243.

⁶⁰ Smith, 80.

⁶¹ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 683.

disadvantages of Confucianism and Western ethics to suit the morality of modern Japan. This was based on his realization that Confucianism alone was not sufficient to solidify morality in Japan, due to its reflection on the past and emphasis on the social hierarchy. His decision was thus to not mention the name “Confucianism” in constructing a new morality.⁶² Preservation or revival of traditions in the reversal period thus took the form of inventing traditions by synthesizing Eastern and Western elements.

The government’s failure to negotiate treaty rights led a new and younger generation of conservatives who established organizations between 1887 and 1890 to argue for the *kokusui hozon* 国粹保存 (preservation of the national essence).⁶³ They were moderate conservatives whose national sentiment was not as severe as that of the conservatives before their time. They argued for a fusion of Western civilization and conservatism, and the 1890s thus came to be known as a decade of moderate or more thoughtful conservatism.⁶⁴ They all received education after the Restoration and therefore experienced Western education from childhood. Unlike the extreme conservatives of the previous generation, they appreciated Western values, but they asserted that they should be imported only if they were proven to be beneficial to Japan’s success.⁶⁵ Of the new generation intellectuals, Miyake Setsurei 三宅雪嶺 (1860-1945) was influential. In 1888, he, along with many others, established an organization named Seikyōsha 政教社 (Society for political education) and founded a journal called the *Nihonjin* 日本人 (Japanese) to manifest the *kokusui hozon*. The society’s main argument was for the revival of Japan’s past, which they believed was not comparable to or replaceable by that of any other

⁶² Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 683-684; Smith, 53, 65; Nishimura Shigeki, *Nihon dōtokuron*, (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1887), 7.

⁶³ Smith, 80; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 54.

⁶⁴ Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 694; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 67.

⁶⁵ Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 690-691; Varley, 250.

nation in the world, and they therefore sought to identify the uniqueness of Japan that would place it on an equal ground with the West.⁶⁶ Western education also yielded a new generation of intellectuals who were extreme Westernizing thinkers. One important figure of this kind was Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957) who founded the Minyūsha 民友社, a publishing company, through which he published articles in his magazine, the *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 (The People's Friend) from 1887. He criticized the early *bunmei kaika* thinkers, such as Nishimura, whose views were similar to the moderate conservatives in seeking a middle way between traditionalism and modernism. He thus gave full attention to the material elements of the West.⁶⁷ Miyake and Tokutomi shared the same birthday, the eve of the restoration, and they, along with their organization and journal, were eternally opponents of each other.⁶⁸

Education in the 1870s vs. the 1880s- 1890s

Government leaders understood that one way to instill conservative values in the people was through education, and they gradually shifted from Western liberal, individual, utilitarian, and materialistic emphases to uniform, government-centered, moral education. After the establishment of the Monbushō 文部省 (Ministry of Education, Sciences and Culture) in 1871, the *Gakusei* 学制 (Education ordinance) in 1872 nationally made four-year education compulsory for children regardless of gender and class. Its goal was abandoning moral teachings of Confucianism, which were seen as faults of the Tokugawa period, and adopting the Western educational system that emphasized utilitarianism and liberalism.⁶⁹ Reformers also established elementary schools, middle schools, and national universities, as the ordinance stated that ‘in no

⁶⁶ Pyle, *The New Generation*, 55, 64, 67; Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 692, 694; Varley, 251.

⁶⁷ Varley, 250-251.

⁶⁸ Varley, 251; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 58-59, 64.

⁶⁹ Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 681; Hufffan, *Japan in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press), 78; Gordon, 67.

village will there be a family without learning and in no household will there be an uneducated person.⁷⁰ The Monbushō began to compile textbooks and accordingly incorporated translated books of Western works, including American and French moral textbooks based on Christian teachings.⁷¹ Because it made heavy reference to Western principles, its unsuitability to Japan subsequently led people to riot. In 1879, the Monbushō thus made revisions as guided by David R. Murray (1830-1905), an American government official. This revised system was called the *Nihon kyōiku rei* 日本教育令 (Education order of Japan) and was supervised by Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), who became Japan's first prime minister in 1885 and later promulgated the Meiji Constitution in 1889. This new system was based solely on American education and made individualism its foundation. People thus related it to the Jiyū Minken Undō and called it the *Jiyū kyōiku rei* 自由教育令 (Liberal education order). However, it only led them to mismanage schools and made the Monbushō realize that it required a more government-centered system.⁷²

These systems based on Western principles enraged conservatives, who argued for a reform that revive Eastern morals. Two noteworthy figures who took this side were Nishimura and Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚 (1818-1891). Motoda became Confucian tutor and personal advisor to the emperor in the Imperial Household Ministry in 1871. He, however, was a more extreme conservative than Nishimura.⁷³ After Emperor Meiji's inspection tour to the Tōhoku region in 1877, he asked Motoda to compile a morals textbook to express the emperor's feelings in 1879. This was called the *Kyōgaku seishi* 教学聖旨 (teaching and learning and imperial

⁷⁰ Varley, 243; Gordon, 67.

⁷¹ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 682; Smith, 76.

⁷² "Kyōikurei no kōfu," Monbukagakushō, accessed August 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317583.htm; Varley, *Japanese Culture*, 247, 255; Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 68.

⁷³ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 681; Smith, 69.

wishes). Motoda first praised practical education that helped Japan abolish its wrong traditions and adopt the advantages of the West. However, he then criticized that practical education failed to understand the hierarchy between sovereign and subject. This morals textbook thus revived important aspects of Confucian moral virtues and placed Eastern moral learning before Western practical learning.⁷⁴

In 1880, the Monbushō revised the *Nihon kyōiku rei* the *Kaisei kyōiku rei* 改正教育令 (Revised education order), which allowed the government direct regulation of school administration, attendance, and establishment.⁷⁵ For instance, the Monbushō prohibited the use of textbooks, such as Western morals textbooks and those about the Jiyū Minken Undō that they determined were inappropriate. The emperor also instructed Motoda to produce another morals textbook titled the *Yōgaku kōyo* 幼学綱要 (Principles of early education), completed in 1882, to declare that such Western principles as utilitarianism and individualism attacking filial piety and loyalty were harmful to the state.⁷⁶ Before long, this was developed into the *Kyōiku chokugo* 教育勅語 (Imperial rescript on education) in 1890. Nishimura proposed to consolidate the *Kokkyō* 国教 (national doctrine) in 1887 through the Rescript. Mori initially opposed it, but it obtained official approval in 1889.⁷⁷ Inoue Kawashi 井上毅 (1844-1895), who was entrusted to form the final draft, was a supporter of Itō and even composed the Constitution with Itō. However, he never dismissed the significance of Confucian ethics, and he highlighted the four virtues of Confucianism— benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and filial piety— as the foundation of the

⁷⁴ “*Kyōigaku seishi to bunkyō seisaku no henka*,” Monbukagakushō, accessed August 14, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317585.htm; Smith, 57, 71, 73.

⁷⁵ “*Kaisei kyōikurei no jikkō*,” Monbukagakushō, accessed August 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317584.htm.

⁷⁶ “*Kyōgaku seishi to bunkyō seisaku no henka*”; Smith, 61-62; Gordon, 105; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 121; Varley, 248.

⁷⁷ Smith, 81-82.

Rescript. He, like Nishimura, did so without using the name of Confucianism. Moreover, he also did not forget to include the need for people's respect for the Constitution and law.⁷⁸

In contrast to the wholehearted civilization in the first half of Meiji, Japan in the period of the reversal culture focused on reviving or preserving its native traditions through synthesizing modernization and traditionalism. It thus resulted in inventing traditions, and even Japanese art and culture such as music, paintings, and novels that were first transformed by emulating the West were accordingly revived by the synthesis of Western and Eastern elements.⁷⁹

Methodology

Current scholarship has focused on cultural and intellectual history of the Meiji period as well as lexicography. Scholars understand that intellectuals' arguments for loanwords and the abolition of *kanji* disappeared and *kango* significantly increased naturally in the process of standardizing the national language and modernizing the Japanese lexicon. However, we cannot dismiss that the conservative opinions of the second half of Meiji fiercely countered the westernization of the first half of Meiji, and Japan accordingly shifted its interest from Western civilization to traditionalism. I build my arguments on current scholarship using monographs, articles, correspondence, and dictionaries of the Meiji period to suggest that these phenomena were influenced by the dominant conservative movements of the reversal period.

Scholars have discovered the major translation techniques employed in texts, and using some significant translation words, they have analyzed texts through which Meiji intellectuals invented translations and analyzed the definitions of Western concepts. However, none has scrutinized the reasons that led to the dominance of translation words over loanwords and their

⁷⁸ Ibid., 84-85; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 122; Gordon, 105.

⁷⁹ Gordon, 108-109; Varley, 266-267.

survival in the modern lexicon. In Chapter 1, I select the most important translation methods of Meiji reformers: general translation words and neologisms. I examine monographs and articles written by intellectuals who were involved in coining translation words and interpreting their Western concepts to find a pattern between the time of their emergence and standardization. A general translation word I select is *jiyū*. I discuss how the meaning of this word stripped away its original Chinese and Japanese meaning to define the new Western meaning, and I identify that it was standardized as the translation of “freedom” and “liberty” in the 1870s in relation to the government’s control of the people through this concept. For a neologism, I choose *tōkeigaku*. I illustrate when it was coined as the translation of “statistics” and subsequently became the standardized translation word by the 1880s and how the importation of this concept enhanced Japan’s statecraft. In this process, I show that Fukuzawa and Sugi both lamented the unsuitability of their translations and that Sugi even claimed that loanwords best presented the original meaning of Western concepts. These views were noticeable in the 1870s. However, this argument, too, disappeared afterwards. What, then, led the Westernizing thinkers to stop arguing for the use of loanwords, and why did translation words dominate from the 1880s onwards and even survive as the standard translation? By tracking a pattern between the emergence of their translations and standardization, I aim to figure out in a subsequent chapter whether the survival of translation words was affected by the conservative movements of the reversal culture.

Although current scholarship has already examined how Japanese was reformed in the Meiji period and discussions between the influential scholars in the 1870s about the replacement of *kanji* with European languages, it has not yet examined the reasons for the disappearance of such a proposal in the 1880s other than the humiliation and criticisms Mori received.⁸⁰ Thus in

⁸⁰ Joseph, 62.

Chapter 2, I first consider correspondence between Mori and Whitney about substituting English as the national language of Japan. I examine Mori's letter to Whitney to understand his reasons for claiming to replace Japanese with English in 1872. Subsequently, I present Whitney's letter to see what response he provided and whether this encouraged or discouraged Mori's proposal. While it is reasonable to conclude that the humiliation and criticism Mori received significantly diminished his commitment to the reform, this does not explain why he continued to argue afterwards through Nishi's article in *Meiroke zasshi*. I then introduce Nishi's article from *Meiroke zasshi* in 1874, which he wrote to support Mori's proposal. I study his article to comprehend his argument about replacing written Japanese with the Roman alphabet. In Nishimura's response in the next article, I observe the claims he presented to understand whether he agreed or disagreed with such a radical reform. I then show that both Mori and Nishi did not reflect on the same issue afterwards and ask the following question: was the disappearance of their arguments in the next decade influenced by the reversal culture? To answer this question, I study the changes of the advocates' attitude toward Westernization in the period of reversal culture. This is described in the following chapter.

Current scholarship has shown that the number of translation words in the lexicon increased in the Meiji period and that the modernization of the Japanese lexicon was accomplished by the 1880s.⁸¹ It is plausible that this increase was simply a result of massive translations of Western concepts. However, if the reversal culture truly bore no influence on this phenomenon, why did it not increase in form of loanwords, the Roman alphabet, or even European languages proposed by the intellectuals? The importation of so many Western concepts is precisely one reason Mori and Nishi proposed language substitution, so as to facilitate the

⁸¹ Lippert, 64.

process of Western civilization. The increase of words in the lexicon, resulting from the assimilation of Western concepts, was thus bound to happen, but it was left for reformers to decide what form it would take shape in. Since four-year education was made compulsory for all children, the audience of dictionaries expanded in accordance with increased literacy in Japan.⁸² Thus, did translation words increase as a result of prioritizing accessibility to the public as part of reversal culture? In Chapter 3, to answer this question, I first I observe Nishi's monographs in the 1870s and 1880s to detect differences in the style of his writing and use of analogs. Because Nishi was an advocate of language reform and also frequently utilized loanwords along with analogs, differences in his works can inform us about possible changes in his attitude towards Westernization in the 1880s. To examine differences in Nishi's writing style, I present Nishi's first article in *Meiroke zasshi*, *Yōji wo motte kango wo shosuru no setsu* 洋字ヲ以テ國語ヲ書スルノ論 (Discourse on using Western letters to write the Japanese language), and *Hyakuichi shinron* 百一新論 (New discussion of one hundred and one things), both published in 1874 for the 1870s texts.⁸³ I have chosen these texts, because I have gotten access to the original text of Nishi's *Meiroke zasshi* article. The latter was the only other 1870s texts I found that does not have contemporary editors significantly changing his writing style. For the 1880s text, I choose *Shinrisetsu no Ippan* 心理説ノ一斑 (A Section about a theory of psychology) of 1886, as Nishi published very few books in the 1880s.⁸⁴ To compare Nishi's use of analogs, I select the *Hyakugaku Renkan* 百學連環 (Encyclopedia) from 1870 and *Shinrisetsu no Ippan*. As Nishi

⁸² Gordon, 67; Don R. McCreary "Japanese Lexicography," in *Supplementary Volume Dictionaries. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography*, (Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 896.

⁸³ Nishi Amane, "Yōji wo motte kokugo wo shosuru no ron," in *Meiroke zasshi* 1 (1874): 1- 10; Nishi Amane, *Hyakuichi shinren* in vol. 1 of *Nishi Amane Zenshū*, ed. Okubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Shūkōshobō, 1960), 232-290.

⁸⁴ Nishi Amane, *Shinrisetsu no ippan*, vol. 1 of *Nishi Amane Zenshū*, ed. Okubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Shūkōshobō, 1960), 586-597.

heavily referred to Western scholarship to compile the former, this text exhibits wild use of analogs.⁸⁵ Furthermore, I present English-Japanese dictionaries published in 1872 and 1884, where the latter was compiled by a Westernizing thinker, Seki Shinpachi 尺振八 (1839-1886).⁸⁶ While the author of the former is not known, this dictionary differed from others in that it frequently utilized phrases to define Western words instead of *kango*. I study the two dictionaries for differences in layout and to determine which dictionary contains more translation words that survive in today's Japanese vocabulary. Subsequently, I consider the two editions of Shibata and Koyasu's dictionary, as they published it in 1873 and 1882. They were both Westernizing thinkers, and their mission for compiling this dictionary was to educate the people who were waiting to be enlightened with Western thoughts.⁸⁷ I examine the two editions to find differences in the style of lexicography and to determine which edition possesses more translation words that survive in today's lexicon. I hypothesize that the 1870s dictionaries were compiled using a mixture of various translation methods, whereas the 1880s ones exhibit uniformity in that translation words were standardized as the translation method and thus the increased number of *kango*.

Based on my findings, I present the following factors as the answers to my questions: limits to westernizing a country of distinct traditions and limits to imposing enlightenment on the people through Western literature and languages led to the significant increase of translation words over loanwords, the survival of translation words in today's lexicon, and the disappearance of the Westernizing thinkers' conspicuous use of loanwords and proposals to abandon *kanji* for European languages.

⁸⁵ Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts," 284.

⁸⁶ *Eiwa Jiten*. Osaka: Chishinkan, 1872; *Meiji Eiwa Jiten*. Tokyo: Rokugō-kuan, 1884.

⁸⁷ Kokawa et al., 84, 87.

Chapter 1: Translation Words: *Jiyū* and *Tōkeigaku*

Among the translation methods frequently employed, translation words were the most important method of Meiji reformers. Survival of words in the modern lexicon depended on such factors as the balance between accessibility and authenticity, degree of circulation of texts, and practicality of words at the time. *Jiyū* and *tōkeigaku* were terms that met such requirements. While they were invented with different purposes and as translations of distinct Western concepts, they both ultimately allowed the Meiji leaders to control the people and improve the government's surveillance through its understanding of new concepts imported from the West. I thus describe salient features of Meiji translation practice by examining *jiyū*, a general translation word, and *tōkeigaku*, a neologism. I first discuss how the original Chinese and Japanese meaning of *jiyū* was replaced with Western concepts of “freedom” and “liberty” and how *jiyū* became the fixed translation of these Western concepts. I then illustrate when the term *tōkeigaku* was coined in Japan as the translation of “statistics” and later settled as the standardized translation among other translation words invented by intellectuals. In this process, I show that influential intellectuals who were involved in creating both terms expressed their dissatisfaction with such translations in the 1870s. However, their opinions disappeared in the 1880s and onwards. Finding a pattern between the emergence of these translation words and the times in which they were standardized will enable me in a subsequent chapter to see whether the survival of these words was influenced by the conservative movements in the reversal period.

***Jiyū* and Intellectual Discussions**

Jiyū was a term that was initially contained in the sphere of intellectuals and Meiji leaders that

broadly escaped to seize the attention of the common people.⁸⁸ Although the importation of “liberty” and “freedom” began around 1855, the term was popularized by two works, Fukuzawa Yukichi’s *Seiyō jijō* and Nakamura Masanao’s *Jiyū no ri*.⁸⁹ The wide consumption of these books by the general public caused former samurai as well as farmers and merchants to organize various popular rights groups arguing about issues in industrialization, education, economics, and politics.⁹⁰ Around the same time that Nakamura’s book was published in 1872, the government began to advocate that Japan was now in need of a constitution. However, popular rights groups also raised a voice about the same matter. Among the groups, the largest groups, whose members were mostly former samurai, ambitiously petitioned the government to form a constitution and popular assembly. These organizations drove the formation of the Jiyū Minken Undō 自由民権運動 (the Movement for Freedom and People’s Rights).⁹¹ Its leader was Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 (1837-1919), who formed the first popular rights group in the former Tosa domain in 1874. He submitted a memorial to the government arguing for a national assembly, but the government’s response was that it was too early to give the people a voice in the government, as they were not yet educated and civilized enough to participate in such a matter. The government’s response also included the Newspaper Law of 1875. It gave the government the authority to censor public political discussions and punish those who violated this law.⁹² Although the Meiji leaders and the press cooperated at first, in 1873, the press released financial information about the ministers of finance, education, and justice. When this was combined with

⁸⁸ Gordon, 83; Howland, *Translating the West*, 119.

⁸⁹ Howland, *Translating the West*, 95-96.

⁹⁰ Gordon, 83.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 80-81; Varley, 245-246; Mara Patessio, “Women’s Participation in the Popular Rights Movement (Jiyū Minken Undō) during the Early Meiji Period,” in *U.S.-Japan Women’s Journal* 27 (2004), 6; Howland, *Translating the West*, 115.

Itagaki's memorial in 1874 that criticized the government officials, the government issued the Newspaper Law.⁹³ The people obtained literacy through education and accordingly fought for their rights to freedom, the government sought to control them and their *jiyū*.

Jiyū derived from the word *ziyou*, which has existed in China since ancient times. Indeed, the dictionary of today provides two definitions, which demonstrates the change in the meaning of this word through history. The fifth edition of *Kōjien*, for instance, explains *jiyū* as such:

- 1) [Book of the Later Han] The state of doing as one's heart pleases; as one wishes; *jizai* 自在 (In ancient times, it had a meaning of willfulness. One acts as he wants (自由) vigorously.)
- 2) (Freedom; liberty) Generally, it means that the act of doing something with responsibility carries no obstacle such as restraint (束縛 *sokubaku*) and coercion. (freedom; liberty)⁹⁴

Jiyū, taken from China, originally meant doing as one pleases with willfulness, and it was associated with words such as *katte kimama* 勝手気まま in classical Chinese literature.

Moreover, the dictionary illustrates “One acts as he wants” with *kanji* 自由 and places *furigana* for it to indicate that its meaning in ancient times was *hoshikimama*, which also means willfulness. Meiji intellectuals implanted the Western concept of “freedom” and “liberty” into *jiyū*.

Hozumi Nobushige claimed in *Hōsōyawa* 法窓夜話 (A night talk about the legal circle) that *jishu* 自主 and *jiritsu* 自立 were employed for the first time as a translation of “freedom”

⁹³ Howland, *Translating the West*, 114-115.

⁹⁴ *Kojien*, 5th ed., s.v. “*jiyū*.” Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998; translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

and “liberty” in 1857.⁹⁵ Following this passage, he mentioned Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō jijō*, first published in 1866, to state that Fukuzawa employed *jiyū* as a translation of freedom and liberty, and that this is how this word, now possessing a new concept other than “willfulness,” was popularized.⁹⁶ Subsequently Hozumi asserted that both Katō and Tsuda used *jizai* 自在 as a translation in *Outline of Constitutional Political Forms* and *On State Law of the West*, published in 1868. In their works, they both illustrated “rights to freedom of thought, speech, and writing,” (*shi, gen, sho jizai no ken[ri]* 思、言、書自在の權[利]). However, although discontent, Fukuzawa already adopted *jiyū* as a translation before the times of Katō and Tsuda’s works, and the broad consumption of his work by the public disseminated the term nationwide. Hozumi thus accordingly declared that it was plausible to state that Fukuzawa was the inventor of *jiyū*.⁹⁷

Katō’s and Tsuda’s works were based on Dutch politics. When they describe common rights of people, they discuss the rights to freedom in a constitutional system. They understand freedom as civil liberty, with the rights of individuals to freedom only to be obtained in accordance with law as a collective means. Hence, they both implied that the rights to freedom of such actions stated above were to be within limits of law to not harm others.⁹⁸

Hozumi’s claim about Fukuzawa’s use of *jiyū* is found in the section titled *seiji* 政治 (politics) of *Seiyō jijo* in 1866. Fukuzawa states that one of the six primary aspects of civilized government in European politics is *jishu nin’i* 自主任意 (freedom of choice). In European politics, he claims that the national law does not restrain (*sokubaku* 束縛) people. Here, he uses *jiyū* to claim that people should be able to achieve what they desire according to their natural

⁹⁵ Hozumi, “*Jiyū*,” in *Hōsōyawa*, 194.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Hozumi, “*Jiyū*,” 199.

⁹⁸ Howland, *Translating the West*, 98-101.

ability rather than their class. However, he still notes the significance of hierarchical respect for the government and the imperial court.⁹⁹ Furthermore, his subsequent passage illustrates his effort to convey to his readers that all three words, *jishu*, *nin'i* and *jiyū*, no longer carried their old meaning in Chinese literature, namely that one was selfish (*wagamama* 我儘) and spoiled in dissipation (*hōtō* 放蕩). He maintains that they no longer meant to disturb or harm others for one's own benefit and explains that these terms now mean that people could express their will without hesitation. He states that this is called *furīdomu* フリードム (freedom) or *riberuchi* リベ ルチ (liberty) in English and that no suitable translation word has been found.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, the second edition of this work demonstrates that in 1870 *jiyū* had not been standardized as the translation of liberty and freedom. He states in the preface that he understands *riberuchi* リベ ルチ as *jiyū* and that Chinese people have employed translations such as *jishu* 自主, *jison* 自尊, *jitoku* 自得, *jijaku* 自若, *jishuzai* 自主宰, *nin'i* 任意, *kanyō* 寛容, and *shōyō* 従容. However, he insists that none of these translations accurately present the foreign concepts of freedom and liberty.¹⁰¹ He thus struggles to render this term accessible to his readers, and asks that scholars be attentive to preventing the people's misunderstanding of *jiyū*.¹⁰² Thus, in contrast to Katō and Tsuda's interpretation of liberty and freedom as civil liberty, Fukuzawa indicates the importance of personal liberty, except in the presence of the imperial court and the government. That is, one can be a warrior or a farmer if that is what one wishes so long as one takes responsibility for his decision and does not disturb or harm others. Fukuzawa's sense of liberty and freedom is that

⁹⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Seiji," in *Seiyō jijō*, vol. 1 of *Fukuzawa Yukichi Senshū*, ed. Tomita Masafumi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980), 103-104.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 104; Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Seiji," in *Seiyō jijō ni hen*, vol. 1 of *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, ed. Tomita Masafumi and Tsuchihashi Shunnichi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), 487.

¹⁰¹ Fukuzawa, "Seiji," in *Seiyō jijō ni hen*, 486.

¹⁰² Ibid., 487.

every individual's rights to them would create a collective whole of liberty.

Nakamura Masanao and Jiyū no Ri

What further reinforces Hozumi's claim about Fukuzawa being the inventor is Nakamura's *Jiyū no ri*, published six years after the first edition of *Seiyō jijō*, in 1872. Nakamura also employs *jiyū* in this work, which was a translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. Hozumi noted that this monograph was also read nationwide and thus disseminated the term *jiyū*.¹⁰³ The introduction of this text demonstrates that *jiyū* still had not become the standardized translation of "liberty" and "freedom." Nakamura explains that the principle of liberty, which did not exist in Japan, is translated as *jiyū no ri* 自由ノ理 or *jishu no ri* 自主ノ理.¹⁰⁴ He indicates in the first chapter that the central concern of this work was the principle of シヴェーイルリベルテイ civil liberty (*jinmin no jiyū* 人民ノ自由) or in other words ソーシアルリベルテイ social liberty (*jinrin kōsaijū no jiyū* 人倫交際上ノ自由). Although his introductory statements seem undecided about whether to use *jiyū* or *jishū* as the translation, it is evident from the title of his work as well as statements in the subsequent chapters that Nakamura prefers *jiyū*. Moreover, despite describing the central concern of his work as civil liberty, his understanding of liberty and freedom is in alignment with Fukuzawa's rather than with Tsuda and Katō's. He declares that his work depicts the limits of the power that the government could exert on individuals, and he thus, in consensus with Fukuzawa, places value on personal liberty. He accordingly claims that liberty of individuals should be protected against the exploitation by the government and that the government should therefore only exert its power when guarding the people from harm by

¹⁰³ Hozumi, "Jiyū," 199.

¹⁰⁴ Suzuki Shūji, "Religion (*shūkyō*) and Freedom (*jiyū*)," in *The Emergence of the Modern Sino-Japanese Lexicon: Seven Studies*, edited and translated by Fogel, Joshua A. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 98.

others.¹⁰⁵

Meiroku zasshi

If Nakamura's book truly further expanded the general use of *jiyū* as the translation of freedom and liberty, texts written after his work must have used *jiyū* with the definition of the new concept instead of the old one. I now turn to *Meiroku zasshi*, as the Meirokusha began its publication in 1874 and ceased the operation in the following year due to the Newspaper Law. Among six articles with a title that included *jiyū* or *riboruchi* (liberty), two articles defined *jiyū* and discussed issues surrounding the foreign concept.

The first article is by Mitsukuri Rinshō, titled “*Riboruchī no setsu*” リボルチャーノ説 (theory of liberty).¹⁰⁶ At its very beginning, the article notes that *riboruchī* リボルチャー (liberty) is translated as *jiyū* in Japanese. Following this statement, Mitsukuri defines “liberty” in a manner that it resembles Fukuzawa's definition of *jiyū*. Mitsukuri explains that it means that people freely (*jiyū ni* 自由に) act upon their right without restraint (*sokubaku*) by others.¹⁰⁷ He subsequently refers to Nakamura's *Jiyū no ri* to state that in order for every country of Europe and Asia to maximize the excellence of its politics and to strengthen its power, the origin of its actions must lie in *jiyū* of people.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore evident that his description of *jiyū* also bears no resemblance to selfish behavior, and he understands that the foundation of a state's power and politics must be the liberty of individuals. What further suggests his use of *jiyū* as the translation of the foreign concept was his definition of liberty in a non-political and political sense. In the former, he explains that ‘libertas’ (*riberutasu* リバルタス), the origin of the English word

¹⁰⁵ Nakamura, 1; Howland, *Translating the West*, 104-105.

¹⁰⁶ Mitsukuri Rinshō, “*Riboruchī no setsu*,” *Meiroku zasshi* 9 (1874): 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

“liberty,” initially defined the status of free people (*jiyū jin* 自由人) and that this was opposed to the status of slaves.¹⁰⁹ Here, his interpretation of *jiyū jin* as the antonym of slaves further indicates that he does not use *jiyū* to mean willfulness but liberty and freedom. In the latter, he asserts that *riboruchī* is also employed politically to refer to the right to *jiyū* in Rome. He states that it applied when one declared his status as a free man (*jiyū no hito* 自由ノ人) without being made a slave by those in high power. He then claims that the condition of obtaining ‘liberty’ in the political sense is when people escaped from political suffering.¹¹⁰ His understanding of liberty therefore suggests the right of people to claim their freedom without it being confiscated by those in high power. His description is thus also in consensus with Fukuzawa’s and Nakamura’s in that he values personal liberty and hence people’s right to *jiyū* to act as they wish without being restricted by those in high power.

The second article is by Nishimura under the title of *Jishu jiyū kai* 自主自由解 (explanation of autonomy and liberty), published in 1875.¹¹¹ This article particularly deserves attention for three reasons: first, it was written on the eve of the government’s issuance of the Newspaper Law; second, Nishimura always idealized the fusion of modernism and traditionalism, and this article was published just a year before his appointment as emperor’s tutor; and third, unlike Fukuzawa, Nakamura, and Mitsukuri, who interpreted *jiyū* as personal liberty, he revived Tsuda and Katō’s previous definition of liberty and freedom as civil liberty and confined liberty within the limits of law and interaction with others in the society.¹¹² In the opening sentence, he states that *jishu* and *jiyū* are translations of *ribāchii* リバーチイ (liberty)

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 2-3.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹¹¹ Nishimura Shigeki, “*Jishu jiyū kai*” *Meiroku zasshi* 37 (1875): 1-2.

¹¹² Pyle, “Meiji Conservatism,” 683-684; Smith, 53, 65; Howland, *Translating the West*, 97.

and *furīdomu* フリードム (freedom).¹¹³ His title and the beginning of his article are similar as well as dissimilar to Mitsukuri's. While Mitsukuri's title used *riboruchī*, a loanword of liberty, Nishimura's used *jiyū* as the translation word of liberty. In addition, whereas Mitsukuri began his article by claiming that *riboruchī* was translated as *jiyū*, Nishimura opens his article by stating that *jishu* and *jiyū* are the translation of "liberty" and "freedom." This style of Nishimura's writing suggests that by the time he published his article, the translation of liberty and freedom was already fixed as *jiyū*. Indeed, the issuance of the Newspaper Law in 1875 in response to the Jiyū Minken Undō, formed in 1874, suggests that *jiyū* was standardized as the translation of liberty and freedom by 1875.

Nishimura asserts that *jishu jiyū* in the modern period is divided into two definitions: natural liberty (*shizen no jiyū* 自然ノ自由) or personal liberty (*isshin jō no jiyū* 人身上ノ自由) and social liberty (*kōsai jō no jiyū* 交際上ノ自由) or political liberty (*seiji jō no jiyū* 政治上ノ自由). His understanding of natural liberty is in agreement with Fukuzawa's understanding of liberty and freedom. He suggests that it is liberty of people to act in any way they desire as long as it is within limits of natural law.¹¹⁴ He then claims that at root social liberty is equivalent to natural liberty; however, the difference in social liberty is that people's *jiyū* is to be restricted to ensure security of the whole society. For this, he declares that the law must control one's *jiyū* if he were to obtain it by disturbing others. Although this restricts one's *jiyū*, it expands the *jiyū* of all others, which then secures the liberty of the society as a whole. Here, he quotes an archaic saying, "*Jiyū* does not exist in the land of no law."¹¹⁵ Hence, he cites *jiyū* as civil liberty suggested by Katō and Tsuda in the 1860s to justify the government's decision to restrict the

¹¹³ Nishimura, "*Jishu jiyū kai*," 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

people's rights to freedom of speech.¹¹⁶ Nishimura's sudden restoration of civil liberty, which was buried when Fukuzawa and Nakamura's works became the general understanding of *jiyū*, suggests that he is discontented with the new concept brought into Japan, as it let the public practice it "prematurely." He thus first agrees with Fukuzawa's understanding of *jiyū* by the law of nature, but he confines it in society by claiming that individuals cannot live in a solitary state and thus the political law should restrict their *jiyū* to ensure civil liberty.

Although *jiyū* was interpreted differently by the intellectuals, studying their texts suggests that all of them interpreted it not by the old definition of willfulness but by the new definition of liberty and freedom. Tsuda and Kato's works, published two years after Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō*, utilized *jishu* as the translation of liberty and freedom. However, the fact that the prominent discussions and movement that took place after this time employed *jiyū* as the translation suggests that the intellectuals and the people gained knowledge of this foreign concept through Fukuzawa's work. Moreover, as the public began to practice personal liberty through Fukuzawa's and Nakamura's texts, the government and such conservatives as Nishimura reversed their initial encouragement of enlightenment and education in 1875 to restrict the people's *jiyū*. Although foreign concepts gave the people knowledge and a voice within which to argue for their rights, such concepts only worked in favour of the state to control the people.

Neologisms and *Tōkeigaku*

Unlike *jiyū*, *tōkeigaku* did not escape into public discussion. It was a term that emerged in Japan as a result of the importation of European statistics, which helped Japan gain a statistical methodology required and helped the government to control and understand the lives and

¹¹⁶ Howland, *Translating the West*, 118.

mobility of the people.¹¹⁷ Eighth-century annals indicate that Japanese rulers recognized the importance of counting people early in Japan's history. This census registration, or a family register, is the very origin of what we know today as *koseki* 戸籍.¹¹⁸ In the Tokugawa period, the Tokugawa regime carried out two censuses. First was the development of an annual registration of the population, which was conducted due to fear of prevalence of Christianity. Individuals were required to register with a temple, and each temple reported the total number of registrations to the daimyo, who then passed it to the Bureau of Religious Affairs. Although this system barely involved what we now think of as statistics, it nevertheless operated as an annual population registration on a national scale. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, this population census turned out to be a recurring problem, and the government declared that each daimyō must report the total number of commoners once every six years. The collection of these censuses eventually came to be known as Tokugawa censuses, which were eventually provided to the Meiji leaders. Notwithstanding that these Tokugawa censuses provided important demographic information, they did not meet the needs of the new period, where a more unified national census was required for events such as the increased mobility of the people, industrialization, and the improvement of foreign trade and food supply.¹¹⁹ In order to resolve this, the Meiji leaders carried out multiple types of statistical surveys, and they also revived the *koseki-hō* (Registration Law) in 1871 in an attempt to collect data on population, vital statistics, migration, and occupation in each province.¹²⁰ The main problem with *koseki* was that it was a family register based on Confucianism. This means that its attention was given to the social position of each individual. In addition, it was a *de jure* population that was recorded, as every

¹¹⁷ "The Statistical System: Evolution to 1868," 6.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*; Hayami, 369.

individual was identified by his/her legal residence or *honseki* 本籍. Hence, if an individual left his place of residence for employment, for instance, he was not required to update his *honseki* or transfer his *koseki* to a new place. This took away the ability of *honseki* to accurately record the demographic information in each area.¹²¹ The Meiji government was thus in clear need of a new statistical system for a nationwide population census. In 1871, the government approached Sugi, who caught the leaders' attention by conducting a demographic census using his understanding of statistics from the West. Regardless of the accuracy of this census, this was the beginning of the modern national census in Japan, which displayed such details as age, occupation, and marriage and collected data on people's immigration and emigration due to employment.¹²² A German statistician, Max Haushofer, strongly affected Sugi's inspiration for statistics, and his works assisted Sugi's first official national census of the Kai Province in 1880.¹²³ Haushofer was not a highly regarded statistician, but it was due to him and to Sugi's admiration for his works that Japan developed modern statistics in the Meiji period.¹²⁴ This in turn allowed Japan to strengthen its statecraft and thus to accurately govern the people in the industrialized and mobile society of the Meiji period.

Tōkeigaku 統計學 survived in the modern lexicon as a result of winning over multiple alternatives proposed by intellectuals. Before this neologism was coined, four different translations were put forward within three years. Hozumi stated that the first appearance of *tōkei* 統計 was in an office name in the Ministry of Finance in 1871, the same year the government acknowledged Sugi's proposal to undertake a national census using Western statistical methods. This office was named *Tōkei shi* 統計司. *Shi* 司 has a few meanings, one being "government

¹²¹ "The Statistical System: Evolution to 1868," 7-8; Hayami, 371.

¹²² Hayami, 371.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 371- 373.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 374.

office.”¹²⁵ *Tōkei* 統計 was most likely coined as a modification of the Chinese term *tong ji* 統紀, which was registered in *Ying-Hua zidian* 英華字典 (English and Chinese dictionary) as the Chinese equivalent of “statistic” in 1883.¹²⁶ *The English and Chinese Dictionary*, published in 1883 by J. Fujimoto (*Fujimoto Jiemon* 藤本次右衛門), translated ‘statistic’ as follows:

Statistic, Statistical, a. 記的, 志的, 版圖的; a statistical account, 志, 版圖; a general statistical account, 統紀; statistical tables of the population, 戶口冊, 戶版.¹²⁷

This dictionary was revised by a philosopher, Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1856-1944), who disseminated Western philosophy like Nishi.¹²⁸ *Tongji* 統紀 in Chinese might have presented a different meaning when *tōkei* was coined in Japan in 1871. Nevertheless, the dictionary employed 統紀 as a translation of ‘a general statistical account’ by 1883, and the *kanji* components of this word are the closest to those of 統計.

It is plausible that the first translation of “statistics” was suggested by Kanda Takahira 神田孝平 (1830-1897) in 1867. He was a Western scholar who first pursued Chinese studies; however, he eventually switched direction to *rangaku* 蘭学 (Dutch studies). In 1852, *Outline of Social Economy*, published in 1846 by a British economist named William Ellis (1800-1881), was translated into Dutch. Kanda read the Dutch translation and translated it into Japanese in

¹²⁵ *Kōjien*, 5th ed. s.v. “*shi* 司,” (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998).

¹²⁶ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 191.

¹²⁷ *Ying-hua zidia*, compiled by Reverend Wilhelm Lobscheid, revised and enlarged by Inoue Tetsujirō, s.v. “Statistic.” Tokyo: J. Fujimoto, 1883.

¹²⁸ *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. “Inoue Tetsujirō,” accessed February 17, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=1001000022209> : He first began his life as a Confucian scholar, but he started acquiring English in 1868 and Western study in 1871.

1867 under the title of *Keizai shōgaku* 經濟小學.¹²⁹ In this work, he employed *kaikeigaku* 會計學 as the Japanese equivalent of “statistics.” In the first sentence of his introduction, he states that all Western schools have politics (*seika* 政科) as one of the five common subjects.¹³⁰ He further divides the subject of politics into seven subcategories, and one of them is “statistics,” which he translates as *kaikeigaku* 會計學.¹³¹ Here, he employs analogs to place *katakana* in superscript to indicate their loanwords of the subcategories as such: *stachisuchikku* スタチスチック. However, when Kanda published a discussion called the *Daigaku kisoku* 大學規則 (rules of universities) about a reformation of the Japanese educational system in 1870, he utilized *kokuseigaku* 國勢學 as a translation of “statistics.”¹³² I cannot infer from the two texts whether or not he changed his translation from *kaikeigaku* to *kokuseigaku* because other intellectuals such as Nish did not hesitate to employ multiple translations for one Western concept. Nevertheless, *kokusei* 國勢 and *gaku* 學 literally mean “the state of a nation” and “learning” or “scholarship,” respectively.¹³³ *Gaku* is frequently employed after subjects of study to imply that they are a “study” or “science” of such subjects. This shows that *kokuseigaku* indicated the study of the state of a nation, which does not resonate with our understanding of statistics today. Indeed, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) lists multiple definitions of statistics, and the very first definition described is explained as follows:

¹²⁹ “*Shinchikoon*,” Shizuokakenritsu chūō toshokan, accessed February 28, 2017, http://www.tosyokan.pref.shizuoka.jp/data/open/cnt/3/354/1/SZK0002723_20040929062938703.pdf

¹³⁰ Kanda Takahira, *Keizai Shōgaku* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Genbē), accessed June 22, 2016, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1089402>, 2.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 191.

¹³³ *Kenkyūsha’s New College Japanese-English Dictionary*, 5th ed., s.v. “*kokusei* 国勢,” (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 2003); Ibid., “*gaku* 学.”

The branch of political science concerned with the collection, classification, and discussion of (esp. numerical) facts bearing on the condition of a state or community. *Obs.* ¹³⁴

This definition is marked “obs” or obsolete. The *OED* also records quotations of “statistics” from various sources with their authors and years in which such statements were made. It explains that the first record of the use of statistics with this definition were in the late eighteenth century, and a quotation with the same definition was found as late as the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, the second definition of statistics in The *OED* is as follows:

The systematic collection and arrangement of numerical facts or data of any kind; (also) the branch of science or mathematics concerned with the analysis and interpretation of numerical data and appropriate ways of gathering such data.¹³⁵

This resembles the current definition of statistics, and the quotations listed by the dictionary demonstrate that statements including “statistics” with this second definition were frequently made from the mid eighteenth century all the way up to 2004. It is thus apparent that the European concept of statistics meant affairs of a state until as late as the late 1800s, and the contemporary meaning of statistics only actively took shape after this time. This then clarifies Kanda’s use of *kokuseigaku* as the translation of statistics. Hozumi indeed claimed that he created this translation word to mean that it was study of the condition of a nation.¹³⁶

Eiwa jiten 英和字典 (An English and Japanese Dictionary) published in 1872 by *Chishinkan* 知新館 distinguished itself from others in that some translations were provided in a phrase, as shown below, instead of proposing only their translation words as the case in the other

¹³⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “statistics,” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/Entry/189322?redirectedFrom=statistics#eid>.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 191.

English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s.¹³⁷ This dictionary defined “statistics” as follows:

Statistics, n. A record that investigates affairs of a nation with detailed accounts. *Kokuki, kokushi.*

Statistics, n. 国民ノ事情ヲ取調ヘ明細ニ書キタル記録、〇〇國紀、國志¹³⁸

This definition further explains Kanda’s reason for employing *kokuseigaku*. Sugi, however, proposes another translation word: *chikokugaku* 知國學. *Chikokugaku* also involves the *kanji*, *koku* (old *kanji*: 國, new *kanji*: 国) in the *on*-reading, which is generally translated as “a country,” “a state,” “a nation,” or “a land.”¹³⁹ *Chi* 知, on the other hand, is chiefly known as “wisdom,” “understanding,” “intellect,” or “knowledge.”¹⁴⁰ This implies that Sugi probably created *chikokugaku* to signify that “statistics” was study or knowledge of a country.

Additionally, Sugi may have employed *chikokugaku* as a general translation word, as *Ying-Hua zidian* 英華字典 from 1883 translated “statistics” as follows:

Statistics, n. ; 國紀, 國志; science of statistics, 國學, 國知.¹⁴¹

Guozhi 國知 was employed as one Chinese translation of statistics, and this suggests that Sugi may have referred to the Chinese translation of statistics. By observing the *kanji* characters, we see that he most likely understood “statistics” in the sense of the first definition in The *OED*.

In the Meiji period, there was a government-operated Western school named *Daigaku Nankō* 大學南校, which mainly imported European arts and science.¹⁴² When the institution

¹³⁷ *Eiwa jiten*. Tokyo: Chishinkan, 1872.

¹³⁸ *Eiwa jiten*, s.v. “statistics.”

¹³⁹ *Kenkyusha’s New College Japanese-English Dictionary*, s.v. “*kuni* 国.”

¹⁴⁰ *Kōjien*, s.v. “*chi* 知.”

¹⁴¹ *Ying-hua zidian*, s.v. “statistics.”

¹⁴² This institution first began as a government-operated school for European learning and research called the *Bansho Shirabesho* 蕃書調所 in 1856 and was renamed *Yōsho Shirabesho* 洋書調所 in 1862. The name was then modified to *Kaisei Jo* 開成所 in 1863 as a school for European learning from Holland, England, France, Germany, and Russia. In the Meiji period, it

constituted rules and called them *Daigaku Nankō Kisoku* 大學南校規則 (rules of *Daigaku Nankō*) in 1870, they employed *kokumugaku* 國務學 as the translation of statistics in the same manner as *kokuseigaku*, to demonstrate that “statistics” was the study of the “affairs of state” (*kokumu* 國務).¹⁴³ Thus far, three distinct neologisms and possibly one general translation word for “statistics” were presented aside from *tōkei*, and it is apparent that they all conveyed “statistics” in its old definition. Furthermore, this also depicts the statecraft of Japan in early Meiji, as it is evident that the country understood the people’s lives through “study of the state.”

Although *tōkei* as “statistics” first emerged in 1871, this as an academic word, *tōkeigaku* 統計學, was not proposed until 1874. When Mitsukuri translated *Éléments de statistique* by Alexandre Moreau De Jonnés (1778-1870) and had it published by the Monbushō in 1874, he named the title of the book the *Tōkeigaku ichimei kokusei ryōron* 統計學一名国勢略論.¹⁴⁴ *Ichimei kokusei ryōron* literally translates “also known as a brief discussion of the state of a nation.” Although he employed Kanda’s translation word of *kokusei* as another translation of statistics, he abided by the use of *tōkeigaku* throughout the entire text.¹⁴⁵ Given that Japanese statistics was modernized upon the government’s recognition of Sugi’s understanding of Western statistics in 1871, Mitsukuri may have employed both *tōkeigaku* and *kokusei* to indicate both the old and new definition of statistics to secure the accessibility of the concept for his readers. Nevertheless, Hozumi claimed that this text by Mitsukuri was the first to employ *tōkeigaku* as an

was restored to *Kaisei Gakkō* 開成學校 and renamed *Daigaku Nankō* 大學南校 in 1869. Information taken from *Kōjien*.

¹⁴³ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 191-192; *Kenkyusha’s New College Japanese-English Dictionary*, s.v. “*kokumu* 國務.”

¹⁴⁴ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 193-194; Hayami, 370.

¹⁴⁵ Mitsukuri Rinshō, *Tōkeigaku ichimei kokusei ryōron* (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1874), accessed June 26, 2016, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/805688>.

academic term for statistics.¹⁴⁶

Subsequent publications of works on statistics inform that although *tōkeigaku* appeared in 1874, it was not yet standardized as the translation of statistics presenting the new meaning. When Tsuda published the contents of his lecture notes on Simon Vissering's lectures in 1874 by *Seihyō ka* 政表課 of *Daijōkan* 太政官, known today as *Sōmushō tōkei kyoku* 総務省統計局 (the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau), he made the title of this work *hyōki teikō ichimei seihyōgaku ron* 表紀提綱一名政表學論 (Outline of *hyōki* also known as the discussion of the study of *seihyō*). In the first chapter of the first volume, which Tsuda names *hyōki no hongī* 表紀ノ本義 (The true meaning of *hyōki*), he states that *hyōki* means *stachisuchiki* スタチスチキ (statistics) and explains that it is concerned with state affairs. Moreover, he notes that it describes an academic skill that depicts state affairs between people, such as their growth and lives, of a country as well as multiple countries.¹⁴⁷ He, however, is discontented with the use of *hyōki* as the translation, because it is only a *kasha* 假借, and it thus does not present the true meaning of “statistics.”¹⁴⁸ The other part of the title is called *seihyōgakuron* 政表學論. In the introduction of this work, he defines *seihyō* 政表 as concerning everything of a country from land, people, their learning and enlightenment, finance, defense,

¹⁴⁶ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 194.

¹⁴⁷ Tsuda Mamachi, *Hyōki teikō ichimei seihyōgaku ron*, (Tokyo: Seihyōka, 1874), 3, accessed June 28, 2016.

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=xb6SIk2M1CUC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA4>.

¹⁴⁸ *Kasha* 假借 most likely comes from six types of compositions of *kanji* referred to as *rikusho* 六書. One of the six types is *kasha* 假借, which indicates that in a case where there is not a suitable *kanji* to present a meaning, a method of loaning *kanji* is applied solely for a phonological purpose rather than a semantic one. Information from *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. “*kasha*,” accessed June 29, 2016.

<http://japanknowledge.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/display/?lid=200200d0ad8fPDM143qR>.

agriculture, construction, trade, to transportation.¹⁴⁹ In addition, he asserts that all books that discuss statistics derive from the West, and his interpretations of both *hyōki* and *seihyō* suggest that he understands them in consensus with the old definition of “statistics.”¹⁵⁰ However, since *Seihyō ka* of *Daijōkan* is renamed the *Sōmushō tōkei kyoku* today, his interpretation of *seihyō* does not, in a way, hold by its old definition, as it is still concerned with the affairs of Japan. Hozumi indeed declared that *seihyō* was also employed as the Japanese equivalent of “statistics” until around 1877.¹⁵¹

A number of intellectuals inclined towards utilizing the original word. They argued that the proposed translation words were inconsistent and that *tōkei*, in particular, was unsuited to expressing the meaning of statistics. This discussion took place around 1876, and such intellectuals as Sugi and Sera Taichi 世良太一 preferred a loanword of statistics to translation words.¹⁵² They renamed a society meeting, which was founded in 1876 as *hyōki gakusha* 表紀學社, *stachisuchikkusu sha* スタチスチックス社 in 1878 and named a magazine *stachisuchikkusu zasshi* スタチスチックス雑誌.¹⁵³ As Sugi’s handwriting reveals below, he employed both the *katakana* and *kanji* loanword of “statistic” (Figure 2):¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Tsuda, *Hyōki teikō ichimei seihyōgaku ron*, preface, accessed July 3, 2016. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=xb6SIk2M1CUC&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA4>.

¹⁵⁰ *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. “*tōkei*,” accessed July 6th, 2016. <http://japanknowledge.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/display/?lid=1001000162593>.

¹⁵¹ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 192.

¹⁵² Sera Taichi 世良太一 (1838-1919) was a statistician. He was a student of Sugi Kōji and worked in the *Seihyō ka* 政表課 of *Daijōkan* 太政官. He founded societies and schools with intellectuals including Sugi that were dedicated to the discipline of statistics.

¹⁵³ “*Sugi Kōji no heya*,” *Nihon tōkei kyōkai*, http://www.jstat.or.jp/content/?page_id=35, accessed June 30, 2016; Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 192; “*Nihon kindai tōkei no so ‘Sugi Kōji’*,” *Sōmushō tōkeikyoku*, accessed July 1, 2016. <http://www.stat.go.jp/library/shiryo/sugi.htm>

¹⁵⁴ “*Nihon kindai tōkei no so ‘Sugi Kōji’*.”

多智契¹⁵⁵

Figure 2. Replication of Sugi's handwriting, which was his transliteration of 'statistics.'

This was read *sta chisu chiku*.¹⁵⁶ Although there is no document that suggests he was an advocate of the *onhyōmoji ron* 音標文字論 (discussion of phonetic texts), this discussion was most prominent in the first half of the Meiji period, and he was also a charter member of the Meirokusha.¹⁵⁷ Provided that he made the assertions in the 1870s, it is plausible that he also supported Mori and Nishi's language reform. Moreover, the three *kanji* characters he utilized did not consist of Chinese characters that had existed previously. In other words, these *kanji* characters were sole creations of Sugi, who combined phonetic elements of Chinese characters much as in the case of *kokuji* 国字 or *wasei kokuji* 和製漢字.¹⁵⁸ This suggests another possibility that instead of supporting the *onhyōmoji ron*, he might have proposed such a language reform to abolish the use of existing *kanji* characters to employ *kokuji* as the new national writing system.

For the European concept of "statistics," Meiji intellectuals created multiple translations. However, in the end, only one neologism survived and remains in the contemporary Japanese dictionary: *tōkeigaku*. A Western scholar, Seki Shinpachi 尺振八 (1839-1886), published *Meiji Eiwa Jiten* 明治英和字典, *An English & Japanese Dictionary for the Use of Junior Students*, in

¹⁵⁵ This diagram replicates Sugi's handwriting as shown on the website of Statistics Japan. Sōmushō tōkeikyoku, accessed on June 30, 2016, <http://www.stat.go.jp/library/shiryo/img/sugiback.jpg>.

¹⁵⁶ Hozumi, "Tōkeigaku," 193.

¹⁵⁷ Takashima, 170; Hayami, 371.

¹⁵⁸ *Kokuji* 国字, or *wasei kokuji* 和製漢字, are *kanji*-like characters that do not originate from China. They are newly invented in Japan by combining existing *kanji* components. In the case of Sugi's transliteration, he attached such existing *kanji* components as *su* 寸, *ta* 多, *chi* 知, and *ku* 久 to transliterate "statistics" as *su* 寸 *ta* 多 *chi* 知 *su* 寸 *chi* 知 *ku* 久.

1884. In this dictionary, he also used the same *translation word* of ‘statistics’:

Statistics, (單名) 統計學 ○□統計記。統計表。統計。¹⁵⁹

Tōki 統計, which is equivalent to *tōki* 統紀, was also employed as the translation. Because it had not been many years since the coinage of *tōkeigaku*, he may have placed the Chinese translation of statistics as a means of accessibility for his readers. The other translations involving “statistics” all suggest that Seki settled on the use of *tōkei* rather than the other translation words: Statist as *tōkeika* 統計家; Statistically as *tōkeihō nite* 統計法ニテ; Statistician as *tōkeigakusha* 統計學者; and Statistology as *tōkeiron* 統計論.¹⁶⁰ Even Sugi, who renamed the society *stachisuchikkusu sha* from *hyōki gakusha* out of his discontent with the translation word, also modified it to *tōkeigaku sha* 統計學社 in 1892.¹⁶¹ Our discussion of *kokusei gaku*, *kokumu gaku*, *chikoku gaku*, *hyouki*, and *seihyou gaku* indicate that none of them represents our contemporary concept of statistics, the second definition in The *OED*. They all present the obsolete definition of “statistics” as the study of state affairs. This leaves *tōkeigaku* and *kaikei gaku*. The *kanji* compositions of *kaikei* demonstrate that it does not deviate as much as the other five terms in presenting the new meaning. One meaning of *kai* (old: 會, new: 会) is *kanjō* 勘定, which means to count or to calculate.¹⁶² Not only is *kei* 計 one *kanji* component of *tōkei*, but it is read *hakaru* 計る in the *kun*-reading, which also means to calculate or measure.¹⁶³ This indeed resembles *tōkei* in that *kaikei* could mean to count numerical data for gathering. However, Hozumi claimed

¹⁵⁹ *Meiji Eiwa Jiten*. Compiled by Seki Shinpachi, s.v. “statistics,” (Tokyo: Rikugō- kuan & Co. 1884).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, “*tōkeika* 統計家,” “*tōkeihō nite* 統計法ニテ,” “*tōkeigakusha* 統計學者,” and “*tōkeiron* 統計論.”

¹⁶¹ “*Nihon kindai tōkei no so ‘Sugi Kōji.’*”

¹⁶² *Kōjien*, 5th ed, s.v. “*kai* 会”; *Kenkyusha’s New College Japanese-English Dictionary*, 5th ed., s.v. “*kanjō* 勘定.”

¹⁶³ *Kenkyusha’s New College Japanese- English Dictionary*, 5th ed., s.v. “*hakaru* 計る.”

that *kaikei gaku* was already taken as the translation of “accounting,” and it thus left *tōkeigaku* as the neologism for “statistics.”¹⁶⁴ The translation words involving the *kanji koku* 國 indicate that they all involved the old definition of statistics before Sugi helped Japan to modernize statistics according to the Western discipline in 1871. This indeed characterizes the state interest in monitoring the lives of the people. Although *tōkei* was first coined in 1871, its academic term, *tōkeigaku*, was popularized after Mitsukuri translated a French statistics book in 1874.¹⁶⁵ Tsuda proposed different translation words in the same year, but the survival of *tōkeigaku* may again be attributed to multiple factors, such as the degree of dissemination of the text and the balance between the authenticity and the accessibility of the translation. Given that *tōkei* was coined by referring to *tong ji*, the original Chinese translation of “statistics,” it is indeed plausible that *tōkeigaku* survived as a result of better accessibility for the audience compared to *hyōki* and *seihyō*. Moreover, even though both *hyōki* and *seihyō* distinguished themselves from the other translation words involving *koku* 國, they presented the old definition of “statistics.” All in all, in spite of the coinage of *tōkeigaku* in 1874, Sugi’s use of the loanword in 1878 suggests that this term most likely was not standardized until the 1880s, as shown by *Meiji Eiwa Jiten* of 1884. Nevertheless, it came to include the new definition of statistics, and although it means the “collection and arrangement of numerical facts or data of any kind,” it remains a symbol of the modern Japanese statistics that allowed the government to improve its surveillance of the people.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Hozumi, “*Tōkeigaku*,” 193.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 193-194.

¹⁶⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “statistics,” accessed January 6, 2017.

<http://www.oed.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/Entry/189322?redirectedFrom=statistics#eid>.

Conclusion

While Japan first imported the foreign concept of “liberty” and “freedom” around 1855, the popularization of this concept took place by the broad circulation of Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō jijō* in 1866. Although he was unsatisfied with the translation word he created by implanting this new concept onto the word *jiyū*, which already existed in Chinese literature with the meaning of “willfulness,” the subsequent use of this term by intellectuals and the people led to the standardization of this translation word as the translation of “liberty” and “freedom.” Fukuzawa and Nakamura’s works, in addition to Katō and Tsuda’s, became the basis for the public to begin the *Jiyū Minken Undo* in 1874 to argue for their rights to liberty. However, education of the public allowed them to employ new knowledge skillfully against the government, and this caused the government to release the Newspaper Law in 1875, declaring that the people’s rights to liberty had to be restricted by the law for the sake of the liberty of the whole society. It is thus reasonable to conclude that *jiyū* was established as the translation word of the Western concept of “liberty” and “freedom” by 1875, and the rapid influx of Western knowledge into Japan enabled the government to control the people through its shaping of new knowledge.

Although *tōkeigaku* was coined to convey a different definition, it functioned in much the same way, as it allowed the government to improve its statecraft to better control and govern the people. Several translation words conveying the old definition of statistics as the discussion of affairs of a state were created before the emergence of *tōkei* in 1871. This was the same year the government officially recognized Sugi’s claim about employing Western statistics to conduct nationwide censuses. Although this term did not immediately spread as *jiyū* did through Fukuzawa’s text, Mitsukuri used the academic term *tōkeigaku* in 1874. In the same year, however, Tsuda employed different translation words to convey the old definition of statistics.

Comparison of two dictionaries of 1870s and 1880s, *An English and Japanese Dictionary* of 1872 and *An English & Japanese Dictionary for the Use of Junior Students* of 1884 indicates the translation of “statistics” was not standardized in the 1870s. The latter translated various words involving statistics using *tōkei*, and indicating that *tōkeigaku* was standardized as the equivalent of “statistics” by the 1880s. Although *tōkeigaku* became the translation of the new definition of statistics, which does not directly relate to the collection of state affairs, this term served the purpose of the state to modernize its statistical measures to control the lives of the people.

In the process of standardization, intellectuals including Sugi disagreed with the proposed translations of “statistics” including *tōkeigaku*, and Sugi named a statistics magazine and renamed his society by employing the loanword in 1878. However, he changed the society name to *tōkeigaku sha* in 1892. Thus, such influential intellectuals as Fukuzawa and Sugi were not satisfied with the proposed translation words, and it even caused some to employ their loanwords publicly. Given that the government implemented four-year compulsory education in 1872, which increased the literacy rate not only in Japanese but also in European languages, why did translation words more actively get standardized and survive in the Japanese lexicon than loanwords? I discuss this question in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2: Discussions of Replacing Japanese with European Languages

Meiji intellectuals struggled to determine the most appropriate means by which to translate foreign concepts. Westernizing thinkers declared that in order for Japan to seize the treasures of the West, it must understand Western languages. Besides the influx of various European languages into Japan, Japan also suffered from unstandardized use of Japanese and Chinese among the people of different dialects and classes.¹⁶⁷ This was due to the four different styles of written Japanese and various regional dialects of spoken Japanese.¹⁶⁸ The first twenty years of the Meiji period was indeed when the *genko kaikaku ron* 言語改革論 (discussion of language reform) was most prominent. Within this discussion, contemporary scholars refer to the most conspicuous discussions as the *kanji haishiron* 漢字廢止論 (discussion of the abolishment of *kanji*) and the *onhyōmoji ron* 音標文字論 (discussion of phonetic texts). The former was a proposal to abolish *kanji* and only employ *kana* in Japanese. A first advocate of this proposal was Maejima Hisoka 前島密 (1835-1919), who argued for it in 1866 by submitting the Tokugawa authorities a petition called *Kanji gohaishi no gi* 漢字御廢止之議 (Discussion of abolishing *kanji*). Not only did he declare that a standardized writing system would be the key to Japan's future success, but he also envied such European languages as English and Dutch, whose spoken forms could be more easily transcribed into written language than Japanese. He thus proposed that spoken Japanese be the standardized Japanese language and be written in *kana*

¹⁶⁷ Clark, 13.

¹⁶⁸ Nanette Twine, "The Genbunitchi Movement. Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion," *Monumenta Nipponica* 33 (1978): 334; The four styles of writing were: *sōrōbun* 候文, *kanbun* 漢文, *wabun* 和文, and *wakankonkōbun* 和漢混淆文.

only.¹⁶⁹ This petition was one influential event that led to the Genbunitchi movement 言文一致運動 (Movement of unification of the written and spoken language).¹⁷⁰ While this petition did not go any further, other advocates of the same proposal included Shimizu Usaburō 清水卯三郎 (1829-1910), a member of the Meirokusha, and Watanabe Shujirō 渡辺修二郎 (1855-1945), who worked for the Ministry of Finance.¹⁷¹ These intellectuals were some of the first people to establish the *Kana no kuwai* かなのくわい (*Kana Society*), which was formed by combining multiple *kana* groups, in 1882.¹⁷² While each member possessed his own view, the main problems this society attended to through its journal and newsletter were as follows. First, not only was there no standardized writing for *kana*, but also there was not a single unified sound for every *kana* character. This occurred due to the varied use of *kana* in different areas of Japan and its use by people of different educational levels. Second, *kanji* caused discrepancy between spoken and written Japanese. They thus aimed to unify spoken and written Japanese by solely using *kana*, which would then resemble the system of European languages. However, this project became difficult, as attempting to convert several forms of writing, which was a mixture of Japanese and Chinese, into *kana* only made them realize that Japanese could not be reformed with *kana* only.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Clark, 24; Montgomery, 196-197; Takashima, 170 & 173.

¹⁷⁰ Twine, 337-338. While there were a number of motives for the Genbunitchi, the prominent reasons stemmed from such facts as that it would ensure the intelligibility mass communication to the people in the new era and facilitate the enlightenment of the people with new theories from the West.

¹⁷¹ Clark, 29, 30.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 31; Takashima, 180.

¹⁷³ Clark, 32.

Advocates of the latter argued for Japan to abandon the Japanese language completely and substitute for it European languages, which consisted of phonetic letters.¹⁷⁴ This was the most conspicuous proposal of language reform in the early Meiji period. The earliest influential advocates of this proposal were Mori Arinori and Nishi Amane.¹⁷⁵ A number of scholars, primarily in the field of science, gathered to form groups, and this movement later developed into the *Romaji kai* 羅馬字會 (Rōmaji Society) in 1884. This society published its discussions in the *Rōmaji zasshi* 羅馬字雜誌. Some of the notable members were Nambu Yoshikazu 南部義籌 (1840-1917), Yatabe Ryōkichi 矢田部良吉 (1851-1899), and Tanakadate Aikitu 田中館愛橘 (1856-1952). In addition, a number of foreigners, such as Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), were also part of this society.¹⁷⁶ However, a range of opinions among the members, such as ones regarding the use of the Hepburn system and that of Latin letters, caused factions, and they only attended to reforming the language with the colloquial style of Japanese in the late 1880s.¹⁷⁷ In the 1870s, Mori and Nishi claimed that such replacement would allow Japan to catch up with the West and seek the best means for civilizing and enlightening Japan. They both published versions of the proposal in this decade. However, publications of texts on language reform in the early Meiji period were discouraged upon passage of the Newspaper Law of 1875. Afterwards, early advocates of language reform only informally continued to make their proposals.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, while criticism and humiliation did not prevent Mori and Nishi from enthusiastically making this proposal, they ceased arguing for it in the reversal period, when a conservative movement began to dominate.

¹⁷⁴ Montgomery, 196-197; Takashima, 170 &173.

¹⁷⁵ Takashima, 170; Clark, 26-27.

¹⁷⁶ Clark, 33; Takashima, 180.

¹⁷⁷ Takashima, 182; Clark, 33-34.

¹⁷⁸ Clark, 31.

In this chapter, I will seek to understand the grounds on which Mori and Nishi made their proposals and to discover some of the reasons why they might eventually have abandoned them. To do this, I will look at correspondence, monographs, and articles they used to make their proposals. This will also allow me to study counterarguments and response they received from other intellectuals. I will then seek any tie to a conservative movement in the following chapter to find out whether the conservative opinions stopped their arguments in the period of reversal culture.

The Mori-Whitney Exchange

Mori was born into a samurai family of the Satsuma domain. By the age of 17, he was sent to Europe as a member of a Satsuma mission. When the new Meiji government decided to set up Japan's first diplomatic post overseas, it sent Mori to Washington D.C. in 1870 to be an ambassador.¹⁷⁹ In Washington, his ideas interested Hamilton Fish (1808-1893), the Secretary of State, and Joseph Henry (1797-1878), the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Henry helped Mori gain knowledge of Western education, which Mori later extensively worked to incorporate into the Japanese educational system. Moreover, it was most likely Henry who advised Mori to write a letter to William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894) about his language proposal.¹⁸⁰ Whitney was a highly regarded linguist at Yale University whose main interest lay in Sanskrit language. His reputation in 1864 led him to give lectures at the Smithsonian Institution.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Joseph, 53-54.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*; Tanaka, 315.

In May of 1872, Mori wrote a letter to Whitney.¹⁸² In the opening sentences of the letter, Mori reveals that Whitney's reputation in literature led him to seek his opinion on substituting Japanese with English.¹⁸³ Mori then identifies the problems he perceives with the Japanese language: spoken Japanese is inferior to European languages; written Japanese is not a phonetic language, unlike European languages, which employ an alphabet; and because Japanese schools have only placed educational focus on the Chinese language, there is not a single textbook or teacher of Japan's native language. He claims that especially because Japan now faces the need for international interactions, it was essential that it adopt English in place of the Japanese language to ensure the success of Japan's civilization. He is unsatisfied that there is a discrepancy between spoken Japanese and written Japanese, and in order to unify the two, he recommends employing the Roman alphabet.¹⁸⁴ Mori's ultimate hope, he states, is to replace Japanese with English both in its written and spoken forms. By first incorporating the Roman alphabet as a written language, Japanese could be written in a phonetic alphabet, unlike *kanji*, which is ostensibly "hieroglyphic."¹⁸⁵

However, simply replacing written Japanese with English would not please Mori. In the next paragraph, he indicates the difficulty of introducing English into Japan, mainly due to its irregular verbs. He states that he, including other Japanese leading intellectuals with knowledge of English, recommend the teaching of a "simplified English." In addition, although he insists that simplified English would benefit native as well as non-native speakers of English, his

¹⁸² Tanaka, 315.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 317.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 317.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Mori used the term, "hieroglyphic" to illustrate the Chinese writing system. Where his words are not directly cited, I use "morphosyllabic" to characterize the nature of Chinese characters. Taken from John DeFrancis, *Visible Speech: the Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 115.

primary reason for this proposal is solely the benefit of Japan, particularly its progression towards Western civilization.¹⁸⁶ He presents simplified English as having the following features. Past tense irregular verbs would be conjugated in exactly the same manner as regular verbs. For instance, “seen” would be “seed,” “thought” would be “thinked,” and “bought” would be “buyed.” Uncountable nouns would have plural forms just like countable nouns. Words would be spelled exactly as they sound: “fantom” instead of phantom; “invey” instead of inveigh; and “receit” instead of receipt. Some spellings would be simplified: “tho” in place of “though”; “bow” in place of “bought,” as “plough” and “hiccough” in the past were modified to “plow” and “hiccup.”¹⁸⁷

As Mori was one of Japan’s most influential Enlightenment thinkers, it is hardly surprising that he argued not only that Japan’s language needed a change but also that its race did, too. He advised young Japanese male adults to marry an American woman so that they could create excellent physical constitutions and intelligence in Japan in later years.¹⁸⁸ Because he did not doubt for a second that civilization was found in all areas of the West, his claim about the *genko kaikaku ron* was first and foremost based on the belief that the most civilized people used a phonetic language. And to put it into practice, Chinese inevitably needed to be abolished. Thus, the *onhyō moji ron* that Mori advocated somewhat coincided with the *kanji haishi ron*.¹⁸⁹

Response by William D. Whitney

Three months after receiving Mori’s letter, Whitney wrote a response to him. Although he considered Mori’s suggestions seriously, his response mainly entailed disapproval. He first agrees with Mori that English is a superior language to Japanese and Chinese. Especially in

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 318, 320.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 318-320.

¹⁸⁸ Takashima, 171; Varley, 241.

¹⁸⁹ Takashima, 174.

regards to the influences Japan has received from China for centuries, his remarks sound scornful; not only does he praise Japan for no longer needing China, but he also notes that his main reason for agreeing with Mori about the use of European languages is that the influence of the Chinese language on Japan has been nothing but disadvantageous and that introducing European languages would finally release Japan from such a hurtful influence.¹⁹⁰ He claims not to make this statement, however, to insult Japanese in any regard. His intention is rather to suggest that the superiority of one language to another does not carry a significant meaning. This is because he argues, in world linguistic history, there have been occasions in which an ancestral language of a people was abandoned for another language due to the political, social, and cultural superiority of the speakers of the other language. By employing a foreign language, he indicates, the speakers of the abandoned language allied their cultural progress with that of another community, and they united themselves with that community as a result. Because Whitney agrees that English speakers are superior to the Japanese in the present political and social history as well as in the facets of modern civilization in literature, science, and art, he indicates that nothing should happen to prevent such a determination.¹⁹¹

This did not mean that Whitney encouraged Mori's proposal to simplify English. He did not disregard Mori's assertion about the orthography of English. In fact, Whitney himself had sent out a proposition arguing for reforming written English based on phonetic spelling rather than etymological spelling.¹⁹² However, he states in his letter that the Japanese would not be able to become members of the English-speaking community unless they were to accept English in its current form. His reasons are as follows. Making changes to English would create an obstacle

¹⁹⁰ Tanaka, 331.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 328-329.

¹⁹² Joseph, 56.

between the Japanese and English speakers, and it would instead prevent Japanese people from reaching out to English literature. Those who speak the original and pure form of English will ridicule the modified version and insult ones who used the modified English. The irregularity of nouns and verbs in English is only one kind of obstacle. In the process of learning English, there are other obstacles, such as tenses and articles, and English actually has fewer irregularities than other significant languages. Even among English speakers, he writes, those in the less educated class often incorrectly used irregular English. Whitney asserts that a difference in the use of language between more educated speakers and less educated ones is common in every language. Moreover, the incorrect use of English does not necessarily mean that speakers misuse or ignore the irregularity, as it could be that speakers overlook it as an outcome of inattention or any reason pertaining to erroneous use.¹⁹³ Whitney, however, does not disapprove of the use of English in Japan. He encourages the Japanese to learn it by all means, but he insists that they do so with the current form of English.

Whitney's opposition to replacing the Japanese language with English was based on more than just the difficulty of doing so. Even in a circumstance where a national educational system was fully developed, he argues, it would require a significant amount of time to teach a foreign language to a population so large and to bring it to a high cultural standard. He indicates that if people with little time for learning were to acquire a new language, what they would obtain would be very little to nothing. He states that the consequence of such a reform would create a minority class with knowledge and a majority lower class that is ignorant.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, he does not dismiss Japanese as Mori did. He does not appreciate Mori's idea of introducing a foreign language as a means to enhance the culture. While he agrees that implementing English

¹⁹³ Tanaka, 329.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 331.

in Japan, due to the supremacy of the nations that employed English, would rid Japan of the ill influence of the Chinese language, he approves of Mori's proposed reform only as English and other substantial languages can be used as a stepping-stone to enrich the Japanese language so that the Japanese people will achieve a higher culture through their native language.¹⁹⁵ Before he closes the letter, Whitney kindly rejects Mori's proposal by saying that because it would take several generations to replace Japanese with English, turning it into reality or not would only be accomplished in the future. Instead of expressing his disapproval directly, he uses a parenthesis to state that such a project was proven to be close to impossible in the history of the world's languages.¹⁹⁶

There was not a single proposition in Mori's proposal with which Whitney agreed. Although he encouraged the Japanese to learn English and even insisted that it be the standard and "classical" language of the new Japanese culture, he insisted that English had to be accepted in its current form. He welcomed Mori's simplified English only to facilitate the acquisition of its full form by the Japanese people. Once they had attained a basic understanding of English, he suggested, the common orthography should be introduced to those who wished to advance their knowledge. Overall, he encouraged the use of English and other substantial languages to enrich the Japanese language but not to replace it.¹⁹⁷ We still shall not dismiss Whitney's notion of the negative influence of Chinese language, which was one thing on which he was in consensus with Mori. They both perceived the influences of China and its language as being a drawback to Japan's civilization. This was the only aspect of the language substitution on which Whitney could side with Mori.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 332.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 333.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 332.

Unlike Nishimura, Nakamura, and Katō who turned to Western civilization at the wake of the Meiji Restoration but shifted their attention back to Eastern learning, Mori was a man who bought a one-way ticket to the Westernization of Japan. In 1873, merely six months after Whitney's response, he published a book titled, *Education in Japan*. It comprised of letters and essays by 15 influential people of America that were written in response to Mori's proposal about the future of Japanese education.¹⁹⁸ They wrote their responses based on important aspects of American education and how they could best be imported to Japan.¹⁹⁹ Mori's introduction to this book reveals that he did not give up on his proposal to substitute Japanese with English after receiving Whitney's response. He continued to make arguments about the language substitution in the introduction, and they were nothing new compared to those in his letter to Whitney. Mori remained concerned about the lack of uniformity between spoken and written Japanese, the deep-rooted influence of a Chinese that was inferior to English, and thus the weakness and meaninglessness of Japanese, which all led him to insist on abandoning Chinese and Japanese for English. He argued that it would finally allow Japan to complete its civilization by exploring the wonders of the West to its full potential.²⁰⁰ However, he might have been rather encouraged by Whitney to reinforce his arguments about the language substitution. Unlike in his letter to Whitney, Mori elaborated on the dominance of the Chinese language as if to persistently emphasize the need of implementing English to banish Chinese which he believed had been so harmful to Japan. Moreover, he extensively noted how the Western power had influenced Japan, from religion to language to science, as if to strengthen his argument about needing to acquire

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 316.

¹⁹⁹ Joseph, 62.

²⁰⁰ Tanaka, 323-324.

English.²⁰¹ As it happens, these were both the two strong claims made by Whitney: the influence of Chinese had been ill, and English should be encouraged to eliminate such influence.

Mori's proposal barely attained approval from American intellectuals, and was even ridiculed by the foreign community in Tokyo and Yokohama.²⁰² One man who so harshly criticized him was David R. Murray, an important figure in Meiji Japan's early educational reform and whom Mori himself had hired to work for the Ministry of Education.²⁰³ In addition, Mori's proposal was also opposed by such Japanese intellectuals as Baba Tatsui 馬場辰猪 (1850-1888). He stated in the preface of his book, *An Elementary Grammar of the Japanese Language, with Easy Progressive Exercises* in 1873, that he published this book to dispute Mori's argument that Japanese was inferior.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, his argument was similar to Whitney's in that he considered the time it would take for substituting English for Japanese, the challenge of banning the complete use of Japanese, and the creation of segregation between a wealthy class with knowledge and a lower class with ignorance.²⁰⁵

Mori's proposal is understandable when we acknowledge that he and other Japanese intellectuals who received education in the first half of the Meiji period found it easier to employ English than Japanese when conversing about logical matters and writing sentences. They did not get much training in composing Japanese sentences, but they did receive instruction in writing sentences in Western languages from Western teachers. One of the new generation intellectuals even exclaimed that it was easier for them to interpret European novels than the

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Joseph, 62.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Baba Tatsui, *An Elementary Grammar of the Japanese Language, with Easy Progressive Exercises*, ed. G. Ukita (London: Routledge, 1904), vii.

²⁰⁵ Tanaka, 316.

Genji Monogatari 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji).²⁰⁶ It should then come as no surprise that Mori advocated using European languages when making speeches in Meirokusha meetings twice a month, an idea that had been put forth by Fukuzawa.²⁰⁷ Mori presented his proposal while he was still in America. Once he returned to Japan in 1873, he did not publish another text to argue for the proposal.²⁰⁸ However, an article written by Nishi in the *Meiroku zasshi* informs us that the ridicule and criticism Mori received did not stop him from making the same proposal.

Discussion of Romanization at the Meirokusha

Various translation methods Nishi employed and his devotion to Western learning demonstrate his bravery and commitment to modernizing his country. He even received the honour of writing the first chapter of the first volume of *Meiroku zasshi*, which was published in March of 1874.

As indicated clearly in the title, *yōji wo motte kango wo shosuru no setsu* 洋字ヲ以テ國語ヲ書スルノ論 (Discourse on using Western letters to write the Japanese language), he dedicated this chapter to the adoption of the Roman alphabet that Mori had proposed.²⁰⁹

Article by Nishi Amane

From the start of his article, Nishi describes Japan's current problem. He explains that Japan is no longer what it was before the Restoration because many good things have arisen since then. However, he argues Japan has not yet acquired civilization and enlightenment. That is, even though Japan appears this way on the surface, the common people are yet to understand the benefits of them. The state of the common people, he states, is like putting clothes on a monkey

²⁰⁶ Takashima, 172; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 70.

²⁰⁷ Okajima Chiyuki, "Shakai to iu yakugo ni tsuite," in *Meiroku zasshi to sono shūheni* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 2004), 166.

²⁰⁸ Tanaka, 316.

²⁰⁹ Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

or a dancing costume on a cooking girl. He utilized such a metaphor to indicate that the people appear civilized, but they have not yet accomplished it on the inside. He thus laments that what poisons their civilization is that there are a very few wise people, many of foolish and ignorant ones, and only very few people who seek a solution to this disaster. In his opinion, he states, Mori is one such person, for he sought to resolve the ignorance of the people by establishing the Meirokusha.²¹⁰ Moreover, although Nishi places the direct blame on the government for such a state, he argues that if it becomes worse, to the point Japan would not move forward in civilization, it would then be a *soshuru* ソシユル (social) crime. Here, *shoshuru* is used as an analog and 世道 *sedō*, or “social.” is written in superscript. His use of an analog here may have been to emphasize that, as opposed to the class system in the Tokugawa period, all people in Japan were now subject to equality and should thus act together as one “social” group. Indeed, he encouraged talented people, regardless of class and background, to gather at the Meirokusha. He maintained that scholars of Chinese studies and national studies and even common people should work together to civilize the country by “destroying their stubborn army of ignorance.”²¹¹

Nishi’s solution to eradicate people’s ignorance was to teach them with academic writings.²¹² The reason he emphasized writing was that he understood that the origins of language lay in writing since ancient times. When comparing speaking to writing, he determined that literature and language originated in a written form rather than as spoken sounds and that accomplishing civilization was thus in the hands of writing.²¹³ Hence, he argues in his article that the people first and foremost have to acquire writing, and only then, can they proceed with education and acquiring skill. Here he supports Mori’s argument by stating that the ignorance

²¹⁰ Nishi, “*Yōji wo motte*,” 1-2.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2, 8-9.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 1.

²¹³ Howland, “Nishi Amane’s efforts,” 285-286.

stemmed from the difference between spoken and written Japanese. His support for Mori is even more evident when he subsequently makes a remark about the use of *kanji* in Japanese. He asserts that *kanji* were deemed useless by the people, and they thus proposed the *kanji hanshi ron* and discussed decreasing the number of *kanji*.²¹⁴ He was certain that the people's ignorance would not be vanished because it was present in their writing itself, and the main cause of this is *kanji*. Although Nishi does not exactly discredit *kana*, his main argument for discontinuing *kanji* and thus *kana* is exactly in consensus with Mori's: *kanji* is morphosyllabic, whereas the alphabet is phonetic. He also opposes the linguistic construction of *kanji* and *kana*, where they are both comprised of vowels and consonants, while the alphabet is not. Now that Japan has discovered the West, he claims, it was only a matter of time before Japan will take in Western learning, one way or another, and even if it were at first a combination of Japanese and Western learning, the latter would eventually overthrow the former because of its superiority. He expresses this using the example of discovering a treat:

Today, people eat sugarcane. Having reached that great interest, if we try to stop it, how can we do that?²¹⁵

In suggesting this, Nishi knew that conservatives would oppose this proposal. This is evident when he shamelessly criticizes the Japanese people for being “good” at following the shadows of the old and thus lacking skills in emulating and innovating. He argues against the attitude of conservatives by insisting that the people needed to be open-minded to see the advantages of the West, with one very significant means to this being the alphabet.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Nishi, “*Yōji wo motte*,” 2.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

Nishi subsequently lays out the same proposal as Mori, which was to Romanize written Japanese. However, in contrast to Mori, who suggested implementing it just to facilitate the next stage of replacing spoken Japanese with English, Nishi's argument arises from the belief that written language was the very origin of language.²¹⁷ The phonetic characteristic of the alphabet, as opposed to the morphosyllabic nature of *kanji*, and the superiority of the West made more reasons for him to insist that *kanji* had to be replaced with the alphabet.²¹⁸ Unlike it is with the current form of Japanese, he writes, the alphabet would allow Japanese to be spoken exactly it is written and vice versa. In addition to uniting written and spoken Japanese, Nishi claims that there are other benefits to Romanization. These included the facilitation of importing Western languages and books, direct access to all the advantages of the West, and elimination of the need to employ loanwords to transliterate European academic and technical words.²¹⁹ The first point is exactly Mori's ultimate goal for replacing spoken Japanese with English.

Up to this point, Nishi seems to have assured his audience that there are only benefits to Romanizing their national language. However, this does not mean that he was not aware of difficulties that would arise as a result. The most significant difficulty he recognized was the study of languages. To put it in detail, he highlights the ongoing debate between classical and colloquial languages. However, he reveals this difficulty only to legitimize his proposal. He states that national studies scholars incline towards *gago* 雅語 (classical words). At the same time, there are also those who oppose national studies and prefer the use of *zokugo* 俗語 (colloquial words). Because this caused an inconsistency in writing, he proposes that it could be reconciled by taking advantage of the alphabet. That is, the alphabet could conveniently display

²¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 4-5.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

both styles of writing simultaneously by indicating their “spelling” (*superingu* スペリング) and “pronunciation” (*furonanshieshiun* フロナンシエシウン).²²⁰ One such example he depicts is as follows (Figure 3):

イカサマ フモシロシ
 ikasama omosirosi²²¹
 イカサマ フモシロ・イ

Figure 3. Example of Nishi’s claim that the alphabet can simultaneously illustrate spelling and pronunciation.

What is displayed on top of the alphabetical text is his example of a classical word, which shows how it is written. This is what Nishi called “spelling.” In contrast, the *katakana* on bottom are colloquial words that expresses how the word is spoken. This is what he called “pronunciation.” If we pay attention to the last *katakana* character on top, it is written *shi* シ. As shown, this is spelled “si” in the alphabet. However, this is only the spelling and its pronunciation is *i* イ, which is the last *katakana* displayed on bottom. He explains that “・” indicates silence, and thus “s” is silenced in the pronunciation. Hence, “i” is pronounced as *i* イ instead of *shi* シ.²²² This is precisely Nishi’s point about *kana* and *kanji* being the combination of vowels and consonants whereas the alphabet is not. That is, *shi* シ is a mix of a consonants “s” and a vowel “i.” But upon the use of the alphabet, the audience gets to see the breakdown of this character into its consonant and vowel and understand that the consonant “s” is silenced while the vowel “i” is pronounced as *i* イ. By illustrating these examples, he attempts even more to display benefits of making the Roman alphabet the national language.

²²⁰ Ibid., 6.

²²¹ Ibid., 7. This diagram recreates Nishi’s example of displaying “pronunciation” and “spelling” originally published in Nishi’s work.

²²² Ibid., 7.

Before Nishi closes the article, he lays out the orders in which the parts of his proposal should take place. On the last point, he lists, “We appoint a rule that employs Western words.”²²³ Here, the audience finally understands that his ultimate goal, in consensus with Mori’s, was not only to Romanize the national language but to facilitate the process of acquiring European languages. By this statement, he, however, may imply one of the two consequences: because he has indicated that writing is the origin of literature and language, he only means that Romanizing written Japanese would ease the process of learning European languages; or he aims to first Romanize written Japanese only to replace Japanese completely with European languages.

Nishi’s overall tone might suggest that he constantly regarded Japan negatively. However, while he seemed to have indeed considered Japan to be inferior to the West, this was not based on the belief that Japan, by its nature, was subordinate to the West. His understanding of the benefits of Romanization and his reasons for suggesting Romanization demonstrate that he only thought Japan to be inferior because Japan was behind the West in attaining civilization.²²⁴ He gave a great credit to the West because he trusted that the West patiently piled up tiny efforts over time in order to obtain its brilliant success. He believed that Japan also had to be patient and follow the West just to obtain the best measure for achieving civilization. He faithfully maintained, with no hesitation, that if Japan were to do the same, not only would it without doubt achieve what the West had achieved but the West would not be able to match Japan’s power, beauty, and virtue.²²⁵

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid., 6.

²²⁵ Ibid., 9.

Response by Nishimura Shigeki

In the next article of the same volume, Nishimura responded to Nishi's article with one entitled Discussion of Reforming Characters upon Enlightenment (*kaika no tabi ni yotte kaimoji wo hassubeki no ron* 開化ノ度ニ因テ改文字ヲ發スヘキノ論). As he opens the article, he praises Nishi's argument by stating that there was not the slightest disappointment in it and that if his proposal were put into effect, it would cause great progress in their civilization.²²⁶ Subsequently, Nishimura disagrees with Nishi's plan for eradicating the people's ignorance. While Nishi had declared that writing had to be acquired first before education and skills, Nishimura proposed a plan that was the other way around. He maintained that the ignorance of people had to be dealt with first in order to reform the national language.²²⁷

Nishimura, just like Nishi, understood that it was inevitable for any plan to be accompanied by benefits and losses. For benefits, he states that he has nothing further to say in addition to what Nishi illustrated. Subsequently, he expresses his opinions and claims that there are three disadvantages. The first is that the advantage of *kanji* being morphosyllabic would be eradicated by implementing the Roman alphabet. To demonstrate his point, he lists *kawa* 川, *kawa* 革, and *kawa* 側 and asserts that when they are written in *kanji*, the reader is able to recognize the meanings of each *kanji* with one glance at it. In contrast, when they are all spelled in the alphabet as 'kafa,' the reader can no longer distinguish between the meanings of the three different words.²²⁸ His argument is based on the nature of Japanese in that it has countless homonyms whose meanings can only be distinguished by *kanji*. The morphosyllabic nature of

²²⁶ Nishimura Shigeru, "Kaika no tabi ni yotte kaimoji wo hassubeki no ron," in *Meiroku zasshi* 1 (1874): 10.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

kanji, which Nishi and Mori regarded useless and inconvenient, was useful and convenient, in the opinion of Nishimura.

The second disadvantage of Romanization, according to Nishimura, was the difficulty of eliminating the Chinese language and literature, which were deeply embedded in Japanese history. This argument is identical to the remark made by Whitney. Nishimura indicates that when Japanese people incorporated Chinese characters into Japanese in ancient times, their literature was still at the beginning of its development and therefore had lots of room for growth. Intellectuals at that time were thus easily delighted to make such a reform, and it was not an impossible task to implement Chinese. However, Nishimura argues, the Meiji period was a different time, because Chinese language and literature had already been solidly implanted into Japan for over a thousand years. Nishimura therefore argues that the difficulty of replacing *kanji* and *kana* with the alphabet in the Meiji period is not to be considered equal to incorporating Chinese characters in the old days.²²⁹

The last disadvantage was also similar to Whitney's claim. Just as Whitney argued that replacing Japanese with English would cause segregation of two classes of people, Nishimura also asserts that Romanizing written Japanese would break a bridge between the people before and after the reform. In other words, those before the reform would have the ability to continue reading Japanese and Chinese literary works, but not all of them would be able to acquire Western literature. On the other hand, those after the reform would have no ability to obtain Japanese and Chinese literature even though they would be able to read Western literature.²³⁰ In spite of this disadvantage, he states that he is hopeful that those of no shallow learning before the

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

reform will learn Western literature and language to convert historical Japanese and Chinese records to the alphabet. Moreover, just like Nishi, he insists that for the sake of Japan's civilization, people regardless of their class and area of literature, whether it is national studies, Chinese studies, or Western studies, should all gather at the Meirokusha for equal participation to collect the most splendid opinions to eliminate imbecility.²³¹ Unlike Nishi, however, Nishimura does not suggest any solution to counteract the disadvantages he identifies. Nevertheless, he claims that these three disadvantages are only opinions of Japanese people, and if he were to state opinions of civilized and enlightened people, there would not be a single disadvantage to the language reform Nishi proposed.²³² I cannot infer from his statements by whom he meant "civilized and enlightened people." It could either be the minority of the Japanese people, such as himself and others at the Meirokusha, who were willing to enlighten the rest of people, or people in the West who were already considered civilized and enlightened.

Overall, while Nishimura presented several disadvantages of the language reform, just like Nishi, he closes the article by claiming that the advantages of the reform outweigh the disadvantages. Nishimura and Nishi were thus both hopeful that the language reform would be executed. The only point on which Nishimura opposed Nishi's proposal was Nishi's plan to reform the language before eliminating the people's ignorance. Nishi thought the reform should be accomplished first because of his conviction that the origin of language and literature was in writing. He thus maintained that the reform would eradicate the ignorance of people. In contrast, Nishimura believed it should be the other way around. He therefore wrote that having people of national studies, Chinese studies, and Western studies work equally would allow Japan to obtain

²³¹ Ibid. 11-12.

²³² Ibid., 11.

the foundations of all three areas of learning. This, in turn, would finally prepare the Japanese people to face the language reform and march together towards civilization.

Conclusion

On the one hand, we can apprehend the enthusiasm of civilization and enlightenment thinkers to catch up with the West through the language reform. At such a time as the Meiji period, when so many radical changes were happening, Mori and Nishi doubtlessly believed that there would not be a more suitable time to implement such a reform. Although they did not necessarily regard Japan or China with contempt, they held that they, including their languages, were inferior to the West. To eradicate this inferiority so that Japan and its people would be fully civilized, their solution was to replace Japanese with European languages. On the other hand, other intellectuals such as Whitney and Nishimura were more realistic about such a radical reform and were able to foresee difficulties and challenges that would accompany it. Many of their arguments coincided, as they indicated that the consequence of such an idea would be a segregation of people into two classes, one of which would have the means to acquire European languages and the other would not. In addition, Nishimura claimed that it would also separate them into two classes, one of which would have the ability to acquire Japanese, Chinese, and Western literature and the other would only be able to comprehend Western literature. Furthermore, they both recognized the significance of the deeply rooted influence of Chinese, and they accordingly argued that completely substituting one language for another was a difficulty among difficulties. Even if Japan succeeded at it, it would take several generations. Although Whitney kindly disagreed with Mori's proposal and other intellectuals ridiculed and criticized it, Nishi's article about the same proposal in the first volume of the *Meiroke zasshi* suggests that the humiliation Mori received did not prevent him from making efforts to help Japan catch up with the West by emulating it.

When Nishimura responded to Nishi in a subsequent article, it barely contained counterarguments, and he kindly listed a few disadvantages only to state that civilized and enlightened people would not even see them as disadvantages. Nishi's proposal, in Nishimura's view, was an outstanding idea overall. However, even Nishimura, who supported Nishi's proposal, later published another article in the *Meiroke zasshi* in support of the government's issuance of the Newspaper Law to restrict people's rights to *jiyū*. Additionally, while criticism of their proposals never led Mori and Nishi to stop making their arguments about the language reform, they were nowhere to be seen in the reversal period. In the next chapter, I therefore examine if any change was apparent in Nishi and Mori's attitudes to Westernization. In doing so, I aim to figure out whether Mori and Nishi ceased their arguments as a result of the conservative movements of the mid-1880s and the 1890s.

CHAPTER 3: Japanese Reversal Culture

We have thus far examined the times of appearance of *jiyū* and *tōkeigaku* and the times at which they became fixed as standardized terms. We have also looked at Mori, Whitney, Nishi, and Nishimura's discussions of language reform in correspondence and articles. These occurred primarily in the 1870s as reformers sought to modernize the state and to enlighten the people by giving them Western education. However, I have closed these discussions without attending to the following questions. When such intellectuals as Fukuzawa and Sugi were unsatisfied with the available translation words, to the point that Sugi used a loanword to rename his society and name his journal in the 1870s, why did he once again rename his society using "*tōkeigaku*" in the 1890s and why did "*jiyū*" and "*tōkeigaku*" survive as the standard translations? Since the humiliation Mori received after making his language reform proposal did not prevent him from arguing for abandoning *kanji* and substituting English for Japanese, why did Mori and Nishi not continue to make their proposals after the Meirokusha closed down in 1875? Moreover, It has been known that the Japanese lexicon was modernized within the first twenty years of the Meiji period and that the number of translation words increased significantly in the 1880s than the 1870s.²³³ Although current scholarship understands that *kango* increased naturally in the process of modernizing the lexicon and assimilating Western concepts into the Japanese lexicon, we cannot dismiss that intellectuals argued that Japan should use loanwords in place of translation words, abandon *kanji*, and replace Japanese with European languages by first Romanizing written Japanese in the 1870s.²³⁴ Thus, did translation words increase in the 1880s to prioritize

²³³ Lippert, 64.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

accessibility to the people who improved their literacy with the incorporation of four-year compulsory education?²³⁵

In order to answer these questions, I turn to the next decades of the 1880s and the 1890s, or the period of reversal culture, in this chapter. Japan and Westernizing thinkers unselectively borrowed from the West to modernize the nation in the first half of the Meiji period. However, this uncritical attitude towards Westernization, a few aspects of *bunmei kaika*, and Japan's failure to revise the unequal treaties with the West in 1887 caused conservative opinions to become noticeable and yielded nationalist sentiment among the people in the reversal period.²³⁶ Although Japan enthusiastically emulated such Western principles as individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism in the first half of the Meiji period, it revived unity, morality, and social order in the reversal period to counter the whole-hearted Westernization.²³⁷ Through this conservative movement, we observe a shift of the state focus to the revival or preservation of Japanese traditions or invention of traditions by a fusion of Western and Eastern elements and traditionalism and modernization.²³⁸

To find out if the reason Mori and Nishi stopped making their proposals was affected to any extent by a change in their attitudes toward Westernization in the reversal period, I will compare Nishi's monographs in the 1870s and the 1880s looking for any change in his writing style and use of analogs. The increase in the number of translation words in the 1880s coincides with the intellectuals' decision to start using translation words and the survival of translation words in the lexicon as the standard translation method in the reversal period. To find out if they occurred as a result of prioritizing accessibility for the public as part of reversal culture, I

²³⁵ Gordon, 67; McCreary, 896.

²³⁶ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676-678; Varley, 243; Smith, 80.

²³⁷ Varley, 244; Smith, 41; Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676

²³⁸ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 694; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 67.

compare English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s and the 1880s to examine differences in layout and to determine which dictionary contains more translation words that survive in the modern Japanese lexicon. I hypothesize that whereas the 1870s dictionaries exhibit various translation methods for Western words, the 1880s ones only list translation words as the standard translation method that survive in today's dictionaries. Identifying patterns in all the phenomena I have presented thus far will allow me to understand whether they coincide with the historical patterns in translation practice, discussion of language reform, and lexicography scholars have observed. This in turn will allow me to document that Westernizing thinkers realized in the reversal period that Japan's adoption of Western civilization was after all not suitable for a country of distinct history and traditions and that they partly retreated from their early attempt in enforcing enlightenment on the people through European literature and languages.

Nishi's Monographs in the 1870s and the 1880s

When Mori published his book in 1873 about the future of the Japanese education, he stated his proposal about substituting English for Japanese in the introduction.²³⁹ This book was circulated in Japan and America, and the readers criticized and ridiculed his proposal.²⁴⁰ However, this humiliation did not stop him from arguing for language reform, as he continued to make the same proposal through Nishi's article in *Meiroke zasshi*. However, once the Meirokusha shut down due to the Newspaper Law of 1875, Mori and Nishi did not refer back to it. In order to determine if this occurred due to change in their attitudes toward Westernization in the reversal period, I compare Nishi's texts in the 1870s and 1880s to examine any change in his writing style and use of analogs. To study change in his writing style, I present Nishi's first article in *Meiroke*

²³⁹ Tanaka, 331.

²⁴⁰ Joseph, 62.

zasshi, *Yōji wo motte kango wo shosuru no setsu* 洋字ヲ以テ國語ヲ書スルノ論 (Discourse on using Western letters to write the Japanese language), and the *Hyakuichi shinron* 百一新論 (New discussion of one hundred and one things), both published in 1874 for the 1870s texts. I have selected these two texts, as I have obtained the original text of Nishi's *Meiroku zasshi* article. As for the latter, it was the only other text of the 1870s I could get access to that does not involve contemporary editors significantly modifying his writing style.²⁴¹ For the 1880s, I have chosen *Shinrisetsu no ippan* 心理説ノ一斑 (metaphysics), published in 1886, as he published very few works in the 1880s due to his progressive illness.²⁴² Comparing these texts shows that he made extensive use of *gōryaku gana* 合略仮名 in the 1870s.²⁴³ In contrast, he almost completely discontinued its use in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*. In other words, while he used such *gōryaku gana* as ㄱ and ㄴ to abbreviate *koto* 事 and *tomo* とも, respectively, in his 1870s works, he abolished the use of ㄱ completely and replaced it with the unabbreviated *koto* in *kana* or *kanji* in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*. Additionally, ㄴ was also written sometimes in *kana* without being abbreviated. This suggests that Nishi may have modified his writing style in the 1880s in accordance with the modernization and standardization of the Japanese language to modernize his writing.

I now compare his 1870s and 1880s texts to study his use of analogs. I have chosen the *Hyakugaku renkan* 百學連環 (Encyclopedia) published around 1871 and *Shinrisetsu no ippan*.

These two works are used to compare his use of analogs, as Nishi compiled both books by

²⁴¹ The editor of *Hyakuichi shinron* noted that he left *gōryaku gana* the way Nishi wrote them.

²⁴² *Shinrisetsu no ippan* is literally translated “outline of psychology.” However, Nishi translated *shinrigaku* in his work as part of metaphysics (*metafuisikku* メテフキシク) as well as philosophy (*firosoft* フキロソフキー; *tetsugaku* 哲学).

²⁴³ *Gōryaku gana* is a type of *kana* where multiple *kanas* are abbreviated in one. It includes the abbreviation of *koto* 事 as ㄱ and *tomo* とも as ㄴ.

referring broadly to Western scholarship. The *Hyakugaku renkan* was based on the lectures Nishi gave at his own school called the Ikueisha 育英社. Using this work, Nishi intended to simultaneously deliver Western, Chinese, and Japanese concepts to his students.²⁴⁴ The most common analog in the *Hyakugaku renkan* was the one where Western words were placed vertically as the main sign, and translation words were listed in subscript (Figure 4 (1a) & (2a)). However, in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*, Nishi made the most use of analogs in which translation words were used as the main signs and their loanwords were aligned in superscript (Figure 4 (1b) & (2b)). Furthermore, he employed fewer analogs in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*, and they were

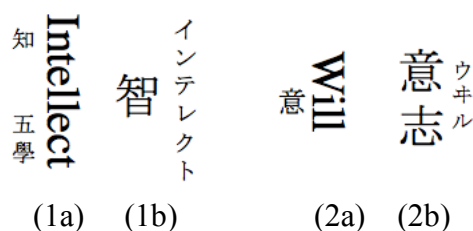


Figure 4. Comparison between Nishi's analogs in *Hyakugaku renkan* and *Shinrisetsu no ippan*. (1a) and (2a) show his common form of analogs in *Hyakugaku renkan*, whereas (1b) and (2b) illustrate the most used form of analogs in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*.²⁴⁵

replaced by more use of loanwords and translation words, except in cases when *furigana* was juxtaposed to notify readers of *kanji* pronunciations. This change in Nishi's use of analogs suggests that he shifted his attention from authenticity to accessibility in the 1880s. Too much emphasis on authenticity of texts resulted in the translation's unintelligibility to readers, and although Nishi used translation words in analogs in the *Hyakugaku renkan*, it was often the case they were neologisms and the readers were thus nevertheless perplexed with their definitions.

²⁴⁴ Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts," 284.

²⁴⁵ This diagram recreates analogs originally published in Nishi's works. Nishi, *Hyakugaku renkan*, 150; Nishi, *Shinrisetsu no ippan*, 591.

Evidently, most translations he created in this text were never popularized nor registered in Meiji dictionaries.²⁴⁶ If we take Figure 4 (1a) for instance, Nishi used “intellect” as the main sign and translated it as *chigogaku* 知五學 in the *Hyakugaku renkan*. In the text, Nishi explains that “intellect” derived from *chi* 知 (wisdom) and that this exists in five organs that possess five senses or *goka* 五官 (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and skin).²⁴⁷ Regardless of whether or not his readers were able to comprehend this explanation, *chigogaku*, most likely a neologism coined by Nishi, does not survive in today’s dictionary. “Intellect” today is often translated as *chiryoku* 知力 or *chisei* 知性. While *chigogaku* was used as a subscript to “intellect” in the *Hyakugaku renkan*, Nishi modified this form of analog in *Shinrisetsu no ippan* (Figure 4 (1b)). While he employed the English word “intellect” as the main sign in the *Hyakugaku renkan*, he used *chi* 智, translation word, as the main sign in *Shinrisetsu no ippan* and placed *innerecuto* インテレクト (intellect), a loanword, in superscript. Although this *chi* is a different *kanji* than the *chi* 知 in the *Hyakugaku renkan*, they both mean ‘wisdom.’

The change in Nishi’s writing style by using modernized writing in the 1880s suggests that he may have done so in accordance with the standardization of the Japanese language. Moreover, more frequent uses of translation words instead of original Western words as the main sign of analogs as well as fewer uses of analogs in the 1880s suggest that he may have faced limits to enforcing enlightenment on the people through authenticity of texts, as this only diminished their intelligibility. He therefore may have begun to consider accessibility to be more important than authenticity in the 1880s by using translation words more extensively. This

²⁴⁶ Howland, “Nishi Amane’s efforts,” 285.

²⁴⁷ Nishi, *Hyakugaku renkan*, 150.

realization then may have also changed his commitment to proposing the substitution of European languages for Japanese.

English-Japanese Dictionaries of the 1870s vs. the 1880s

Fukuzawa and Sugi both complained that translation words invented by intellectuals, including themselves, did not properly represent their Western concepts. Sugi, as a result, employed loanwords in the 1870s. However, both *jiyū* and *tōkeigaku* survive in the modern lexicon, and they both became the standard translation method by the 1880s. Even Sugi switched back to the use of translation words in the 1890s. As it happens, the number of translation words also increased significantly in the 1880s.²⁴⁸ To determine if these events occurred as a result of prioritizing accessibility as part of reversal culture, I compare English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s and the 1880s to detect differences in layout and to decide which dictionary has more translation words that survive in the modern lexicon. The years that were taken to compile the English-Japanese dictionaries for this study are unknown, and this could skew the results of my comparisons. However, for this, I hypothesize that whereas the 1870s dictionaries show a range of translation methods, the 1880s ones have translation words as the standard translation method.

Eiwa Jiten (1872) and *Meiji Eiwa Jiten* (1884)

I first compare dictionaries of the 1870s and 1880s by different compilers: *Eiwa Jiten* 英和字典 (An English and Japanese Dictionary) published in 1872 by *Chishinkan* 知新館 and *Meiji Eiwa Jiten* 明治英和字典 (An English & Japanese Dictionary, for the Use of Junior Students) published in 1884 by *Rikugō-kuan & Co.* 六合館藏版.²⁴⁹ I have selected these dictionaries, as

²⁴⁸ Lippert, 63.

²⁴⁹ *Eiwa Jiten*. Osaka: Chishinkan, 1872; *Meiji Eiwa Jiten*. Tokyo: Rokugō-kuan, 1884.

the former was distinct from other English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s in that it often employs phrases rather than translation words to define Western concepts. Even though the compiler of this dictionary is unknown, the use of English in the eight parts of speech suggests that he might have been a Westernizing scholar.²⁵⁰ The latter dictionary was by Seki Shinpachi 尺振八 (1839-1886), who dedicated his life to Western learning by establishing a private school for English study, working as an English interpreter, and translating Western scholarship such as Herbert Spencer's works.²⁵¹ Even though these dictionaries were put together by different authors, it is clear that Seki had an ambition to educate the people through Western civilization.

In these dictionaries, I have selected five words that have been scrutinized by existing scholarship. In Figure 5, the words on top are from the 1872 dictionary, whereas the bottom ones are from the 1884 dictionary.

1) Constitution, *n.* 体格、氣質、國法、又政事、組立、○律列

Constitution, (名) 立ツル_レ。定ムル_レ。成ス_レ。組成。○體質。造構
○憲法。國法。政法 ○律令。

2) Company, *n.* 仲間、社中、隊ノ名、○群隊、會衆、

Company, (名) 伴タル_レ。相伴フ_レ。陪伴 ○群。班○賓客 ○會社。商会。
公司。社名ニ掲ゲザル社員

3) Philosophy, *n.* 理學 ○性學格物之學

Philosophy, (名) 理學。哲學。理論。究理。

4) Religion, *n.* 宗者、神教、○教門

Religion, (名) 宗教。教門。

²⁵⁰ The eight parts of speech consist of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections.

²⁵¹ *JapanKnowledge*, s.v. "Seki Shinpachi," accessed January 30, 2017.

<http://japanknowledge.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/lib/en/display/?lid=30010zz273840>.

5) Society, *n.* 兄弟ノ因ミ、仲間交リ、社中、○會、結社

Society, (名) 社會。社。會。仲間。組合 ○會友。

Figure 5. Five words from *Eiwa jiten* (An English and Japanese Dictionary) by *Chishinkan* (1872) and from *Meiji eiwa jiten* (An English & Japanese Dictionary for the Use of Junior Students) by *Rikugō-kuan & Co.* (1884). The top examples in all five are from *Eiwa jiten* and the bottom ones are taken from *Meiji eiwa jiten*. Underlines are added by me.

Although it is not depicted in Figure 5, both dictionaries list English words horizontally, as described above, whereas their translations are juxtaposed to the right vertically instead of horizontally. When comparing the layout of the two dictionaries, what appears different is the indication of the eight parts of speech. The 1872 dictionary lists the eight parts of speech, using their first letters in English, such as ‘*n*’ for nouns, ‘*v*’ for verbs, and so on. In contrast, the 1884 dictionary identifies the parts of speech with *kanji*, with *mei* 名 as an abbreviation of *meishi* 名詞 (nouns), *dō* 動 as the abbreviation of *dōshi* 動詞 (verbs), and so on. Given that the discourse on language reform occurred most notably in the first twenty years of Meiji, how the 1884 dictionary listed the eight parts of speech runs counter to earlier efforts to abolish *kanji* and the Japanese language. The educational reform of 1872 made four-year education compulsory; as a result, literacy improved in Japan, and the audience of dictionaries increased.²⁵² Seki may have thus made the dictionary more accessible to his readers. As indicated in his English title for the dictionary, his dictionary was indeed designed for “junior students” who were most likely in the process of acquiring English.

Furthermore, I compare the translations from each dictionary to those in the second edition of *Kenkyusha's English-Japanese Dictionary for the General Reader* published in 1999

²⁵² Gordon, 67; McCreary, 896.

by *Kenkyūsha* 研究社.²⁵³ Each translation is underlined if there is an overlap in the translations between the two dictionaries. For instance, for the translation of “constitution,” there is one translation from the 1872 dictionary that is underlined: *kishitsu* 氣質 (Figure 5 (1)). This marks that the same translation is found in the 1999 dictionary, except the 1999 dictionary uses *shin kanji* 新漢字 (new *kanji*) rather than *kyū kanji* 旧漢字 (old *kanji*) and thus has the translation as 氣質.²⁵⁴ In contrast, there are three translations that are underlined in the 1884 dictionary: 體質, 造構, and 憲法. This means that three translations from the 1884 dictionary are identical to those in the 1999 dictionary. The only difference is that the 1999 dictionary utilizes *shin kanji* for *tai* 體.²⁵⁵ Although I have only chosen 5 examples, the comparison shows that while the 1872 dictionary has 14.3% of words that survive in the contemporary dictionary, the 1884 dictionary contains 37.5% of words that have survived into today’s dictionary. This indicates that the 1884 dictionary contained more than twice the number of translations in the 1872 dictionary that survive in today’s dictionary. Although the sample size is small, the result at least suggests that translation words in the 1880s English-Japanese dictionary resembled those in dictionaries of today more closely. However, this does not support my hypothesis that the 1870s dictionary would exhibit various translation methods and that the 1880s one would show only translation words. Nevertheless, this coincides with the translation of “statistics” in that while various translation words were invented in the 1860s and the 1870s, *tōkeigaku* became the standardized translation in the 1880s, and this term survives in the contemporary dictionaries.

Dictionary of Two Editions by Shibata and Koyasu

²⁵³ *Kenkyūsha’s English-Japanese Dictionary for the General Reader*. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 1999.

²⁵⁴ Old *kanji* of *ki*: 氣. New *kanji* of *ki*: 気.

²⁵⁵ The new *kanji* of 體 is 体.

I now compare two editions of the same dictionary which were prepared by two different compilers: *Fuon Sōzu Eiwa Jii* 英附音挿図和字彙 (English and Japanese Dictionary, Explanatory, Pronouncing, and Etymological) by Shibata Masayoshi and Koyasu Takashi. The first edition was published in 1873, whereas the second one was published in 1882. This dictionary distinguished itself from other English-Japanese dictionaries of the period by having the largest index (1556 pages), being the first dictionary to be letterpressed, being leather bound with Western-style paper (*yōshi* 洋紙), and having pictures.²⁵⁶ Shibata studied classical Chinese literature and Dutch in his childhood, and he quickly obtained many employments, such as an assistant manager of an English school and an English interpreter in his youth. When he was appointed Translation Officer at the Kanagawa court, he met Koyasu, who was then working as a translator. They subsequently founded a company called the Nisshūsha 日就社 for dictionary publishing, and using help of several English scholars, who were initially Chinese interpreters, they attended to their mission to translate an English dictionary by John Ogilvie, a Scottish lexicographer.²⁵⁷ Koyasu also studied Dutch, in addition to English, in his childhood. In 1874, he transformed the Nisshūsha into the Yomiuri Shimbun 読売新聞, one of Japan's largest newspaper companies today.²⁵⁸ Shibata was also a member of the Meirokusha, and because they both possessed a background similar to that of the other charter members of the Meirokusha, there is no surprise that their motive for compiling this dictionary was to educate the people who were impatient to be enlightened by helping them absorb Western concepts. Koyasu also indicated that the Yomiuri newspaper was to serve the same purpose.²⁵⁹ Contrasting the two

²⁵⁶ Kokawa et al., 85-86.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 82-83, 87.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 84.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 84, 87.

editions in the style of lexicography and translations can suggest whether the compilers made changes in the second edition in any relation to the conservative movement.

Comparing the two editions for the style of lexicography shows that while the 1873 dictionary presented English words horizontally and their translations vertically, the 1882 dictionary resembled today's dictionaries in that both English words and their translations were listed horizontally. This suggests that the 1880s dictionary began to take shape of the contemporary dictionaries by modernizing the layout of the dictionary. To determine which dictionary bore more resemblance to the second edition of *Kenkyusha's English-Japanese Dictionary* of 1999 by having the same translations, I compare translations of 20 English words.²⁶⁰ The result shows that whereas 25.0% of translations in the 1873 dictionary were identical to those in the 1999 dictionary, 36.1% of those in the 1882 dictionary were equivalent to the 1999 dictionary. Although the percentages deviate from those of the two previous dictionaries, it consistently demonstrates that the 1880s dictionary contained more translation words that survive in the contemporary dictionary. My hypothesis once again does not hold in this comparison. However, the two comparisons of dictionaries show that translation words were standardizing more progressively in the 1880s than the 1870s, and more translations from the 1880s survive in today's dictionaries.

²⁶⁰ The 20 English words searched are: statistics, statistic, statistician, statistically, free, freedom, company, constitution, idea, consciousness, philosophy, intellectual philosophy, religion, society, ideal, science, subjective, objective, reality, and reason.

Limits to Western Civilization and Forcing Enlightenment

The comparisons of the 1870s and 1880s texts and dictionaries demonstrate that Nishi used a more modernized style of writing in the 1880s text and that the 1880s dictionaries displayed more modernized layouts. In addition, not only did Nishi employ fewer analogs in the 1880s, but he also used translation words more extensively as the main sign of analogs. As for dictionaries, the 1880s ones contained the enhanced number of translation words that survive in today's lexicon. I thus claim that the following factors affected the increased number of translation words, the higher number of translation words surviving in the modern lexicon, and the disappearance of the Westernizing thinkers' commitment to the use of loanwords, to abandon *kanji*, and to replace Japanese with European languages: Westernizing thinkers' realization that westernizing a country of different history and traditions was limited and their withdrawal from enforcing enlightenment on the people through European literature and languages.

The first factor can be explained by the fact that it was not only conservatives who were frustrated with uncritical attitude towards Westernization but also such modernists as Itō Hirobumi, Mori, and Fukuzawa. The Newspaper Law in 1875 was issued to discourage the *Jiyū Minken Undō*, in which the public argued for their rights through literacy and Western principles they gained from education.²⁶¹ One intellectual who confined personal *jiyū* in the sphere of civil liberty was Nishimura, who came to be known more as a conservative than a modernizer. However, modernizers, too, were enraged by the people's criticism of the government and their practice of liberalism. Itō, who was in constant conflict with Motoda Nagazane, also restricted the people's rights through the issuance of the Public Assembly Ordinance (*shūkai jōrei* 集会条例) in 1880 and the promulgation of the Constitution 1889. In the former, as much as he

²⁶¹ Varley, 246; Howland, *Translating the West*, 114-115.

supported modernization based on Western principles, he executed this ordinance to discourage the Jiyō Minken Undō. It allowed Itō to prohibit students' and teachers' right to gather in assemblies of political discourses.²⁶² Itō and his colleagues secretly composed the latter, and it was a fusion of liberalism and conservatism rather than whole-package Western principles. The conservative part of the Constitution resembled the *Kyōiku chokugo*, as it had Confucian virtues as the basis of nation's morality. When Itō presented the Constitution at the promulgation, he underlined the importance of Confucian social hierarchy between Emperor and subject.²⁶³ Furthermore, Mori was the first man in Japan to have performed marriage in the form of a contract. However, he later admitted his failure in marrying an uneducated Japanese woman in the Western way. While he was the Minister of Education, he also took advice from the German advocates about incorporating filial piety and loyalty into Japan's education.²⁶⁴ This suggests that it was not only Nishi who seemed to have changed his attitude towards Westernization in the reversal period, but it was also Mori who may have faced limits to wholeheartedly borrowing from the West. Fukuzawa, who argued for women's rights and a modern education, is also known to have raised his daughters in very strict traditions.²⁶⁵ These Westernizers' response to their rushed and somewhat irrational execution of *bunmei kaika* along Western lines, conservatives' anger over uncritical Westernization, and increased nationalist sentiment among the people suggest that Japan experienced limits to westernizing a nation with distinct history and traditions. Seeking a fusion of modernization and traditionalism in the midst of such realizations meant that Japan's native traditions were revived or preserved by inventing traditions or Japaneseness. For instance, such Japanese art and culture as music, paintings, and novels were

²⁶² Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 683.

²⁶³ Smith, 51-52; Varley, 255.

²⁶⁴ Gordon, 105.

²⁶⁵ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 680.

revived by synthesizing Western and Eastern elements.²⁶⁶ Hence, instead of wholeheartedly taking in European languages as Mori and Nishi had proposed, Japan selectively assimilated Western concepts and preserved Japanese and Chinese language and lexicon. This was one of the arguments made by Whitney. No matter how much he disregarded Chinese as an ill influence on Japan, he advised Mori that Japan should attain its civilization not by replacing Japanese with European languages but by enriching it through importation of Western concepts.²⁶⁷ This also suggests that translation words increased in the 1880s, with many of them surviving in the modern lexicon, because Japan shifted its interest in the reversal period to enlighten the people with its own language. In the same decade, in 1882, Tokyo Imperial University also established a department of classical Chinese literature for the first time.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, opponents of the Genbunitchi saw the wave of national sentiments as an opportunity to assert the revival of the *gazoku setchū* 雅俗折衷, and although the Genbunitchi eventually succeeded at unifying the language by 1926, advocates of the Genbunitchi, especially in the decade of the 1890s, were entirely discouraged to use the colloquial style in writing in their attempt to unify the language.²⁶⁹

The second factor can be explained first by the findings from comparing Nishi's monographs of the 1870s and the 1880s. The change in his use of analogs might have derived from his decision to prioritize accessibility. Although Nishi claimed in his *Mei roku zasshi* article that the people's ignorance had to be eradicated by teaching them with writing, choosing authenticity over accessibility to do so was only counterproductive to the people's learning and

²⁶⁶ Gordon, 108-109; Varley, 266-267.

²⁶⁷ Tanaka, 332.

²⁶⁸ Smith, 45.

²⁶⁹ Twine, 351-352. The *gazoku setchū* is a form of writing used by writers of popular novels in the Tokugawa period, and it combined *wakankonkōbun* and the colloquial style of the language.

enlightenment. No matter how inconvenient and more difficult the use of Japanese was compared to that of European languages at the time of Westernization, it was the people who would help Japan march towards modernization.²⁷⁰ Thus, the Japanese language had to be reformed in accordance with the learning capability of the people, and this was to educate them with translation words rather than with European languages. This also coincides with the increased number of translation words in the 1880s that survive in the modern lexicon. Moreover, Nishi might have also realized that prioritizing authenticity only complicated the people's communications. This had been suggested by Whitney, who noted that if people with little time acquired another language, it would cause a patchwork language and only a minority of people would be able to learn the language. Nishimura also argued that it would break a bridge of communication between the people. In fact, the people who lived in the time of the abrupt transformation experienced a premonition. When the disadvantage of materialistic education was explained in the *Shōgaku jōmoku niken* 小学条目二件 (two subjects of elementary education provision), which was part of the *Kyōiku seishi* Motoda published in 1879, he drew upon an example of farmers' and merchants' children who were immersed in discussing matters with Western words at home without knowing their Japanese translation. Not only did it confuse their parents, but it also made it challenging for the children to seek employment upon graduation.²⁷¹ However, progressive Westernization did not penetrate the peasantry as much as it did the populations of urban areas. While farm and village children received Western education in the 1870s, such conservative and native traditions as solidarity and filial piety always remained the center of peasant families' and villages' lives. Once young Japanese people left

²⁷⁰ Takashima, 172; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 70.

²⁷¹ “*Kyōgaku seishi to bunkyō seisaku no henka.*”

their home for the urban areas, it only ignited their sentiment for the old Japanese traditions they experienced in their childhood and made them lament the loss of national pride and identity.²⁷²

The manifestation of the people's national sentiment relates to the second limitation, which was claimed by Nishimura. He noted the challenge of eradicating the influence of Chinese language and literature that had its root deeply buried in Japanese soil.²⁷³ Because Japanese coexisted with Chinese for over a thousand years, attempting to eradicate its influence radically would have only increased the people's nationalist sentiment, and it would have thus been detrimental to the people's learning. The *Kana* society and the *Rōmaji* society were both established when the conservative movement was just becoming dominant. However, these societies, too, came to the realization that Japanese could not be reformed without *kanji*. They both ceased their operation in the early 1890s.²⁷⁴ This limitation explains why such intellectuals as Sugi stopped using loanwords in the reversal period. Although Sugi publicly used the loanword of "statistics" in the 1870s, he may have begun employing its translation word, *tōkeigaku*, in the 1890s due to experience of the limitations of teaching statistics with emphasis on authenticity in the first half of Meiji, which might have only discouraged the people's learning. This also explains why *tōkeigaku*, though it appeared in 1874, was not standardized until the 1880s. This, in return, highlights the reasons translation words increased in the 1880s and many of them survive in the modern lexicon. One of the factors that determines survival of words is usefulness of words in accordance with the people and the state's needs at the time of standardization. Thus, more translation words from the 1880s might survive in today's

²⁷² Pyle, *The New Generation*, 122-123.

²⁷³ Nishimura, "*Kaika no tabi*," 11.

²⁷⁴ Takashima, 180.

dictionaries because Japan encountered limits to imposing European languages in the reversal period and because the people preferred accessibility to authenticity.

The danger of segregation of people into different classes bears upon the third limitation. If Japan did not wish to create a patchwork language or burn the bridge of people's communication, it could resolve these problems. However, if Japan were to completely replace Japanese with European languages, it would require the time and efforts of multiple generations, as Whitney and Nishimura had argued. Furthermore, Whitney noted that the history of the world's languages had shown that this task would be almost impossible.²⁷⁵

Therefore, the increased number of translation words, survival of translation words from the 1880s, and the disappearance of the intellectuals' arguments for the use of loanwords, the abolition of *kanji*, and the adoption of European languages occurred not simply in the process of modernizing the nation and standardizing the Japanese language but because Japan faced limitation to westernizing itself and forcing enlightenment on the people through European literature and languages.

Conclusion

Events in the Meiji period suggest that its first twenty years were an experimental time. Meiji leaders adopted many radical changes by unselectively borrowing from the West, and intellectuals also created multiple translation methods to find the most suitable way for the Japanese people to be enlightened. Although Westernization helped Japan develop many areas, the government and the people realized in the reversal period that the nation's autonomy, traditions, and values were in danger of being lost to Western domination. However, uncritical

²⁷⁵ Tanaka, 333.

Westernization, dominant opinions of conservatives, and the people's nationalist sentiment did not result in complete conservatism but rather moderate conservatism in which Japan sought a synthesis of Western and Eastern values and modernization and traditionalism. While intellectuals concentrated on reviving or preserving Japan's traditions and inventing Japanese, they did so by combining both new and old elements. Comparison of Nishi's texts in the 1870s and 1880s indicates that Nishi shifted his attention from authenticity to accessibility by using fewer analogs and more extensively using translation words than original European words in the 1880s. Comparison of English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s and 1880s shows that the 1880s dictionaries modernized their style of lexicography and contained more translations words that survive in the today's lexicon. These findings, coupled with the disappearance of intellectuals' enthusiasm for loanwords and language reform, were influenced by limits to Japan's adoption of Western civilization and limits to forcing enlightenment on the people through European languages and literature. The imperial rescript of 1890 and the Meiji Constitution of 1889 both synthesized modernization and conservatism and emphasized Confucian virtues as the foundation of the nation's morality. This synthesis also applied to Japanese, as it was enriched by taking Western concepts and preserving Japanese and Chinese language. Although this was within new interests of the government, it also happened because Japan encountered limits to westernizing a nation of distinct history and traditions. Moreover, Japan also witnessed limits to imposing European languages on the people. Nishi's fewer use of analogs and increased use of translation words as the main sign of analogs in the 1880s suggest that he shifted his interest from authenticity to accessibility due to his realization that emphasizing authenticity caused a lack of intelligibility for the people, which in turn was disadvantageous to the enlightenment Nishi declared they needed. Japan's first approach to

enlightenment by encouraging Western education also confused the people's communication, as it caused segregation of a minority of people with knowledge from a majority with ignorance. Because it was the people who would push Japan towards modernization, reformers had to consider the learning capability of the people. Japan realized after the first half of the Meiji period that the most suitable way to enlighten the people was by having them use their own language. Thus, translation words increased significantly in the 1880s, and more translation words from the 1880s survive in the modern lexicon due to the limits of imposing enlightenment through European languages in the reversal period. The phenomena examined throughout this thesis therefore did not happen naturally in the process of Japan's modernization and standardization of the language but due to Westernizing thinkers' realization that adopting Western civilization did not suit Japan and its people and their retreat from encouraging enlightenment through European languages and literature. While intellectuals did not particularly insult China, they were frustrated with the inconsistency between written and spoken Japanese caused by the Chinese language. Moreover, because they had discovered the West, which they considered to be superior to China, they were thrilled to rapidly import European languages as a means of modernizing the nation and gaining access to the treasures of the West. However, ignition of the people's nationalist sentiment and pride, together with the unsuitability of westernizing a country of different values and traditions led Japan to realize that *bunmei kaika* was in fact unachievable without the Chinese influences Japan had received for centuries.

Conclusion

The Meiji period is remarkable not only because of Japan's extensive importations of ideas and technology of the West to compete with it and survive in the face of Western imperialism but also because Japan noticeably shifted its focus from modernization to traditionalism.²⁷⁶ When Japan opened its doors to the West, it unselectively borrowed from the West and harshly criticized various elements of Japan. These included Japan's ethics, and Japan rapidly adopted practical elements of the West such as its culture, science, and technology.²⁷⁷ This allowed the significant development of Japan's intellectual, literary, and linguistic culture. In this process, Meiji scholars and intellectuals imported Western scholarship to read, understand, and translate Western ideas and concepts into Japanese. They thus created such translation methods as translation words, loanwords, and analogs to assimilate Western terms and concepts that had no history in Japan. However, some intellectuals were discontented with the use of some translation words and they preferred to use loanwords instead. Translating foreign ideas and seeking the most suitable translation methods were such a challenge that some thinkers advocated abolishing *kanji* or replacing *kanji* and *kana* with European languages to facilitate the importation of the culture of the West. This uncritical borrowing led Japan to incorporate such Western principles as utilitarianism, liberalism, individualism, and materialism in the first half of the Meiji period.²⁷⁸ However, Meiji leaders and the people realized in the second half of the Meiji period, or the period of reversal culture, that these elements of the West did not suit Japan's distinct history and traditions. This, coupled with multiple aspects of *bunmei kaika*, caused the people's

²⁷⁶ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 690; Kokawa et al., 80.

²⁷⁷ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676-678; Varley, 243.

²⁷⁸ Varley, 244; Smith, 41.

national sentiment and conservatives' opinions to be more conspicuous.²⁷⁹ It was during this period, too, that intellectuals ceased their previous arguments for loanwords and the abolition of their native language. One productive measure to instill conservative values in the people was education. This, too, shifted from the one importing Western principles to the one emphasizing unity and morality. Morality and Confucian virtues, in particular, were revived progressively to invalidate previous focus on Western principles. The reversal period, however, was not characterized by a complete reversal of Japan's traditions. It came to be known as a period of moderate conservatism, as Japan worked to eliminate elements of the West that were disadvantageous to itself by creating a fusion of Western and Eastern elements as well as modernization and traditionalism.²⁸⁰ The Meiji period thus shifted from Westernization to conservatism to the synthesis of the two. Among the many things that Japan accomplished was modernization of the Japanese lexicon, where *kango* increased significantly in the 1880s.²⁸¹ In this thesis, I have studied such phenomena as the increase of translation words surviving in the modern lexicon and the disappearance of intellectuals' fervor for loanwords, the abolition of *kanji*, and the substitution of European languages for Japanese in relation to trends in Japan's reversal culture.

Jiyū and *tōkeigaku* are examples of translation words that appeared in the Meiji period and survive in the modern Japanese lexicon. While such scholars as Douglas Howland and Suzuki Shūji in the fields of intellectual and political history have studied how *jiyū* was invented as a translation technique in accordance with political interests of the people and the government, the birth of *tōkeigaku* has been studied to a lesser extent. In contrast to this perspective of current

²⁷⁹ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 676-678; Varley, 243; Smith, 80.

²⁸⁰ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 694; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 67.

²⁸¹ Lippert, 64.

scholarship, my reason for studying these terms has been to find a pattern in the time of their invention and standardization to seek any possible tie to the reversal movements of the mid-1880s and the 1890s. I have selected these important words of Meiji Japan in that they show the interest of the government in surveilling and controlling the people through Western concepts. Study of current scholarship as well as monographs and articles of the Meiji period has allowed me to find that *jiyū* originated in Chinese literature and first had a meaning of “willfulness.” The importation of the Western concepts of “freedom” and “liberty” occurred around 1855, and discussion of them was originally confined to the intellectual sphere.²⁸² However, Fukuzawa Yukichi’s *Seiyō jijō* of 1866 and Nakamura Masanao’s *Jiyū no ri*, published in 1872, expanded this discussion to the public. It was also through their texts that *jiyū* lost its old meaning of “willfulness” and began to convey the Western concepts of “freedom” and “liberty.” Fukuzawa’s book, in particular, motivated the public to practice *jiyū* against the government. While the government originally encouraged education of the public, the public’s arguments for its rights to liberty and freedom through the *Jiyū Minken Undō* made the government limit the people’s *jiyū* in 1875 by issuing the Newspaper Law. Thus, by 1875, *jiyū* was standardized as the concepts of “liberty” and “freedom.” The inventor of this translation word has been identified as Fukuzawa, and examining his texts lets us observe his discontent with implanting the new meaning into “*jiyū*.”

Akira Hayami’s work in Meiji intellectual history has described the development of Western statistics in Japan in the Meiji period. To find a pattern in the coinage of “*tōkeigaku*” and its standardization, I have built upon Hayami’s work, examining monographs and articles of the Meiji period. Mitsukuri Rinshō, who is recognized as the coiner of “*tōkeigaku*,” did not have

²⁸² Howland, *Translating the West*, 95-96.

to undergo hardship in developing the term, because the word did not derive from one in existing literature. *Tōkei* was mostly likely modified from the Chinese term “*tongji*” in 1871. However, its academic term “*tōkeigaku*” was first used by Mitsukuri as a translation of “statistics” in 1874. At the dawn of the Meiji period, development of industrialization and urbanization caused high mobility in Japan.²⁸³ As a result, Meiji Japan was in great need of a modern, nationwide census system that would allow it to articulate the demographics of Japan. Sugi Kōji, who conducted a census using his understanding of Western statistics, seized the government's attention, and in 1871 it made a decision to hire Sugi.²⁸⁴ Indeed, the modernization of Japan’s statistics in accordance with Western statistical methods began following this event. This modernization allowed Japan to enhance its statecraft by better monitoring the people and their lives. However, there were intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa, who were unsatisfied with the use of the translation words of “statistics.” They included Sugi, the inventor of modern Japanese statistics, and his student Sera Taichi, who utilized the loanword of “statistics” in the 1870s by claiming that available translation words of “statistics” did not properly convey the meaning. However, they discontinued this use by the 1890s and began utilizing the translation word *tōkeigaku*. Moreover, an English-Japanese dictionary of 1884 also translated “statistics” as *tōkeigaku*. In addition, Nishi Amane, too, doubtlessly indicated his ambition to employ not only loanwords but original Western words through his extensive use of analogs. Nishi took advantage of the function of analogs that allowed him to not only display translation words of Western concepts but also original European words. The *Hyakugaku renkan* (Encyclopedia) Nishi published around 1871 is a good example, as he referred to Western scholarship and thus used analogs extensively. His translation techniques in this text suggest that he did not incline toward using only general

²⁸³ “The Statistical System: Evolution to 1868,” 6.

²⁸⁴ Hayami, 371.

translation words, as Fukuzawa did.²⁸⁵ Not only did Nishi enthusiastically coin neologisms, but he also simultaneously employed their loanwords and original European words in analogs. It is thus no surprise that after such audacity of Nishi's translation method in this text, he made a proposal for language reform in 1874 through *Meiroke zasshi*.

The massive importation of Western knowledge, including European languages posed challenges for articulating ideas in the already complex Japanese writing system. Intellectuals, as a result, discussed how to best standardize their language. This movement in the first twenty years of the Meiji period considered two main reforms abolishing the Japanese language completely to employ European languages and abolishing *kanji* to use *kana* only.²⁸⁶ The former proposal was conspicuously argued by two intellectuals, Mori Arinori and Nishi. Examination of Mori's correspondence with an American linguist, William D. Whitney, Mori's publication of a book on Japanese education, and Nishi's article in *Meiroke zasshi* informs us that in 1872 Mori first proposed replacing written Japanese with the Roman alphabet to facilitate abandoning spoken Japanese for English later, and in 1874, Nishi proposed to Romanize written Japanese on the ground that language and literature derived from writing rather than speaking. However, he, too, claimed that he ultimately wished for Japan to employ Western words. Mori and Nishi justified their proposal by citing the inconvenience of "hieroglyphic" *kanji*, which caused inconsistency between written and spoken Japanese. Another reason for their proposals was desire to ease the process of assimilating Western culture for the sake of modernizing the country, as they thought of the West as the forefront of civilization. Whitney's response to Mori and Nishimura Shigeki's article in *Meiroke zasshi* show that they put forward counterarguments

²⁸⁵ Howland, *Translating the West*, 84-86.

²⁸⁶ Montgomery, 196-197; Takashima, 170 & 173.

to Mori and Nishi's arguments. Their main points were as follows: It would take a significant amount of time to substitute another language for Japanese. Language reform would segregate people into classes where one is literate and the other is not. The civilization of a country is best accomplished through its native language. Use of a phonetic language, in which homonymic Japanese words would no longer be distinguished by morphosyllabic *kanji*, would be inconvenient. The long influence of the Chinese language could not easily be eradicated. Mori's proposal, which he published in a book in 1873, was distributed in America and Japan, and readers criticized and ridiculed his proposal severely. Takashima Toshio, whose interest lies in linguistic history, has broadly characterized the discussions of language reform, and Paul H. Clark has depicted the reformation of Japanese in the Meiji period. In addition, John E. Joseph has narrowly examined Mori's proposal and concluded that the humiliation Mori received after his book in 1873 prevented him from making the same proposal in the future. However, studying Nishi's article from *Meiroke zasshi*, this thesis reveals that although Mori never reflected on it, Nishi presented his proposal in *Meiroke zasshi* in support of Mori in 1874. Regardless of Mori's thought about Japanese being inferior to European languages, it was easier for people who were educated in the first half of the Meiji period to conduct intellectual discussions and write in European languages. Thus, Mori and Nishi's proposals were not only based on their sole ambition for westernizing Japan.²⁸⁷ Moreover, analogs, which broadly used European words, for instance, did not survive in Meiji Japan's translation techniques, because Westernizing thinkers placed emphasis on authenticity of translated texts.²⁸⁸ Nishi desired to convey Western concepts by means that were as close to the original meanings as possible. It is plausible that he was eager for language reform because he would no longer need to constantly create translation words.

²⁸⁷ Takashima, 172.

²⁸⁸ Howland, *Translating the West*, 82.

However, the Meirokusha shut down in the year the Newspaper Law was issued in 1875, and Nishi and Mori did not return to the issue. Although public humiliation did not stop Mori and Nishi from making their proposal, they both did not reflect on it following the issuance of this law.

To figure out whether Nishi and Mori's proposals ceased due to change in their attitudes toward Westernization that emerged with the conservative movement of the 1880s, I have made a comparison between Nishi's texts of the 1870s and the 1880s. Howland, interested in linguistic history, has also examined Nishi's *Hyakugaku renkan* of 1871 to scrutinize Nishi's use of analogs and his motive for employing such a translation method. However, I examine the *Hyakugaku renkan* and *Shinrisetsu no ippan* of 1886 to observe differences in Nishi's use of analogs to make a connection to the reversal period. I also study *Hyakuichi shinron* of 1874 and *Shinrisetsu no ippan* for differences in the style of writing. Comparison of *Hyakuichi shinron* as well as Nishi's *Meiroku zasshi* article on language reform with *Shinrisetsu no ippan* shows that while Nishi extensively used *gōryaku gana* in the 1870s works, the 1880s text exhibited more modernization in that *gōryaku gana* barely reappeared. Furthermore, the common style of analogs in the *Hyakugaku renkan* was one in which Nishi he used original European words as the main sign and its translation word as subscripts. In contrast, not only did he less frequently use analogs in *Shinrisetsu no ippan*, but he also most extensively used translation words as the main sign with loanwords in superscript. These differences suggest that in the 1880s, he changed his style of writing in accordance with standardization of the Japanese language. Furthermore, more use of translation words as the main sign of analogs might mean that he shifted his attention from authenticity of texts to their accessibility, using more translation words that were intelligible for readers. Indeed, Howland claims that the translation words Nishi utilized in the *Hyakugaku*

renkan were neither popularized nor registered in dictionaries.²⁸⁹ The change in Nishi's use of analogs also suggests that he might no longer have had enthusiasm for Romanizing Japanese and employing European words in Japan, because he came to the realization that not only did prioritizing authenticity diminish readers' intelligibility of texts but it also caused problems in people's daily communications. When Motoda illustrated the disadvantage of materialistic education in his *Shōgaku jōmoku niken* of 1879, he presented an example of farmers' and merchants' children to claim that Western education they received in school disconnected their communication from that of their parents and made it difficult for them to seek employment upon graduation.²⁹⁰ In spite of the inconvenience of Japanese at the time of Westernization, this suggests that, as Whitney and Nishimura argued, reformers' proposals to adopt European languages only caused segregation between people and hampered their communication.

In order to find out if Nishi's tendency to prioritize accessibility by using translation words became a general trend in the 1880s, I have compared English-Japanese dictionaries of the 1870s and 1880s. The first comparison is between dictionaries by different compilers: *Eiwa jiten* from 1872 and *Meiji eiwa jiten* from 1884. The second comparison is between the first and second edition of *Fuon sōzu eiwa jii* by Shibata Masayoshi and Koyasu Takashi, published in 1873 and 1882. Wolfgang Lippert and Kokawa Takahiro et al., concerned with lexicographical history of the Meiji period, have also examined Shibata and Koyasu's dictionaries. Lippert has studied the modernization of the Japanese lexicon by comparing the number of *kango* in the two editions. Kokawa et al. has described the characteristics of Meiji bilingual dictionaries. My reason for comparing these dictionaries has been to test my hypothesis that the 1870s dictionaries

²⁸⁹ Howland, "Nishi Amane's efforts," 285.

²⁹⁰ "Kyōgaku seishi to bunkyō seisaku no henka."

display various translation methods, whereas the 1880s ones only show translation words as the standardized translation method. While my hypothesis did not hold, comparison of translation words of certain Western concepts in both dictionaries to those in today's dictionary demonstrates that more words from the 1880s dictionaries survive in the modern lexicon. This modernization also applied to the layout of the dictionaries in that while *Eiwa jiten* of 1872 expressed the eight parts of speech in English, *Meiji eiwa jiten* of 1884 listed them in Japanese using *kanji*. Moreover, whereas the first edition of Shibata and Koyasu's dictionary listed the translations horizontally, the second edition changed by listing both English words and their translations horizontally. Lippert relates the increase in the number of *kango* in the 1880s to the modernization of the Japanese lexicon, which occurred within the first twenty years of the Meiji period. However, this thesis suggests that the increased number of translation words, the survival of translation words from the 1880s, and the disappearance of intellectuals' enthusiasm for loanwords, the abolition of *kanji*, and the replacement of Japanese with European languages in the reversal period were affected by the limits of Japan's Westernization, particularly its imposing enlightenment through Western literature and languages.

In addition to the increase in opinions of conservatives and people's attachment to the native traditions, even such modernizers as Mori and Itō Hirobumi experienced limits of wholehearted emulation of the West. Providing the people with practical elements of Western principles too rapidly led these thinkers to realize the elements were not suited for Japan and its people, whose history and traditions had been distinct. Mori, once appointed as the Minister of Education in 1886, sought opinions of German educators to place loyalty and filial piety back in

Japanese education.²⁹¹ This is a notable change given that he had previously hired David Murray to reform the educational system by taking in individualism and liberalism from the West.²⁹² *Jiyū* was first invented by Fukuzawa in 1866 and became standardized by 1875 in accordance with the issuance of the Newspaper Law. The standardization occurred quite early in the Meiji period, when the Japanese lexicon was still in the process of modernization. However, the Newspaper Law did not prohibit the operation of the *Jiyū Minken Undō*, and Itō, who constantly disputed with an extreme conservative Motoda Nagazane, further discouraged this movement through the issuance of the Public Assembly Ordinance in 1880.²⁹³ This thus shows the continuous attempt by Meiji government leaders to restrict the people's rights to *jiyū*, and exercise of Western concepts, which they had initially encouraged the people to learn in the early Meiji period. Moreover, Itō adopted the Confucian hierarchy between sovereign and subject in the Meiji Constitution of 1889.²⁹⁴ The reversal period thus took form of a fusion of Western and Eastern elements as well as modernism and traditionalism, and it also applied to literature and language.²⁹⁵ Instead of reforming Japanese in the way Mori and Nishi had argued, Japan enriched its language and lexicon not by adopting European languages as its national language but by assimilating Western concepts into Japanese using translation words. This was precisely one of Whitney's arguments namely that Japan should enrich its culture through its native language.

Nishi's shift of attention to accessibility is one example of the limits of enforcing a vision of enlightenment on the people through European literature and languages. As mentioned,

²⁹¹ Gordon, 105.

²⁹² Varley, 247&255; Joseph, 62; "*Kyōikurei no kōfu*."

²⁹³ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 683.

²⁹⁴ Smith, 51-52; Varley, 255.

²⁹⁵ Pyle, "Meiji Conservatism," 694; Pyle, *The New Generation*, 67.

encouraging the use of European languages through Western education proved Whitney and Nishimura's argument right by causing segregation in the people's daily communication. While Nishi argued that writing had to be taught to the people before tackling their ignorance, Nishimura claimed that their ignorance had to be dealt with first before teaching them writing. However, regardless of the order in reforming the language, it did not change that reformers had to suit the learning capability of the people. No matter how inconvenient and meaningless Japanese might have seemed in the period of Westernization, it was the people who would help push Japan towards modernization. In addition to Motoda's claim that Western education complicated the lives of farmers' and merchants' children, manifestation of Westernization in the urban areas gave way to birth of nationalist sentiments in the young village and farm people as they migrated to the urban areas.²⁹⁶ Hence, imposing enlightenment on them through European literature and languages was counterproductive. This connects to Nishimura's understanding that eliminating the influences of the Chinese language and literature, which had been solidly rooted in Japan for over a thousand years, would be extremely difficult. Both the *Kana* and *Rōmaji* society ceased their operation in the early 1890s when they faced limits of reforming Japanese without *kanji*, which coexisted with Japanese for over a thousand years. This suggests that Sugi, who inclined toward using loanwords in the 1870s, might have shifted back to the use of *tōkeigaku* in the 1890s by experiencing the limits of allowing too much authenticity in translation in the early Meiji period, as it may have discouraged the people's learning. This also explains why *tōkeigaku*, although first coined in 1874, was not standardized until the 1880s. This coincides with the increased number of translation words in the 1880s dictionaries that survive in the modern lexicon. One factor that determines survival of words is attributed to practicality of

²⁹⁶ Pyle, *The New Generation*, 122-123.

words for the people at the time of standardization. Hence, more translation words might have standardized more progressively in the 1880s because Japan shifted its interest to enlighten the people with its own language.

Therefore, people with little time for learning, as Whitney noted, indeed became a minority of people with knowledge and a majority of people who were ignorant. This is why Whitney and Nishimura both declared that if Japan were to completely replace its language with European languages, it would require the time and effort of several generations. Thus, while current scholarship has claimed that *kango* increased naturally in the process of modernizing the lexicon and as a natural consequence of importing enormous Western concepts, I suggest that the dictionaries of the 1880s exhibit the increased number of translation words, with many of them surviving in the modern lexicon, due to the limits of forcing enlightenment on the people through Western languages and literature.

Current scholarship in the fields of intellectual, political, and cultural history as well as history of lexicography has characterized much of major events and figures of the Meiji period. Scholars have studied important translation words through politics, people, and intellectual debates, scrutinized debates over prominent proposals for language reform, and examined the characteristics of Meiji bilingual dictionaries and transformation of English-Japanese dictionaries throughout the Meiji period. Although their perspectives differ from mine, the historical patterns they have discovered indeed coincide with those I have examined in this thesis. However, while they have characterized these patterns as a result of the natural process of Japan's modernization and standardization of translation methods, I could not dismiss a noticeable transformation of Japan from the period of Western civilization to the one of conservatism and traditionalism. My

thesis has thus aimed to tie certain phenomena of the Meiji period to the periods of progressive Western civilization and conservatism. Although I did not find any concrete evidence that shows that the phenomena I put forward were caused by the conservative movements of the reversal period, examination of monographs, articles, correspondence, and dictionaries of the Meiji period has enabled my research to describe such phenomena as the increased number of translation words surviving in the modern lexicon, the disappearance of arguments for using loanwords, abolishing *kanji*, and the language reform, and to suggest that they were affected by the reversal trends to some extent.

Future research on this topic might include searching for more solid evidence that would allow us to verify that these phenomena were indeed caused by the reversal trends. Research in archives of such influential intellectuals as Fukuzawa, Nishi, and Mori might allow us to make more findings. In the second edition of Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō*, for instance, he left a little note, which today would function as a footnote, to make a personal remark about the concepts of "freedom" and "liberty." However, it is possible that editors of such publications as *Fukuzawa Yukichi senshū* and *Nishi Amane zenshū* might have omitted many such personal notes if they understood them to be unnecessary. Additionally, one might look beyond the monographs, articles, and correspondence I have used to see if any intellectuals composed diaries, as this might allow us to find out if their philosophical and political interests changed between the first and second half of the Meiji period. This would let us make further contribution to the fields of intellectual and cultural history. Broader access to dictionaries of the Meiji period would also allow us to conduct further research. The research on the history of lexicography that I have done for this thesis has been limited by its scope and the access I had to dictionaries. With a more extensive array of texts from the Meiji period, we could selectively examine dictionaries

compiled by intellectuals of different political and national interests. This would also lead us to make further contributions to the field of history of lexicography. Additionally, I have understood documents and interests of Meiji leaders and actions of the government primarily through current scholarship and online sources provided by Japanese government websites. However, such sources maintain their own interpretations of events. With more resources, one could look into original government documents as well as manuscripts left by Meiji leaders for a possibly more accurate understanding. Although my thesis contributes mainly to the fields of intellectual, linguistic, and cultural history as well as the history of lexicography, such expanded research might also allow one to make contributions to political history. In addition, it might enable one to draw a more solid connection between translation words and politics, as Howland and Suzuki have done.

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