

A Historical Survey of the Studies on Tokugawa Educational Thought in Japan: Trends and Issues

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The aim of this paper is to consider the trends and problems of Japanese educational science from the viewpoint of Tokugawa educational thought. Firstly, I reexamine the past main works of the studies on Tokugawa educational thought, and conduct a survey of the trends of these studies. Second, through critical analysis of these studies I try to elucidate problems regarding Japanese educational science, and discuss viewpoints on the studies of Tokugawa educational thought in relation to future educational studies in Japan.

In conclusion, we can ascertain the following two points on the characteristics of the trends; (1) most studies on the history of Tokugawa educational thought have been entirely-focused in their research on Tokugawa thought through educational theories valued by modern educational science or the degree of familiarity to modern Japanese education; (2) as a result, the so-called “theory about the lack of educational thought in pre-modern Japan” has been held as the most common evaluation of Tokugawa thought.

With our full attention on the above two points, we must adopt research methods which first try to grasp Tokugawa educational thought in the historical context of the Tokugawa era, and second, try to examine various problems of modern education and educational science from the reverse perspective of the pre-modern era. We should be able to see another world of modern education and educational science from these viewpoints.

1 Introduction

If current educational activities have been formulated through the accumulation of past educational activities, it would be fair to say that our present educational ideas are also developed on the basis of the accumulation of various past educational thought. Therefore, to clarify the tendencies and problems inherent within current educational concepts, it is necessary to ascertain the historical location of these concepts in the history of educational thought. Only after carefully investigating the accumulation of past educational thought, can we grasp the historical structure of educational thought which fall over one another in layers. Also, with regard to how we can effectively evaluate the current education system, and how we try to anticipate future education, we can

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expect that past understanding of the structure of intellectual history provides us with stimulating discussion. The above argument reveals what significant information we may discover through reviewing studies on history of educational thought.

From this viewpoint, it is very natural that many educational science researchers take an interest in the inquiry and understanding of past educational thought in Japan. Surprisingly, studies on the historical formulation of educational thought in Japanese history have not always been so intense. Studies on educational thought in pre-modern Japan have especially been stagnant. When we look at the Tokugawa period, only four articles which directly deal with Tokugawa educational thought have been printed in the *Journal of Studies in The Philosophy of Education* published by The Japanese Society for the Philosophy of Education, which has been a leader of studies on history of educational thought in Japan. Indeed, the total number of articles which have been printed in this Journal over the past 50 years (from the first volume to the 96th volume) is over three hundred (with the exclusion of Research Reports, Subject Studies, Symposium Abstracts and Essays etc.).

The question we may pose then is why has Japanese educational science not been concerned with the traditional thought of education in its own country? I think if we closely examine the reasons, we may be able to expose the tendencies and problems of educational science in Japan. Before doing this, we should clarify what is meant by “education” and look at some of the assumptions already made in the field of Japanese educational science.

First, I reexamine the past main research literature on Tokugawa educational thought, and survey trends to clarify what the most basic concerns were during that time period. Second, through critical analysis of these basic concerns, I’ll try to elucidate problems regarding Japanese educational science. Finally, I’ll discuss viewpoints in the literature on Tokugawa educational thought in relation to future educational research in Japan. Ultimately, the aim of this paper is to examine the trends and problems of Japanese educational science from the viewpoint of Tokugawa educational thought.

2 An Overview of Past Studies on Tokugawa Educational Thought

As mentioned above, research into Tokugawa educational thought in Japanese studies of education has been generally dormant. The literature on Japanese history of education (rather than the literature on philosophy of education) has taken center stage in this field and has paved the way for future research. Using a methodological approach developed upon examining studies on Japanese history of education, we can recognize a consistent movement or character.¹ The trends of these studies are summarized in the following.

(1) Trends in prewar era²

In my opinion, the pioneering model of academic achievement for Tokugawa educational thought is *The Educational Method of Ekiken* (Miyake 1890) which was written by Yonekichi Miyake. The methodological approach attempted by Miyake provided a role model to regulate research on Tokugawa educational thought. In that sense, Miyake’s work had a very significant meaning in the history of studies of this field. We may then ask the question “what was Miyake’s analysis of Tokugawa educational thought?”

The impact of Miyake’s research was symbolically evident in the phrase “Japan’s history

of education is comparable to that of European countries.Kaibara Ekiken's thought had many theories which were similar to those of John Locke, who was a great educational thinker in Europe."³ Hence, the opinions which comprised the foundations of research in Miyake's study attempted to convey the thought of Kaibara Ekiken (1630–1714)⁴, who was a Samurai of the Fukuoka clan and was one of the most famous Japanese Confucians in the Edo era, by comparing him with John Locke (1632–1704). This research tried to uncover a figure similar to the modern West in the educational thought of Tokugawa Japan, and was guided by the methodological approach adopted in Miyake's study.

Afterward, the approach based on this viewpoint decisively influenced studies on the history of Tokugawa educational thought in Japan. This reveals that subsequent studies in this field have mainly adopted the same approach.

For instance, Tatsuzo Yokoyama's *History of Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Yokoyama 1904) is a voluminous work which was "an invaluable synthetic study which we should learn from even now".⁵ In this work, Yokoyama attempted to divide the Edo period into four eras on the basis of the historical developments of foundation, completion, deflection and collapsing of the shogunate system. These consisted of (1) the early part of Edo period, (2) the Genroku era, (3) the Shotoku era to the Tenmei era and (4) the Kansei era to the end of the Edo period. Yokoyama adopted the thought of Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728), who was an advocate of the semantic study of classical Confucian texts in Tokugawa Japan, and also the thought of Kaibara Ekiken as the typical educational thought of the Genroku era. However, the reason he noticed both thoughts was only because he discovered they were similar to assertions of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) and John Locke. Although Yokoyama's descriptions of Tokugawa intellectual history were based on the detailed and close analysis of the development of social trends in Tokugawa era, his evaluations of Tokugawa intellectual history were formed on the basis of methodological analysis that broke away from the context of Tokugawa intellectual history, and was measured by the criteria of modern educational thought in the West.

Thereafter, in the period from Taisho to early Showa, Kumaji Yoshida's work *Outline of the Japanese History of Education* (Yoshida 1922) was often cited by many researchers as a culminating study of that time.⁶ In this work, Yoshida insisted on the necessity of constructing the framework for studies on educational history based on the history of the development of modern school, which sparked an interest in Tokugawa educational thought. Yoshida argued that the aim of school education in Tokugawa era was to cultivate the Samurai, who ruled over the whole country, and that the main means to do this was through Confucianism.⁷ The thoughts corresponding to Yoshida's research interest, which converged the aim of Tokugawa education with cultivating the ruling class, belonged of course to Kaibara Ekiken. In addition, Yoshida's evaluation of Ekiken was done with an understanding that Ekiken's thoughts were similar to those of modern educational thinkers in the West, such as Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670) and Wolfgang Ratke (1571–1635).⁸ The evaluation of Tokugawa educational thought based on the criteria of modern educational thought in the West was consistently assumed by Yoshida.

At this time, revolutionary works, such as Toshinori Takahashi's *History of Education in Japan* (Takahashi 1927), Ken Ishikawa's *History of Plebeian Education in Japan* (Ishikawa 1929) and Iwazo Ototake's *Educational History of Ordinary People in Japan* (Ototake 1929), which promoted the formulation of the discipline of Japanese educational history, had been published consecutively. These could be considered very ambitious works, because they called into question earlier descriptions of Japanese history of education that had been written by historians and research-

ers of western education, and they attempted to lay a new path in describing Japanese history of education written by specialists in this field. In fact, Takahashi's work tried to grasp the development of Japanese educational culture through the two cultural viewpoints of "exotic" and "indigenous", and helped to clarify the Japanese educational movement penetrating an internal aspect of Japanese history. The viewpoints adopted by him were entirely different from research which described Japanese educational history from the perspective of cultural history, or from the educational systems and theories in the modern West, which described Japanese educational history on the basis of ideas surrounding the historical development of school education after Meiji era as an undeniable achievement.⁹

However, in spite of Takahashi's attempts, research approach that borrowed from the above works was not necessarily different from that being used since Miyake's work.

Ishikawa, for example, found that the impetus for preparing and fostering educational development after the Meiji period could be found in Tokugawa society, rather than in Western society.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Tokugawa educational thoughts interpreted by Ishikawa were ideas that supported the promotion of school education after the Meiji era, such as "the idea of compulsory schooling", "the idea of the public education system" and "the idea of education for all". Tokugawa educational thought was only made significant in relation to the education of the Meiji era, and it was very difficult to discover the research stance used to grasp the original meaning of Tokugawa educational thought in its historical context.

Ototake also clearly expressed his own viewpoint on the above work, which tried to ascertain the historical identity of Japanese education before the Meiji era, and to clarify its significance. In that sense, Ototake defined Tokugawa educational thought as an achievement for original Japanese cultural activities, and this became the norm in establishing an "authentically Japanese standpoint" in national education. Ototake's description was composed of scrupulous and detailed analysis. Yet, the variety of Tokugawa educational thought taken up by him was unquestionably that which was for purposes of affirming "the cultural aspiration of Japanese people"¹¹, and which continued in national education after the Meiji era. In other words, the meaning of Tokugawa educational thought that was discussed in Ototake's work was discovered only through the understanding that it was connected to the idea of national education in the Meiji era.

Later, with the development of Japanese fascism and militarism, the academic interest in pre-modern educational thought was influenced by a view that tried to seek out ancient Japanese spiritual culture. This view tried to reconfirm the whereabouts of an educational ideal, such as "clarification of the concept of Japanese national structure" and "rigorous training for the imperial Japanese", and it started to proclaim the virtues of the thoughts and achievements of thinkers in the Tokugawa era as sources which created the Japanese spirit. For instance, Hisashi Adachi's work *History of the Educational Thought in Japan* (Adachi 1930), Iwazo Ototake's work *A Study on the History of Japanese Education* (Ototake 1935, 1939), Nihei Kato's work *History of Pre-modern Educational Thought in Japan* (Kato 1937) and Masao Fukushima's work *Education and Thought of the Sages in Tokugawa Japan* (Fukushima 1934) were the representative works at that time.

It seemed that these trends to proclaim the virtues of Tokugawa educational thought to clarify the concept of Japanese national structure, were strongly influenced by various research that tried to uncover a similar model of modern educational thought in the West, or to seek out the origins of an ideal of modern education after the Meiji era within Tokugawa educational thought. However, it is necessary to consider that the approach adopted by the similar works mentioned above changed their research from "the viewpoint of modernization" to that of Tokugawa thought,

in spite of the mutual differences in the meanings of the concepts “modernization of education” and “Japanese national structure”, which both were closely concerned with what were the characteristics of Japanese modernity. Although there were multiple ideas regarding what were the main characteristics of Japanese modernity in the above works, the research approach to understand Tokugawa thought from the modern viewpoint had been consistently adopted in the literature on Tokugawa educational thought.

In spite of all this, it is very interesting that a series of studies on the history of Tokugawa education that preceded those by Sakuki Haruyama¹² had come up with a viewpoint that was unique from the above mentioned studies of the same time. Haruyama insisted that “Japanese traditional works of education in general, preached to the methods of learning for learners, whereas Western pedagogy was formulated to explain the methods of teaching for teachers”¹³, and clearly demonstrated that Tokugawa educational thought was founded on the basis of fundamental interest in “learning”, rather than “teaching”. In later years, this viewpoint came to be rediscovered or reevaluated in its own significance through the term “view of education based on methods of learning”¹⁴. However in my opinion, there was no evidence that Haruyama’s viewpoint had attracted people’s attention at that time.

(2) Trends in the postwar era

After the war, studies in this field grew stagnant for a while. This was probably due to the following: criticism and reflection on the studies of Japanese spiritual history and the biographical studies on Japanese sages in the prewar era; on the growing demands for studying new educational thought coming from the West; and on the necessity for dealing with immediate educational problems, among other reasons.¹⁵

In the postwar era, one of the first serious works that promoted research on Tokugawa educational thought was Tetsutoshi Nakaizumi’s *A Study on the History of Tokugawa Educational Thought* (Nakaizumi 1966). In the introduction, Nakaizumi inferred that previous studies on the history of educational thought had been entirely drawn from Western research, and he suggested that researchers in this field should examine not only the educational philosophy of the West but also that of Japan.¹⁶ However, the approach adopted in his work was simply a reproduction of the traditional method of seeking out similar models of Western modern educational thought within Tokugawa educational thought, which had been consistently adopted after Yonekichi Miyake’s work. In other words, Nakaizumi attempted to extract the same themes from Tokugawa educational thoughts, which corresponded to the structure of modern educational theories, such as the theory of the aim of education, the theory of the course of studies, and the theory of teaching methods. He then tried to analyze the thoughts of Kumazawa Banzan (1619–91), a famous Wang Yangming scholar in early Tokugawa Japan, and the thoughts of Kaibara Ekiken using similar criteria to the thoughts of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. The methodological approach adopted by Nakaizumi was strictly traditional.

In the 1970s, studies on the history of Tokugawa education promoted by foreign scholars received much attention. Ronald Philip Dore’s work *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Dore 1970) and Richard Rubinger’s work *Private Academies of Tokugawa Japan* (Rubinger 1979) were the most representative studies. Both works outlined general trends of education in the Tokugawa era based on historical evidence, taking into account the theory of modernization in historical science. Still, the basic concern of both works was to clarify the role of educational heritage in the Tokugawa era, which preceded the modernization of Japanese society after the Meiji era. In other words, both

works only examined the character of Tokugawa education from the criteria based on modern school educational systems. In doing so, these researchers did not try to go beyond the methodological approach of Tokugawa education using the criteria of the modern concept of values.

During the 1970s, voluminous works discussing the history of education in Tokugawa Japan, such as Kanji Taketa's work *A Study on the Method of Learning in Tokugawa Japan* (Taketa 1969), Sukeharu Kasai's work *A Study on the Academic Traditions of the Schools of the Feudal Domains in Tokugawa Japan* (Kasai 1969, 70), and Yoshimi Inoue's work *A Study on the History of Educational Thoughts in Japan* (Inoue 1978) were published in succession. But even in those voluminous works, it is quite difficult to uncover any attempt to prepare a new methodological framework for the study of the history of Tokugawa educational thought. Moreover, in the 1980s, another volume was published entitled *Academic Sessions: Japanese History of Education* (Editorial Committee of "Academic Sessions: Japanese History of Education" 1984), which attempted to raise the academic level of the studies on the Japanese history of education. It should be noted that there were few researchers in this field who were making academic efforts to reconstruct the framework of understanding of Japanese history of education, and who endeavored to research the topic of Tokugawa educational thought.

Previously, a sensational theory developed from the analysis of Tokugawa educational thought was made public in 1973. This was the so-called "theory about the lack of educational thought in pre-modern Japan"¹⁷ advocated by Toshio Nakauchi in his work *History of Educational Thought in Modern Japan* (Nakauchi 1973). According to Nakauchi, Tokugawa Confucianism can be seen as offering several theories about the character formation of human beings, but such theories could only be explained as a part of a broader theoretical framework which included politics and religion. Therefore, there existed little educational thought that particularly concerned children's growth in the Tokugawa era.¹⁸

Actually, Nakauchi had acute insight into the characteristics of educational thought in pre-modern Japan. He expressed the view that educational thought in pre-modern Japan had been composed on an axis of concerns about the activities of learners rather than concerns about the activities of teachers. Nakauchi used the phrase "view of education based on methods of learning" to support his claim.¹⁹ This claim closely corresponded with that of Sakuki Haruyama mentioned above. Therefore, for Nakauchi, the theory that Tokugawa educational thought was based on a "view of education based on methods of learning", suggested that in pre-modern Japan the existence of educational thought which could be called educational thought was faint.

As previously mentioned, mainstream research on Tokugawa educational thought was dictated by a methodological approach that attempted to evaluate them engage in analysis based on a degree of familiarity with modern education, and to incorporate some elements of modern education in these thoughts. In contrast, an important turning point was with the publication of Masashi Tsujimoto's work *A Study on the History of Tokugawa Educational Thought* (Tsujimoto 1990), which emphasizes the academic viewpoint of closely examining the structure of Tokugawa educational thoughts themselves, and evaluating their significance in the context of their historical development. This kind of perspective is extremely important for research in this field. It takes the viewpoint of closely analyzing a history from the pre-modern side, and then touches on the relative modernity of education.

However, even today there are not sufficient number of studies based on this valuable viewpoint. There have been only a few subsequent studies in this field²⁰, in addition to Tsujimoto's other works such as *Restoration of "Learning"* (Tsujimoto 1999) and *Social History of Education*

(Tsujimoto, ed. 2008) etc. How researchers can produce studies based on this viewpoint will be one of the most important problems remaining in this academic field in the future.

3 Ubiquity of Problems and Critical Analysis

In trying to summarize the research trends in the history of Tokugawa educational thought as mentioned above, we can ascertain the following two points on their characteristics, assuming that we agree that research in this area has basically been stagnant. (1) Most studies on the history of Tokugawa educational thought have been entirely-focused in their research on Tokugawa thought through educational theories valued by modern educational science, or their degree of familiarity to modern Japanese education, and (2) as a result, the so-called “theory about the lack of educational thought in pre-modern Japan” has been regarded as the most popular evaluation of Tokugawa thoughts.

If we direct our full attention to the above two points, what tendencies or problems can we discover, and what perspectives should we take on future issues?

First, we should discuss the academic character of Japanese educational science, which can be seen from the viewpoint of Tokugawa educational thought.

The fact that Japanese educational science could only interest a handful of researchers to study Tokugawa thought implies that Tokugawa thought has been seen as merely “external” to pedagogical concerns in Japan. This suggests the possibility that the concept of “education”, which Japanese educational science has assumed as an axiom, equates “the school education system of the modern West”, which has also been adopted in modern Japan and therefore has been considered as the ideal model for education. From the beginning, the discipline of “educational science” in Japan was formulated in the context of some historical and social conditions of the so-called “modern nation”. In other words, people expected educational science to provide a certain theoretical framework for school education; a formulamatic system for society produced by the government of modern Japan.

For example, those who had first introduced educational science to Japan were Izawa Shuji (1851–1917) and Takamine Hideo (1854–1910), who were both sent to the U.S. as overseas students by the Education Ministry of Japan in 1875.²¹ Their aim was to research the systems of teacher training in the U.S., so after their return to Japan, they worked together toward the reformation of the Tokyo teacher training school. In fact, Izawa’s work, *Educational Science* (Izawa 1882, 83), first contained the words “educational science” in Japan, and was written for the textbook of teacher training.²² This text clearly revealed the formulating situation of educational science and the characteristics of this discipline.

How then did this formulamatic situation in the educational science of Japanese academia come about? The first lecture of educational science in a modern Japanese University was held at the College of Literature of the Imperial University in September 1887. The origins of this lecture were closely related to the political movement to establish and enhance modern school education systems as promoted by the first Minister of Education Mori Arinori (1847–89).²³ It goes without saying that the German teacher, Emil Hausknecht (1853–1927), who was invited to give a lecture on educational science at Imperial University, played a great part in the development and spread of educational science (especially the teaching theories of the Herbart school) in Japan.

Thus, the situation in which Japanese educational science was formulated in order to con-

tribute to the development of school education systems in modern Japan had decisively dictated that research examined theories and thought in pre-modern Japan. As long as it was a given characteristic of educational science to contribute to the construction of a framework for the modern country, Japanese pre-modern thought left little opportunity to consider the aspirations of educational science. Japanese pre-modern thought was originally located on the outside of modern society or educational science. As long as educational science consisted of various academic knowledge that had been accumulated in the modern West, it was fundamentally impossible to internalize pre-modern thoughts within educational science. Educational thought that was found useful to educational science had to be comprised of thought that could rationally explain principles, actualities or prospects of modern school education systems, hence, the West was viewed as essentially able to provide this knowledge.²⁴

Second, there are problems in trends on research of the history of Tokugawa educational thought that need to be considered.

As I have already stated, research in Japanese educational science has not sufficiently focused on Tokugawa thought, and has only conducted analysis using a degree of familiarity with modern educational thought in the West or Japanese modern education. In other words, the analysis of Tokugawa thought adopted by Japanese educational science was preoccupied with the understanding of “education” presupposing to the modern school educational system. From this standpoint, we may conclude that Tokugawa educational thought was undeveloped and only later played a role in the formulation of authentic educational thought. As such, research in this field was also inevitably forced to comprise only appendant or subsidiary studies that tried to look back to the past to uncover Tokugawa educational thought within the modern standard of educational thought.

As a result, studies on the history of Tokugawa educational thought have been developed on a piecemeal basis so as not to be at variance with the educational ideas of the modern nation. Even if we try to examine the original structure and characteristics of Tokugawa educational thought by means of these fragmented thoughts, it would be very difficult to achieve productive results. Thus research in this field has fallen into a state of constipation, not only in terms of quantitative accumulation but also in qualitative content.

Third, we should point out the problems in analyzing Tokugawa educational thought as typified by the “theory about the lack of educational thought in pre-modern Japan”. As mentioned above, Toshio Nakauchi who advocated this theory, emphasized that in pre-modern Japan thought worthy of being considered educational thoughts was “scarce”. But this is certainly due to the fact that Nakauchi saw educational science from the standpoint of school education systems, which presupposed the existence of an actor to teach. Tokugawa thought (especially Tokugawa Confucianism) did not generally hold the premise of an actor to teach. Nakauchi could not adequately deal with the possibility in educational science of developing thought which had only “scarce” knowledge about the actor to teach. As a result, opportunity was lost to evaluate the logical structures and meaningfulness of Tokugawa educational thought in the context of its own history, as indicated by Sakuki Haruyama and described by Nakauchi through the terms of “view of education based on methods of learning”.

Thus far, Tokugawa educational thoughts have been only examined and evaluated through research methods which separate them from their historical conditions and backgrounds, or on the basis of outside criteria which differ entirely from their own intellectual structures and the characteristics of Japanese educational science. What radically dictated the research methods above was the understanding of “education”, which considered only the modern school education systems

originated in the West as the model. From this, we can see the most fundamental reason why Japanese educational science has basically left Tokugawa thought out of academic concerns, and why research in Japanese educational science has barely delved into Tokugawa thought on the basis that the criteria for educational thought are based on modern West or modern school educational systems. Through an overview of the trends in research on the history of Tokugawa educational thought, we can ascertain the most fundamental problems which confront Japanese educational science.

4 Issues and Foresights for the Future: Conclusions

As described above, we have examined the main trends and problems concerning studies on the history of Tokugawa educational thought. What kinds of issues can we point out with regard to those discussions, in order to advance the development of this research field in the future?

In conclusion, I consider it is very necessary to promote the reconstruction of the understanding of education based on the normative view of history, which considers modern times as only continuity from pre-modern times. We may accomplish this through reexamining the concept of “modern-centrism” in our understanding of education. It is necessary to take the perspective of not looking at “pre-modern” from a “modern perspective”, but seeing modern education and educational science from the perspective of pre-modern. To that end, we must adopt research methods which first try to grasp Tokugawa educational thought in the historical context of the Tokugawa era, and second, try to examine various problems of modern education and educational science from a reverse perspective of the pre-modern era.²⁵ In doing this, we should be able to view another broad perspective of modern education and educational science. Recently, not a few advanced countries are experiencing deadlocks in their modern educational systems, and it is conceivable that to be effective we must seek alternative viewpoints of education in order to break such a stalemate.

For instance, it can be immediately acknowledged that the view of education as focused on “school” is inherent in modern times from the eyes of the pre-modern era. However, it is apparent that the tendency to identify education with only school education is already dissolving, and the research trends on the history of Tokugawa educational thought suggest that the modern view of education that locates school in the center of education remains deep-rooted. To relativize the modern view of education, and to reinterpret education in a broader context the whole society could endeavor to promote ingenuity in the development of a much more open school education.

To give another example, research from the pre-modern era could relativize the view of education which presupposes “teaching” activities to be self-evident. Indeed, the meaning of “education” discussed in Tokugawa thought in general tended to consider activities which supported the self-mastering of learners on the basis of their own particular concerns in learning activities. To ensure that viewpoints incorporate the presupposition of educational activities in both “teaching” and “learning”, we must make efforts to consider anew the teacher-student relationship.

Finally, research that incorporates the perspective of Tokugawa educational thought will shake the framework of modern educational understanding that has been centered on “the school system” and “teaching activity” and will reexamine its assumptions. Furthermore, such research would bring to light aspects of discontinuity between the educational ideas of traditional Japan and those of modern Japan, and aspects of cultural and intellectual continuity that have not been insti-

tutionalized yet have always existed as an undercurrent of Japanese thought. I anticipate that new possibilities in the study of educational science could be opened up by means of close examination of the above mentioned problems.

Notes

- 1 With regard to the trends of studies on history of Tokugawa educational thought, please refer to Masami Yamamoto (2003), *Tokugawa Confucianism in the Studies for Japanese History of Education* (Nihon Kyoikushigaku no naka no Kinsei Jyugaku Shiso), Mita Philosophy Society Keio University (Ed.), *Philosophy*, No.109.
- 2 In this paper, the term “prewar” means “before World War II”, and “postwar” means “after the end of World War II”.
- 3 Yonekichi Miyake (1890), *The Educational Method of Ekiken (Ekiken no Kyoikuho)*, Tokyo: Kinkodo Shoseki, pp.1-2.
- 4 With regard to annotation of personal names in this paper, I write family name first in the case of Japanese historical characters’ names, and write the surnames last in the case of authors’ names.
- 5 Yukihiro Motoyama (1973), A tutorial paper of Tatsuzo Yokoyama “History of Education in Tokugawa Japan” (Yokoyama Tatsuzo cho “Nihon Kinsei Kyoikushi” Kaisetsu), Tatsuzo Yokoyama (1973), *History of Education in Tokugawa Japan* (reprinted), Kyoto: Rinkawa Shoten, p.1.
- 6 Yukihiro Motoyama (1971), A tutorial paper of “Sources of School Education in Tokugawa Japan” (“Kinsei Gakko Kyoiku no Genryu” Kaisetsu), Toshinori Takahashi (1971), *Sources of School Education in Tokugawa Japan* (reprinted), Kyoto: Rinkawa Shoten.
- 7 Kumaji Yoshida (1922), *Outline of the Japanese History of Education (Honpo Kyoikushi Gaisetsu)*, Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, p.172.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p.191.
- 9 Toshinori Takahashi (1927), *History of Education in Japan (Nihon Kyoikushi)*, Tokyo: Kyoiku Kenkyukai, pp.8-9.
- 10 Ken Ishikawa (1929), *History of Plebeian Education in Japan (Nihon Shomin Kyoikushi)*, Tokyo: Toko Shoin, pp.7-8.
- 11 Iwazo Ototake (1929), *Educational History of Ordinary People in Japan (Nihon Shomin Kyoikushi)*, Vol.1, Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, p.3.
- 12 Haruyama’s articles and his signature lecture notes in prewar period were later published in Sakuki Haruyama (1979), *Historical Discussions of Japanese Education (Nihon Kyoiku Shiron)*, Tokyo: Kokudo Sha.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp.215-216.
- 14 The first examples for using the term “view of education based on methods of learning” could found in Toshio Nakauchi (1973), *History of Educational Thought in Modern Japan (Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Shisoshi)*, Tokyo: Kokudo Sha, and Ichiro Emori (1978), *Kaibara Ekiken’s Thought on Education (Kaibara Ekiken no Kyoikukan)*, The Japan Society for Study of Education (Ed.), *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.45, No.1.
- 15 Toshio Hosoya and Arata Naka (1968), *Introduction to the Studies of Educational Science (Kyoikugaku Kenkyu Nyumon)*, Tokyo University Press, p.47.
- 16 Tetsutoshi Nakaizumi (1966), *A Study on the History of Tokugawa Educational Thought (Nihon Kinsei Kyoiku Shiso no Kenkyu)*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, pp.1-2.
- 17 In my opinion, it seems that the pioneering model of “theory about the lack of educational thought in pre-modern Japan” could also be discovered in Hiroto Saigusa (1973), *A Study on Westernized Japan (Seioka Nihon no Kenkyu)*, *The works of Hiroto Saigusa*, Vol.12, Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, p.72.
- 18 Toshio Nakauchi (1973), *History of Educational Thought in Modern Japan (Kindai Nihon Kyoiku Shisoshi)*, Tokyo: Kokudo Sha, pp.14-15.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p.70.
- 20 For instance, please refer to Masami Yamamoto (2000), A Study on the Structure of Ito Jinsai’s “Doctrine of Extension” (Ito Jinsai ni okeru “Kakuju Setsu” no Shisokozo ni tuite) , The Japan Society for the Study of Education (Ed.), *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.67, No.3, and Hisashi Saito (2006), What is “Kyoiku no Jutsu” used by Educational Practice of Hirose Tanso? (Hirose Tanso no “Kyoiku no Jutsu”), The Society for Japanese History of Education (Ed.), *Journal of Japanese History of Education*, No.25 etc. In addition to these articles, please see Kunio Kawahara (2004), *A Historical Study on the Educational Thought of Ogyu Sorai (Sorai Gaku no Kyoikushisoshi teki Kenkyu)*, Hiroshima: Keisui Sha, as recent voluminous work.
- 21 Minoru Watanabe (1977), *History of Oversea Students in Modern Japan (Kindai Nihon Kaigai Ryugakuseishi)*, Vol.1, Tokyo: Kodan Sha, pp.370-374.
- 22 Shuji Izawa (1882, 83), *Educational Science (Kyoikugaku)*, Tokyo: Kokusyo Kankokai (reprinted in 1980), p.1.
- 23 Masao Terasaki and Kaoru Kurematsu (1979), The Special Pedagogic Course for Training of Secondary School Teachers, in College of Literature, and Prof. Dr. Emil Hausknecht (Tokuyakusei Kyoikugakka to Doitsujin Kyoshi Emil Hausknecht), The Centre for the Compilation of the Centennial History of Tokyo University (Ed.), *Journal of*

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- 24 After late Meiji era, the textbooks of educational history in Japan came to be actively published. These included Sakae Nose, *History of Education both Domestic and Foreign Countries (Naigai Kyoikushi)*, 1893, Tokyo: Kinkodo Shoseki) and Yoshio Noda, *An Outline of Educational History in Modern Society (Kinsei Kyoikushiko)*, 1908, Tokyo: Dobunkan). Their descriptions on modern education in Japan attempted to consider the origins in modern education in Meiji Japan as education in modern West.
- 25 With regard to this methodological approach, please refer to Masashi Tsujimoto (1997), *Tokugawa Educational History as a Methodological Approach (Hoho toshite no Nihon Kinsei Kyoikushi)*, The Japan Society for the Study of Education (Ed.), *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.64, No.1.

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