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Traditional Learning, Western Thought, and the Sapporo Agricultural College:

A Case Study of Acculturation in Early Meiji Japan

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In the late nineteenth century the Japanese embarked upon a swift ideological transition that enabled them to accept a considerable influx of Western ideas and systems. A key to their successful adoption of the values of ostensibly different cultures has often been attributed by observers of Japan to the receptivity and adaptability of the Japanese to new, alien elements. Yet, the receptivity of the Japanese to alien elements as the key is inherently connected to their recognition of affinities found in different cultures. Valuable insights on the process of Meiji acculturation will be gathered from a case study based on the examination of the early years of the Sapporo Agricultural College, established to accelerate modernization, and the impact on the students of the values inculcated by the New Englander staff. A study of their interaction suggests that it was the affinities the Japanese found between Japanese syncretic, revisionist, thought development and values of different cultures that formed the foundation for successful assimilation of elements of Western culture, a process that also helped the Japanese to reinvestigate and remould their own cultural tradition.

The Founding of the Sapporo Agricultural College

Meiji modernization, the third great period of acculturation in the history of Japan,[1] was marked by cultural interaction between Japan and the West on a scale unprecedented in the past. In the midst of the large-scale modernization campaign, an intensive and extensive interaction between the Japanese and the Westerners developed.

[1] The first two major periods of acculturation occurred in the seventh and seventeenth centuries.

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The espousal and absorption of ideas, systems and technology from the West were embraced with single-minded eagerness by the Japanese while the Westerners, attracted by an aggressive expansionist fervour that would bring economic, territorial gains for their countries, by the individual prospect of lucrative employment, and by an evangelical fervour accompanying a sense of moral righteousness, actively sought contact with Japan and the Japanese. Among numerous modernization programmes for industrial and economic expansion as well as for defence, the Meiji government set up a powerful office, the Kaitakushi (Colonial Department) to develop Hokkaidô, the largely uncultivated northern island. To serve the needs of the project, the Kaitakushi established an advanced agricultural school. The founding of the Sapporo Agricultural College in Hokkaidô provides a succinct source for the scrutiny of the interaction between Western and Japanese modernizers.

The Sapporo Agricultural College was founded in 1876 with the specific aim of training young Japanese in the modern technical and agricultural knowledge and practical skills essential for the development of Hokkaidô.[2] The founding of the College was broadly linked with the government's urgent need to implement and succeed in modernization. It was more directly linked with the conviction by Kuroda Kiyotaka, the Commissioner of the Kaitakushi, of the definite benefits of a rigorous adoption of modern education. He saw the acquisition of modern scientific and technical knowledge and skills as the foundation of Japan's security and progress. Initially, a temporary school was established in Tokyo in 1872 with a division of science and technology.[3] It was to include a school for women and a division for Ainu.[4] In August 1875, the temporary college was moved to Sapporo and renamed Sapporo Gakkô. However, unsatisfied with the standard and range of study offered at the school and the academic level of students, Kuroda sought to upgrade the academic calibre of the school and planned to set up a college with a standard

[2] The Kaitakushi was also active in sending students both male and female abroad as preparation for them to be leaders of a modern Japan. For instance, in the years between 1872 and 74 about forty-four students were sent abroad by the Kaitakushi.

[3] The temporary Kaitakushi college employed a number of foreigners as teaching staff such as Thomas Antisell, the president who was to teach Chemistry and Geology and James Wasson.

[4] In 1872 it was to include a school for women and a division for Ainu. About thirty-five Ainu were selected from Hokkaidô to study in Tokyo between 1872 and 74. However, by April 1876, those divisions were to be abolished.

equal to or higher than that of a prestigious Western technical, agricultural college.[5]

Kuroda's evident commitment to an advanced national agricultural college was no doubt a part of the government's ten-year plan to develop Hokkaidô into a modern region that would be comparable with advanced regions of the West. In the adoption of new thought and systems, the early Meiji government showed a strong preference to emulate British examples. The extensive report by the Iwakura Mission,[6] made a recommendation that English models be preferred over German for their superior accessibility and adaptability as England was closer to Meiji Japan than Germany in geographical and cultural traits, and that the strength and depth in German science and technology was too advanced to provide an effective model for Japan.[7]

Recommendations by the Mission to establish national technical and agricultural colleges in the mould of the British example were promptly followed by such Ministries as the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Technology. In 1876 the Home Ministry invited five British experts to set up the Komaba Agricultural College which was opened two years later, while the Ministry of Technology entrusted a Scottish engineer with the establishment of the Kôbu Daigakkô (the College of Science and Technology) and the running of courses at the college.[8] They and the Kaitakushi college were the first three

[5] It was evident, despite the fact that they were selected from a large number of applicants from all over the country, that Kuroda felt the quality and standard of students of the temporary college in Tokyo lower than he expected. He was sufficiently troubled by the quality of students for him to order the college's closure shortly after a visit in 1873, with an intention to reopen it with better students.

[6] The delegates reported on features of the state of agriculture in the Western countries such as Germany, France, England and America. These were documented and recommendations were made as to the suitability and viability of their adoption by Meiji Japan. Their report was included in the general Mission report which consisted of 100 volumes and was published in 1878.

[7] The Mission observed that England, among other Western countries, was late in the development of technical sciences, if compared with Germany, the country that offered the most advanced science and technical knowledge and practice, and where a highly organized, well developed agricultural system was successfully implemented.

[8] It was a generally held view among the Japanese leaders that Scotland valued education highly and produced many brilliant men in various fields, especially in the area of sciences and technical knowledge. This favourable impression was in part reflected in a significant number of Scottish government employees in the Meiji period. The Technology Ministry's preference for the British influences was also indicated by the number of students it sent to Britain in the early Meiji period. In the years between 1871 and 1879 these averaged more than 130 students a year

major advanced technical institutions in Japan which offered courses equal in quality and standard to those of other advanced technical colleges in Western countries. Unlike Komaba Agricultural College and Kôbu Technical College, however, the college in Sapporo modelled itself specifically on American examples. This flew in the face of the recommendation of the Iwakura Mission report that had specifically rejected the suitability of an American model for Japan's reform in agriculture in favour of a British model.[9] In his letter to Prime Minister Sanjô Sanetomi, Kuroda specifically urged that the college established by Kaitakushi must seek experts from America and that therefore the pedagogy of the agricultural college should be aligned with that of an American model.[10] It seems Kuroda made an independent judgement as to the suitability of the American model for the development of Hokkaidô and sought the recruitment of senior teaching staff exclusively from America to improve the quality of the college. Kuroda's preference for the American model and his decision to employ American staff were probably guided by his conviction that the American experience was of major relevance to the development of Hokkaidô. He was convinced that Americans' experience in developing the vast area of the northern frontier and their knowledge and practical skills would be adaptable for the development of the cold wilderness of Hokkaidô. After all, the academic staff employed for the college were expected to give practical advice to the community. His direct experience of the dedication and moral fibre of Americans working for the Kaitakushi may well have confirmed him in his preference for an American model for the college.[11] This would have been the more so as he was a man convinced that

with a peak of 228 in 1874. Tanaka Akira, 'Hokkaidô Nôgakkô to Ôbei Bunka', in *Hokudai Hyakunenshi, Tsûshi* (Sapporo: Gyôsei, 1982). It is of interest to note that not only was the Kôbu Daigakkô the first technical college of the kind in Japan, but also it was the Scot's first experience in creating and running an academic programme for an advanced, independent science and technical college, for Britain was yet to establish such a college.

[9] *Tokumei Zenkentaishi Ôbei Kairan Jikki*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Tokyo: Hakubansha, 1878), pp. 435–8.

[10] Kuroda made a specific request for the staff to teach such subjects as Agricultural Science, Chemistry, Veterinary Science, Physiology, Physics, Botany and Civil Engineering.

[11] The dedication and commitment of some American employees of the Kaitakushi were amply shown both in the official letters to the Kaitakushi officials and their private letters home. Reflecting their dedication, many of them were obviously unhappy and irritated with the corruption and general inertia constantly displayed by the Japanese officials.

the moral education of youth was as important as the acquisition of advanced technical knowledge and skills.[12]

In his resolve to follow an American path, Kuroda was also to a significant degree influenced by proposals made by a number of American experts employed by the government for the development of Hokkaidô. The strongest and probably most practical advice came from General Horace Capron, the Director of the Kaitakushi. He counselled Kuroda to establish an advanced technical agricultural college in 1871 and in his 1872 report he again pressed the Kaitakushi's urgent need to establish an agricultural college for the development of scientific and practical modern agriculture, together with related administration.[13] Capron's enthusiastic promotion of the appropriateness and adaptability of the American model for the development of Hokkaidô was probably motivated by his desire to extend, in the wake of European expansion to the East Asia, American influence and interest in Japan. The advice appealed to Kuroda enough for him to abandon his initial interest in modelling Hokkaidô's development on the British colonization of Australia. Other advice on the structure and direction of the proposed college came from Americans working for the Kaitakushi. As early as 1871, Thomas Antisell, the president of the Kaitakushi temporary college in Tokyo submitted to Kuroda his proposal to set up a technical college for the Kaitakushi. In February 1875 George Rockwell, then teaching at the temporary college in Tokyo, wrote to Governor Zusho of Hokkaidô praising the fortitude and wisdom exercised by the Kaitakushi in their decision to establish an advanced agricultural college. Reflecting the general view held by the government-employed Americans of the 1870s, Rockwell noted the paramount importance of promoting practical learning in the modern world, as well as the great value in establishing one excellent advanced institution rather than several low-grade schools.[14] He went on to make a detailed recommendation to Zusho as to what the college required to make it an advanced institution. In the same month as the Governor received

[12] His concern for the moral conduct of students was indicated, for instance, by his closure of the Temporary College. Kuroda took this extraordinary action after he witnessed students' wild behaviour on an unannounced visit to the Temporary College.

[13] He argued this from the point of economy. He argued, through a case of a Professor in Entomology saving a crop from an invasion of pests, that Japan could save millions of dollars by ready access to advanced knowledge.

[14] *Hokkaidô Teikoku Daigaku Enkakushi* (Sapporo: Hokkaidô Teikoku Daigaku, 1920), pp. 37–8.

Rockwell's letter of recommendation, Governor Zusho wrote to Kuroda forwarding Capron's proposed outline of structure and organization for the planned college.[15] A month later in March 1875, Kuroda wrote to the Prime Minister Sanjô. On receiving sanction from Sanjô, Kuroda sent a detailed request to Yoshida Kiyonari, the Envoy to Washington, for the recruiting of experts to teach at the new college. The speed with which the decision to adopt the American example was made, after advice from government-employed Americans, was remarkable.

On the recommendation of Birdsey Northrop, the Education Minister of Connecticut, Yoshida approached Dr William Smith Clark to be the president of the new college in Sapporo.[16] Clark, who was at the time the President of Massachusetts Agricultural College, accepted the position in March 1876. Clark himself selected his former students, William Wheeler and David Penhallow, both graduates of Amherst College, as staff members. He received a one-year furlough from the MAC and arrived in Yokohama in June 1876, accompanied by Wheeler, Penhallow and Naitô Seitarô, then a student at the MAC, who acted as an interpreter for the three newly appointed Americans and later taught at the college in Sapporo.[17] By 30 July 1876 the cohort arrived in Sapporo. The Sapporo Agricultural College was formally inaugurated on 14 August 1876 with the first intake of twenty-three students and an opening ceremony attended by, among others, Kuroda, Governor Zusho Hirotake and other Kaitakushi officials.[18]

If compared with the other two technical colleges established by the government around the same time, the Kôbu Technical College

[15] *Ibid*., p. 36.

[16] The suggestion of Clark was said to have been made to the envoy by Nîjima Jô, a graduate of Amherst College, the founder of Dôshisha University and a man who was to become a friend and close confidant of Uchimura Kanzô. See David J. Michell, 'William S. Clark of Sapporo: Pioneer Education and Church Planter in Japan', Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Missiology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1988, p. 119.

[17] Clark had taught several other Japanese students at the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Clark kept in touch with some of them while he was in Japan. In particular, he was closely associated with Yuchi Jiuemon, who worked for the Kaitakushi and acted as an interpreter for Capron and other American employees, and Uesugi Katsu. Clark was also acquainted with Uesugi's father, Narinori, the Lord of Yonezawa, while he was in Japan.

[18] Of the twenty-three students, twenty-one were those whom Clark, Wheeler and Penhallow had selected after they themselves conducted entry examinations. Henceforth, the Sapporo Agricultural College will be abbreviated as SAC.

and especially the Komaba Agricultural College, the uniqueness of the approach of the SAC in its first decade becomes very evident. First of all, Komaba established by the Home Ministry headed by Ôkubo Toshimichi, and Kôbu established by the Ministry of Technology headed by Itô Hirobumi, followed, unmodified, the recommendations of the Iwakura Mission. Underpinning the philosophy behind the establishment of agricultural and technical colleges by those ministries and the Kaitakushi was a strong emphasis on the value of practical learning and utilitarian values.[19] However, the Kaitakushi took this further. While the objective of founding such colleges was linked with pressing needs and producing tangible results as the land was being developed, the Kaitakushi officials considered their delivery a far more immediate and urgent task to meet the objectives of the ten-year development plan for Hokkaidô. The staff, and later on graduates, of the Kaitakushi college were, thus, expected to provide the people with hands-on guidance in various matters essential for development, such as the improvement of agricultural production, farming, and construction of bridges in addition to roads. What set the approach of SAC apart from its counterparts such as Komaba was a difference in the conception of what an agricultural college entailed. As was then the situation in England and America, among the educated a study of agriculture did not win the prestige and social status associated with high learning. In the development of the college, students of Komaba were conscious of the low status associated with an 'agricultural' college and were unhappy about the social stigma.[20] In contrast, the public, let alone the students themselves, did not identify the SAC in such a negative connotation. From its inception the SAC, which attracted the nation's bright young men, was considered to represent progress, and to evoke an immediate sense of national pride and independence. The college, due to its place under the Colonial Department, was associated with the defence of the northern frontier against foreign expansion and with the nation's own expansion to the further north, to Kamchatka and Sakhalin. It was seen, particularly by the youth, to symbolize a romantic notion of the spirit of pioneering, adventure and a sense of freedom. And more significantly, the SAC emphasized,

[19] Komaba as well as Kôbu chose the British path rather than German, for they believed the British emphasized practicality while the German was highly theoretical. It was after 1880 that Komaba shifted notably to the German model.

[20] Saitô Norio, *Nihon Nôgakushi* p. 165, cited in *Nihon Kindai shi ni okeru Sapporo Nôgakkô no Kenkyû* by Nagai Hideo (Sapporo: Hokkaidô Daigaku, 1980), p. 18.

with the intent to enhance national strength and prosperity, not just the acquisition of advanced technical knowledge and skills, but also the creation of excellent men through the study of humanity.

Another distinct aspect of SAC that was in stark contrast to that of the other two major technical colleges of the time was SAC's approach to education with emphasis on the moral cultivation of individuals. SAC with its emphasis on the equilibrium of humanitarian, liberal education and science, came to be seen by the public as much more than a mere technical college for agricultural studies. In contrast, at Komaba and Kôbu the practical, utilitarian values were stressed in the acquisition of technical and scientific knowledge. The pedagogy adopted by those two colleges was in its ideological approach more faithful to the legacy of *tôyôdôtoku seiyôgeijutsu* (moral principles from the East, industrial technology and science from the West) that separated moral from utilitarian value systems.[21] The separation of moral concerns and the philosophy of life from science and industrial technology was followed and elaborated by the Meiji modernizers such as Fukuzawa Yukichi in the adoption of Western science and technical skills. Originating in the thought of Ogyû Sorai (1666–1728), an influential Confucian scholar of the School of Ancient Learning, Fukuzawa's strain of rationalistic, empirical practical learning rejected the unity of internal knowledge and externality and emphasized utilitarian values separate from moral values. And it was reflected in the understanding of utilitarian practicality by the two powerful ministries under which the Komaba Agricultural College and the Kôbu Technical College were founded.

In stark contrast the SAC emphasized the importance of the study of humanity and included in their curriculum liberal education. SAC's high academic standard and its strong emphasis on liberal education, however, brought a negative consequence when considered in relation to the original aim of the Kaitakushi to produce agriculturists and technicians. The academic standard of graduates became too high to be fully suited to the ordinary business of agriculture and students showed their prowess in the fields of liberal arts, education and engineering rather than in farming.[22] Nevertheless, it

[21] The concept emerged in the early nineteenth century as the slogan of Tokugawa Western scholars such as Sakuma Shôzan. A similar slogan was used in Qing China in the mid nineteenth century: *Xixue wei yong, Zhongxue wei ti* (Western learning for utility and Chinese learning for the moral essence).

[22] In fact, the government was so concerned about the small number of graduates willing to remain in service of the development of Hokkaidô that a suggestion was made in 1885 to close down the college.

was precisely because of the extent of assimilation of the liberal education associated with the pedagogy of the New Englanders that SAC emerged as one of the most successful examples of Japanese acculturation from the West in the transitional period.

The uniqueness of the college was created fundamentally by the distinct nature of its origin as a Kaitakushi college, the Department's urgent purposes, and Kuroda's approaches to the understanding of and need for an advanced agricultural college. Moreover, the fact that Clark was to be given by Kuroda full rein in the management and pedagogical matters of the College, and that the students were highly motivated and responsive, make the process and extent of the intellectual interaction a valuable case study. Writing to his wife, Clark describes some of his power that:

> I believe I am the first foreigner who has been entrusted with the entire control of valuable property, with full power to buy and sell, employ and discharge, help, build and make improvements, and draw money from the treasury with my official seal, without the slightest supervision from a Japanese Officer.[23]

It was indeed remarkable that a foreigner was given such authority and control over education on Japanese soil.

Kuroda's contribution to the establishment of SAC and its high reputation was considerable. He decided to diverge from the recommendations of the Iwakura Mission and adopt an American model. Furthermore, having an American staff he allowed them to provide a broader and more liberal education than the mere inculcation of the practical skills and knowledge needed for the rapid development of the northern frontier. The mutual respect that existed between the young and gifted Meiji bureaucrat and the foreign academics resulted in Clark having a free rein to implement his educational philosophy and make the college a vanguard of Westernization, and one of high repute.[24] However, at a lower level, the college was the creation of the extraordinary calibre, ability and the ideological conviction of William S. Clark and his American colleagues. It was the

[23] Clark's letter to his wife, dated October 22, 1876, in *W. S. Clark: Clark's Letters from Japan*, edited by Kawabata Takashi, Ônishi Naoki and Nishida Kimiyuki (Sapporo: Miyane Press, 1987), p. 27.

[24] *Ibid*. Evidently, both Capron and Clark respected him for his remarkable insight and visionary capacities and were impressed with his ability and achievement in wielding such great power in the empire at the relatively young age of 36. Clark often mentioned that Kuroda was a very remarkable man and in many respects of admirable character. See for example a letter to his wife, August 14, 1876.

Amherst professors and Japanese students themselves who came to have an extraordinary impact on the history of modern Japan. They were the channel through which we may gain a closer insight into a pattern of Japanese acculturation.

William Smith Clark, the son of a country doctor and pious evangelical Christian parents, was fifty when he accepted the position of president to create a new college in the northern frontier of Japan. His decision to go to a largely uncultivated remote region of a totally alien country seems to be thoroughly consistent with his character and beliefs. One attraction may well have been the substantial salary the Meiji government offered.[25] However, he was, in the main, driven by his untiring sense of adventure and enthusiasm for the unknown and unchallenged and must have seen this as a great opportunity to fully engage his pioneering spirit. His extraordinary ability and strength of character were indicated in abundance from the early years of his youth, together with rare scholarship and keen intellect. He was made a Phi Beta Kappa of Amherst College in 1848 at the age of twenty two[26] and was granted a Ph.D. from Goettingen University in 1852 for his dissertation on the chemical composition of metallic meteorites in only two years.[27] He was the first American to attain that distinction. He became the president of the newly established Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1867 at the age of forty-one after having taught Chemistry, Zoology and Botany at Amherst College in previous years. His brilliant career was enhanced by his coming into his own as a pioneer plant physiologist. He also excelled as a soldier. Within a year of his volunteering for military service in 1861 he had become a major, by the following year he had been promoted to the rank of Colonel and by September 1862, he was recommended for the rank of Brigadier-General for 'highly distinguished' and 'arduous and faithful service, bravery and skill, . . .'.[28] Such records show how extraordinary a man he was. David

[25] His contract stipulated the payment of $6,000 for his services, but by the time of his departure this sum had risen to $8,000. It would have assisted substantially the Clark family of eight children.

[26] Phi Beta Kappa is a society formed in American universities and is marked by the high academic achievement of its members. Amherst College was founded in 1821 by Noah Webster and was one of the first colleges founded by evangelical Christians at the time of religious reawakening which swept early nineteenth-century America.

[27] Fujita Fumiko, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier* (Wesport, Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 91.

[28] Michell, 'William S. Clark of Sapporo', p. 15.

Penhallow, a former student of Clark and the third president of SAC, vividly described Clark's remarkable character:

> As a boy he always made it a rule to run faster, jump farther and higher, fight harder and swim more strongly, than any of his companions. The determination to excel in whatever he undertook was one of his traits to impress itself upon the stranger ... The phrase 'can not' was entirely unknown to President Clark, but his simple watchword "do it" seemed to be the slogan guiding him to success in whatever he undertook ... An intense enthusiasm characterised his attitude toward everything which he regarded as worthy of his attention, and this spirit successfully bridged many a difficult situation which might have been full of impossibilities for one of a less sanguine temperament.[29]

A tribute paid to Clark at the Clark Hall dedication in 1907 also reflected his character:

> Clark was a teacher of rare power and influence. As a soldier he had few equals. He had great executive ability. He knew everybody and everybody knew him. He was a born leader, and had that rare gift of personal magnetism, which drew men to him and made them follow him ... When he studied he studied intensely; when he worked he worked ferociously ... Personally and socially attractive, a brilliant talker, a good listener too, fond of telling stories, full of anecdote and adventure, of wit and repartee.[30]

Such memories of his lasting influence held by Americans were also shared by the SAC students. His influence on the students was derived far more from his personality and attitude in life than from his scientific knowledge. His extraordinary charisma and strength of character set a tone for modern education in Japan and inspired the aspirations and ambitions of the Japanese men of modern ideas, men such as the SAC students of the Kaitakushi period.

The Features of the College

Dr William Smith Clark set out to implement in Sapporo his vision of the cultivation of a prosperous state. He saw SAC as an excellent model to 'rebuild M.A.C. with variation and possibly some improvements on the other side of the earth'.[31] Reflecting the pioneering spirit of New Englanders, Clark's educational philosophy was linked

[29] Quoted in *ibid*., p. 122.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 123.
[31] Clark's letter to his wife in October 1876, Kawabata Takashi (ed.), *W. S. Clark: Letters*, p. 39.

closely with the notion that the might and the prosperity of a country should be measured not by the level of scientific knowledge and technical skills, but by the depth of the cultivation of the mind and the spiritual salvation of the people. Clark, a noted scientist, saw the moral quality of man as the basis of the prosperity of a country. Clark assiduously notes in his first annual report to the Kaitiakushi:

> A country is nothing without men, men are nothing without mind, and mind is little without culture. It follows that a cultivated mind is the most important product of a nation. The products of the farm, the shop, the mill, the mine, are of incomparably less value than the products of the schools. If the schools of a people are well taught, all else will prosper. Wherever schools are neglected it is a sure sign of national degradation and decay. The central point of every wisely administered government is its system of education. The education of youth well cared for by a nation, out of it will grow science, art, wealth, strength, and all else that is esteemed great in the judgement of men. (*sic*)[32]

His determination to implement his philosophy of education was discernible in many areas. A palpable aspect of his influence in this regard was shown in the way the four-year degree programme was designed and structured. It indicated his intention to educate the students, not with a narrow specialization in agricultural science, but in a broad spectrum of disciplines on the model of American liberal education. It was illustrated, for instance, in the inclusion of subjects such as elocution, extempore debates and 'original declamation'. It was also illustrated by the inclusion, a striking feature of the programme in the eyes of the Japanese, of physical activities such as manual labour, military drills and scientific expeditions as an important component of the degree programme. The strong emphasis on the students' physical well-being indicated Clark's philosophy that the cultivation of the body was paramount for general well-being and the balanced development of the mind.[33] A weekly session for military drills was included in a curriculum for the first time in the history of school education in Japan. The inclusion of military drills was undoubtedly initiated by Clark. It was certainly not included in the initial proposals, sent to the Prime Minister and Yoshida prior to

[32] William S. Clark, *Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, 1877.

[33] William Wheeler, *The Second Annual Report of Sapporo Agricultural College*, March, 1878. The importance of physical exercise and outdoor activities was also stressed by William Wheeler, Clark's successor, who remarked on the pleasing effect on students' health attributed to this.

the appointment of Clark. Having the experience of a war still relatively fresh in his mind, Clark probably thought of positive advantages in preparing the students for a time of crisis. Moreover, the acquisition of the military skills was undoubtedly considered by Clark as essential for a gentleman. Being mostly of the former warrior class and enthused with a mission to save the country, the students themselves would have had little objection and the Kaitakushi, whose utmost concern was unity and the defence of the northern frontier, welcomed the inclusion of the appropriate military drills.

At SAC an equal emphasis was placed on language and humanity studies and science subjects. In line with Clark's conviction that the might of a state should best be achieved by the production of broadly educated, able men who would become leaders of the nation, Clark designed the curriculum with much more emphasis on liberal arts and specialized science subjects than on subjects relating more directly to agriculture. The course structure designed by Clark in 1876 continued with no major changes by his successors for the next five years, and not until the sixth annual report, submitted by Professor William Brooks in 1881, was there any indication of a substantial shift to the more practical and specialized offerings of studies that would reflect a specialized agricultural college and the title of the Sapporo Agricultural College.

This broad education sharply contrasted with, for example, that of the Komaba Agricultural College, where no humanity subjects were offered. Similarly, unlike the Komaba Agricultural College, where interpreters were present in class to assist students in understanding lectures delivered in English, the SAC adopted a total immersion in English across all subjects. Clark made certain that the selection process would admit only students of high proficiency in English, those competent enough to cope with the immersion method. However, a remarkable advance in the depth of knowledge and command of the language was brought about by Clark's teaching method that ensured a strenuous process of monitoring the progress of students' study. Clark explains in his annual report that:

> The student should be constantly required to take notes of all information imparted which is not contained in the text-book, and should carefully and neatly copy them into a suitable book. The notebooks of the students should be critically examined and corrected by the teacher in all cases.[34]

[34] William Clark, *First Annual Report*, 1877, p. 47.

This general but key instruction was to be carried out faithfully by the successive presidents.[35] As students' meticulous lecture notes amply illustrate,[36] the guidelines and methodology Clark set up were effectively implemented. However, while a painstaking and rather ostensibly methodical exercise of note taking had a positive aim of improving students' English, they were evidently not merely intended for the mechanical taking down of dictation,[37] but for the acquisition of skills to digest knowledge and carry out further rigorous analysis on works through discussions on ideas behind them.

In this way, Clark's immediate students and those under the influence of his strong legacy were exposed to a broad understanding of the historical development of Western civilization. It stimulated further their desire to pursue a deeper knowledge of the history of the ethics and culture of the West at the expense of their pursuit of specialization in practical agriculture. While the study of English language and literature involved a broad cultural study of Western civilization, though predominantly that of England, it was characterized by the emphasis on an historical approach, be it in the sphere of linguistics, literature, ethics or geography.[38] The Anglo-Saxon moral code and ethical ideas were inculcated through a selection from Shakespeare's various plays, poems and prose by various English and American poets and writers such as Walter Scott, Macauley and Bacon.[39] The high standard and quality of the liberal education at the Kaitakushi college was noted by early graduates contrasting it with those of other top colleges in the Meiji period. Carrying out further study at Tokyo University, Nitobe Inazô, a prominent SAC graduate and close friend of Uchimura Kanzô, wrote

[35] William Wheeler, *Second Annual Report*, 1878, p. 6.

[36] The Northern Studies Centre at Hokkaidô University holds a number of lecture notes written by students who entered the SAC during its first four years.

[37] Nitobe Inazô, Nitobe's letter to Miyabe Kingo, April 20, 1884, in the collection of letters exchanged between early SAC students held at the Northern Studies Centre at Hokkaidô University.

[38] See, for example, a note taken by Ibuki on a lecture entitled 'geographical position of the human centre of appearance' by John Cutter. References as well as text books on such disciplines selected by the American staff for the Library were as substantial as others on sciences. Particularly, books on history and literature were in abundance, which reflects Clark's philosophy. See *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Sapporo Agricultural College*, published by the Sapporo Agricultural College from Shûeikai in 1888.

[39] Scott's comments on self-culture and Bacon's work on learning as set down in students' lecture notes, for instance, were well selected for the purpose of teaching the moral culture of the West.

in 1884 to a former SAC classmate expressing his dissatisfaction with the standard at Tokyo University:

> I am getting disgustful (*sic*) of instructions in the University. I thought I can learn very much in it; but no! There are plenty of books, but not plenty of good teachers. Toyama can't teach English very well. We are studying Hamlet: he jumps over places as too difficult. Cox is simply an old fashioned grammarian. I don't think very highly of his corrections of our essays. He is a man of not much idea. Toyama's history is also very poor. He knows scarcely anything besides what is contained in the textbook itself; he may know better of Philosophy but that is not my subject of study.[40]

Nitobe's negative assessment of the standard at Tokyo University was also shared by others such as Hayakawa Tetsuji, another graduate of SAC. Hayakawa was greatly surprised by the low scholarship of friends at Tokyo University and confirmed Nitobe's view that the standard of SAC was much higher than that of Tokyo University.

As the graduates began to loom large in society, the effect of SAC's emphasis on liberal education and the creation of the cultivated man came to draw public attention. The college enjoyed an increasing reputation as a consequence of its strength and high standard in the humanities and attracted the youth due to the idiosyncratic nature of the college philosophy.[41] In praise of SAC's intellectualism and liberal training, Katayama Sen, a socialist and labour activist wrote of SAC:

> It is the only college in Japan that has the so-called 'college spirit' which has been moulding the character of students ever since the distinctive impression made upon the college by the first Pres. (*sic*) W. S. Clark. The college is noted for making men though she has not neglected making scholars. Sons of the college are conspicuous figures everywhere throughout the Empire.[42]

As reflected in Katayama's assessment, by the turn of the century, the SAC of the Kaitakushi period was seen as distinctive as a tertiary

[40] Nitobe Inazô, a letter to Miyabe Kingo, April 1884. *A Collection of Letters Exchanged between the Class of 1881*, in the Archives of the Northern Studies Centre, Hokkaidô University. The Toyama Nitobe mentioned here was Toyama Shôichi an influential scholar who became the president of Tokyo University and later served as the Minister of Education.

[41] Shiga Shigetaka, a SAC graduate of 1892, for instance, explained in his memoir that he chose SAC to further his education because of its reputation of a high academic standard and its strength in humanity subjects. By the time he entered, however, SAC had shifted its emphasis much more to an agricultural strain of study and practice and Shiga was no doubt disappointed in the shift.

[42] Katayama Sen, *Rôdô Sekai*, no. 20, September 15, 1898.

institution to nurture cultivated men rather than simply as a college of agriculture. As Nitobe Inazô remarked later, it turned out to be a misnomer to name the SAC an agricultural college. Yanaihara Tadao, a former president of Tokyo University, who regarded Uchimura Kanzô as his spiritual teacher, has acknowledged that the uniqueness of SAC as a citadel of liberal humanism indicated the differences in character between the SAC and Tokyo University, with implications that affected the mode of Japanese society.[43]

Thus, the reputation of the college as a mecca of liberalism owed much to the efforts of Clark and the American professors from Amherst and its early students. The students were imbued with the idealized panorama of glorious Western civilization and rendered full of admiration for the heroic deeds and outstanding scholarship of the Westerners. They absorbed these visions through books and the teaching of a handful of highly educated Americans belonging to the academic elite of their native country. In striving themselves to be a Japanese version of the outstanding Western heroes and leaders they encountered in their studies, they contributed towards the college's prominence as a bastion of modern ideas. Despite Clark's brief stay in SAC of only eight months, his legacy remained very strong in the college for decades afterwards. Clark's American successors dutifully followed his general education philosophy while Clark's immediate students kept aloft the banner of the Clarkian spirit and liberal philosophy. The Clarkian spirit was most profoundly illuminated in his inculcation of the idea of the cultivated man and his role and duty in the society.

With the virtually total control entrusted to him by Kuroda upon the setting up of the college, William Clark made a drastic change to the Kaitakushi Temporary College. In stark contrast to the long, detailed regulations set out for the college by the former administration, the regulations drawn up by Clark for SAC were very brief. For some Japanese disciplinarians the change was probably seen to be scandalously brief as no discernible punishment was laid out.[44] A lack of disciplinary clauses in the regulations, however, echoed Clark's idea of education in which there lay the equilibrium between discipline and freedom, and between control

[43] Yanaihara Tadao, *Daigaku ni tsuite* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1952), p. 92.

[44] When the temporary college was reopened in April 1873, there were about thirteen items on punishment. No punishment was mentioned in the college code in the new regulations.

by authority and self-reliance. His instruction on disciplining was simply self-discipline, to 'be gentlemen'. This line of disciplining was in fact consistent with his belief. At the MAC, he had also made very few rules for the students and entrusted them with the duty to conduct themselves in the manner of gentlemen.[45] It was doubtful whether the Japanese youth, even though they had been exposed to Western learning prior to their entry to the college, could have grasped in an instant the virtues of a 'gentleman' cultivated over centuries in the West. The various reminiscences by Clark's former students do not enlighten us as to how the concept of gentlemen was elucidated to them, or how they were supposed to attain the state of an ideal gentleman. They seemed to have been expected to learn from the actions and conduct of past great men of the West described in books and, in reality, from first-hand observation and hands-on experience. Clark felt strongly about the practical value of learning through experience, and that only with experiences, could they become 'gentlemen' themselves. As the president of MAC, he inculcated the importance of action, reiterating his motto, 'do it', to encourage students to learn how to think and solve problems for themselves. David Penhallow recalled that in his early classes as a MAC student Clark would set an example in everything by his own manner of life and inculcated the importance of actions.[46] In educating the Japanese students at SAC by setting themselves as their models, Clark and his American colleagues adopted the same principle of education. With the motto 'do it', the students were expected to learn from their professors' actions and conduct through direct interaction during activities in class, scientific expeditions, manual labour, military drills and through friendly discussions and talk at night. While the SAC students' main source of inspiration to emulate the heroic deeds and outstanding scholarship of the Westerners was through books, the personality and attitude of New Englanders to life became the immediate examples of the idea of the virtuous man. The moral self cultivation and the practical, empirical values emphasized by Clark became the ideological underpinning readily embraced and enhanced by the students of the Kaitakushi college. The students were to find affinities between the values demonstrated by the

[45] Michell, 'William S. Clark of Sapporo', p. 22.
[46] *Ibid*.

foreigners and elements of traditional Japanese thought development.

Practical Learning and the Cultivated Man

Clark's idea of a gentleman was based on democratic and pragmatic empiricism and aligned with Locke's line of the empirical tenet of education which greatly influenced the growth of American educational ideals. Reflecting the new rational, scientific, age, Locke (1632–1704) had been strongly influenced by the empirical approach to knowledge. He emphasized the value of experience as he believed that one acquired knowledge through experience rather than through dogma and by making observations rather than syllogisms. Therefore, education was best achieved by providing students with examples of proper thought and behaviour, and by training them to witness and share in the habits of virtue that was part of the conventional wisdom of the rational and practical man. The understanding of virtuous conduct would be achieved only with careful cultivation and practice which meant that the act of understanding was itself a kind of conduct. Through observation and practical interaction, a student would pick up the habits of a virtuous character and mind to improve his own.

Locke's pragmatic, utilitarian, strain of educational philosophy was essentially a means to create a civil-minded, well-mannered, and soundly informed gentleman. Such well-cultivated, virtuous gentleman would lead, and ensure the health of, society. Repudiating the rationalist systems, he stressed the essential values of a humanitarian, liberal approach to education. He held the view that concern for the existence and cultivation of individuals transcended concern for the state as the state was merely the agent of the individual. Locke stressed that while both character and intellect should be cultivated, the cultivation of character should come before the acquisition of knowledge of matters, and learning that concerned other than moral values was only subsidiary.[47] Of the qualities to be cultivated, he placed virtue as the first and most necessary endowment to be a gentleman.[48] Such an empirical view of education was most apparent

[47] John Locke, no. 147, 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education', in Peter Gay, *John Locke on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1971), p. 108.
[48] *Ibid*., no. 135, p. 99.

in Clark's educational philosophy. Clark's inculcation of the value and power of the cultivated man in the building of the nation was enthusiastically welcomed by the SAC students who came under his influence. They found some consanguinity in his attitude and conduct as they sought the understanding of his concept of 'gentleman' through their notion of the samurai moral code. In his philosophy and the concept of the cultivated man they found much akin to an archetype of the ideal, Confucian samurai.

Most of the SAC students of the Kaitakushi period were educated and existed in an environment created by generations of Confucian learning. They were brought up to pursue in varied degrees the qualities that personified the ideal of Confucian samurai. Clark's gentleman was seen by them much in the mould of the concept of the cultivated man formulated for over two centuries by various schools of Japanese Confucian scholars. Yamaga Sokô (1622–85), for example, in the effort to popularize a Confucian principle of sagehood, synthesized the tenets of the samurai code in which he rationalized Bushidô with Confucian moral principles.[49] Yamaga moved away from the rigidity and transcendental nature of sagehood formulated by the Song School which stressed the practice of meditation, book-learning or scholarly textual studies as the way to attain the moral principle. Instead, he stressed the universality of the importance of self-cultivation which could be attained by everybody in their active, ordinary daily life. In his formulation of the samurai code, samurai were expected to achieve not simply the cultivation and exploration of the innate knowledge of goodness, but the fulfilment of daily tasks of a practical nature. Amid constantly changing ideals, one dominant and abiding ideal consistently stressed in the samurai code throughout history was martial prowess and the valour of the individual samurai. Self-cultivation of mind and conduct through daily activities was to be accompanied by the attainment of a martial spirit. Yamaga, a military strategist who made major contributions to the development of Tokugawa military science, formulated the

[49] The term bushidô is one among many to describe the code of conduct of warriors. In the Tokugawa period when theorization of the code was attempted by Confucian scholars, the term bushidô was rarely used. Historically, such terms as *masurao no michi, hei no michi, busha no narai* and *shidô* were used instead. Even in the Meiji period, *shômu* was used by a number of intellectuals such as Ozaki Yukio, a Popular Rights movement activist and a Progressive Party member. It was only after the Meiji period that the term *bushidô* became dominant. One of the main reasons for a lack of consistency was probably a lack of proper thought given to the code of the warrior in the Chinese Confucian tradition.

concept of a virtuous samurai who combined the virtue of a Confucian *junzi* (superior man) with military prowess, and who set an example to the lower orders. Indeed, Yamaga stressed the importance of the samurai's role, with their accomplished virtues and moral principles, in setting an example to the lower classes. Such a conception of the ideal cultivated man permeated various schools of thought in the Tokugawa period. And in the broader syncretic spectrum of thought development, a Confucian gentleman of virtue with military arts was generally accepted as the model for people of lower classes to emulate. Most SAC students of the Kaitakushi belonged to the ruling class. Although the samurai class was dysfunctional by their fathers' time, they were still strongly attached to the moral training and ideology nurtured for centuries in the samurai tradition. They had been brought up to strive in principle to model themselves on the ideal cultivated samurai, as rationalized and popularized by Tokugawa Confucians. Clark's cultivated man possessed virtuous moral values for the society and stressed the importance of practical learning and the value of action and experience. Such a cultivated man had affinities with the cultivated man formulated, for instance, by a revisionist Confucian School of thought of Nakae Tôju (1608–48). Therefore, the students did not find the notion of the ideal Western gentleman that Clark and his American fellow professors embraced at odds with their traditional concept. On the contrary, the students strengthened and articulated traditional values through the affinity they identified with the Western value systems.

While the concept of the ideal Western gentleman formulated and inculcated by Clark was close to that of the ideal cultivated man in the samurai tradition, another element of the affinity between Clark's philosophy and the Japanese traditional thought development can be found in the realm of practical learning.[50]

Preceding Yamaga Sokô as an advocate of the cultivation of the mind by samurai, Nakae Tôju also had stressed the importance of samurai cultivating their mind and their practical skills. Nakae Tôju, a principal scholar of the Japanese Wang Yangming school of thought, rationalized the concept of the virtue of the samurai and raised the samurai's prestige as a cultivated man. Nakae considered military arts and tactics essential aspects of practical learning. For

[50] Practical learning, *shixue* (*jitsugagakuku* in Japanese), refers to pragmatic learning, learning useful in actual affairs. It is a learning that issues in positive achievement that results in action.

the ideal cultivated man Tokugawa scholars such as Nakae and Yamaga invariably emphasized the importance of practical values, particularly technical and scientific learning which had immediate practical use in daily life. The importance of practical learning in the sphere of technical and scientific study was stressed in varying degrees both by the Zhu Xi School, the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and the official ideology of the Tokugawa regime, and by the Wang Yangming School, the idealistic and theistic wing of Neo-Confucian teaching. Confucianism is generally a philosophy of moral, not of utilitarian, practical values. This is illustrated, for instance, by the well-known axiom of Dong Zhongshu, a Han Confucian, 'follow righteousness without pursuing utility; illumine the Way without calculating the success'.[51] Confucian philosophy is considered practical in its concerns with morality and socio-political interaction and activities—moral practicality, but is not practical in its concerns with economy, technology and technical skills—utilitarian practicality. For both Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, practicality meant not utility and profits, but rather the application of principles of things and a concern with affairs of society and state. Wang Yangming went further to include a broader spectrum of practicality and rejected Zhu Xi's distinction between useful learning and empty learning.

Though he began as a scholar of the Zhu Xi school of thought, Nakae Tôju's practical learning in his concept of the cultivated man came to be more closely aligned with the practical learning formulated by Wang Yangming. Nakae's practical learning was learning that was useful in actual affairs and produced positive results by managing successfully one's affairs in mundane matters rather than by meditating, or writing commentaries on the classics. For him, the essence of practical learning was the extension of the innate knowledge of goodness. He shared an affinity with Wang's notion of practicality in that in his philosophy utilitarian practicality was the source of all practicalities and unified all other practicalities. In other words, utilitarian practicality underpins the attainment of moral practicality. In the development of utilitarian practicality, one must develop moral practicality. Thus, for Nakae utilitarian practicality as a means of attaining material wealth and prosperity was fully func-

[51] Yan Yuan, an eighteenth-century Confucian scholar of *shixue*, changed Dong Zhongshu's axiom to 'follow righteousness in order to pursue the utility; illumine the Way in order to calculate the success', in 'Yen Yüan, Chu Hsi, and Wang Yangming', Chung-ying Cheng, Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (eds), *Principle and Practicality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), p. 42.

tional only after an attitude of moral practicality was developed. For him, the essence of practical learning was manifested by responding in accord with time and place. He held that with moral practicality fully developed, one could achieve other practicalities by exercising a flexible mind. Nakae appeared rarely to use Wang's term, 'the unity of knowledge and action', which is fundamental to Wang's thought.[52] Analogous to Wang's unity of knowledge and action, however, Nakae developed the concept of *ken no michi* (the way of adaptation). *Ken (chuan* in Chinese) in classical texts refers to dealing with situations, untrammeled with formality and rules so as to follow the universal principle. However, the Japanese Confucians viewed the concept as the way to meet immediate practical needs with an appropriate and spontaneous response to the present, rather than as a way to attain the universal principle by exercising flexibility. Nakae's *ken no michi*, which is a pillar of Nakae's practical learning, was the notion of practicality that rejects formalism and rigid adherence to established patterns.[53] Nakae's *ken* was the Way that would allow the embracing of changes to principles. One can find the Way only by being able to respond instantly to changes without adherence to established, or fixed patterns of thought and rituals, and by striving to exercise it through personal experience.[54]

The Japanese concept of *chuan* (*ken*) seen in Nakae's *ken no michi* was indicative of the disparity in the way the educated echelon of Meiji Japan and Qing China responded to Westernization. The Japanese were far more receptive and adaptive to the cultural and ethical elements of Western civilization than their Chinese counterparts. The disparity was in part explained by the Japanese revisionist notion and practice of *chuan* that allowed the legitimacy of flexibility which could extend to changes of principles according to the relevance of time, place and situation.

[52] Wang formulated the unity of knowledge and action (*zhixing heyi*) and the fulfilment of the innate knowledge of goodness (*zhi liangzhi*) as essential dimensions of practicality. For Wang Yangming knowledge is the 'plan' (*zhuyi*), and action is the 'effort' (*gongfu*) for knowledge. Knowledge is the beginning of action and action is the completion of knowledge. The principle of Wang Yangming's unity of knowledge and action was that knowledge and action were one and the same and occurred simultaneously. This principle meant true knowledge is for the sake of action and without action, knowledge could not be called knowledge. (Wang Yangming, *Instructions for Practical Living*, translated by Wig-tsi Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 11).

[53] Nake Tôju, 'Okina Mondô', *Nakae Tôju, Nihon Shisô Taikei*, vol. 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 136.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 138.

Nakae's rejection of formalism in *ken no michi* was in parallel with his emphasis on the value of the independence of individual thought. He often used in his teaching the ideas of *hakken* (discovery), *kufû* (device) and *shokuhatsu* (inspiration) to inculcate in his disciples the value of true learning.[55] While Nakae rarely expanded on Wang's unity of knowledge and action, he emphasized the value of experience. His sense of action was concerned more with the intrinsic value and benefits of acts of experience and experiment than with those derived from actual results of actions.[56] In his philosophy every man possesses innate knowledge of goodness and an individual only acts upon the basis of the judgement of their own innate knowledge to attain self-cultivation. Every man therefore can attain true learning by the dynamic spontaneity of mind and action, combined with creative and independent actions away from the rigidity of erudition and formalism.

The Japanese adaptation of Wang Yangming's unity of knowledge and action and Nakae Tôju's tenet of *ken no michi* and his emphasis on the value of experience and creative actions were drawn upon to provide ideological grounds for reformers and radical political activists in the nineteenth century. Nakae's emphasis on spontaneous actions of innate righteousness and sincerity appealed to restless late Tokugawa radicals. In the early Meiji period, the concepts of the unity of knowledge and action and *ken no michi* were also adopted as powerful principles to process Western knowledge and skills. For instance, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who shaped the foundation of modern Japanese liberalism, promoted the importance of practical values particularly in the development of business, commerce and industrial technology. Fukuzawa's *genkô icchi* (unity of words and action), his coinage of Wang's *zhixing heyi*, was amalgamated with the Bentham's vein of British utilitarian thought to form economic practical learning. Fukuzawa's adaptation of the unity of knowledge and action was focused on the implementation of utilitarian practicality separated from moral practicality in advancing utilitarian practicality. The economic practical learning became the most powerful mode of thinking that dominated the social and political arena of the Meiji society.

The Kaitakushi students of SAC were strongly attached to Confucian philosophy in the line of the Wang Yangming school's tenet of

[55] Shimizu Yasuzô, *Nakae Tôju* (Tokyo: Azuma Shuppan, 1967), p. 152.

[56] *Ibid*. He expressed the idea of experience by various expressions such as *tainin, taitoku, taiken* and *taisatsu*.

unity of knowledge and action and Nakae's concept of *ken no michi*. While it allowed them to embrace wholly the values of utilitarian practicality, the economic practical learning endorsed by Fukuzawa did not predominate in their thought. On the contrary, unlike Fukuzawa and many influential leaders of late nineteenth-century Japan, they did not deviate from adherence to the essential value of moral practicality. Such a line of thought with equal emphases placed on moral and utilitarian practicalities found an affinity with the values of learning inculcated by Clark and his fellow American professors at SAC. In effect the Westerners were enhancing and nurturing the traditional line of practical learning by the Wang and Nakae schools of thought.

Clark's emphasis on practicality in the unity of knowledge and action was combined with the cultivation of moral character through the study of humanity. Clark's philosophy was strongly linked with Locke's line of thought on the value of experience and observation as the basic tenets of learning, and on the intimacy between thinking and conduct. Naturally, to achieve the intimacy, the flexibility of mind and nature was stressed as was the necessity for the education system to adjust itself to the time and needs of life. Clark's emphasis on the importance of humanitarian liberal education was also found in Locke's objective of learning which was to create a cultivated, civil-minded gentleman. It was also found in Locke's intellectual notion of religion. Locke acknowledged God as an innate force and the *a priori* source of moral principles, and believed that the foundation of a cultivated virtuous man must lie in the recognition of God as the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all things.[57] Otherwise, Locke's concern for religion did not relate directly to his notion of the education of moral character and conduct. In the education of the SAC students Clark came to hold much the same stance as Locke on the question of God.

The line of thought that linked Locke with Clark and his former students and fellow professors at SAC thus had affinities in turn with the Confucian, samurai line of thought that linked Wang Yangming with Nakae Tôju and Yamaga Sokô. Uchimura and other students of SAC of the Kaitakushi period found the Clarkian lines of empirical, liberal and individual-oriented schools of thought more appealing than the rationalist, economic pragmatism that had been the dominant official ideology of the government. Through the affinity between

[57] John Locke, no. 136, in Gay, *John Locke on Education*.

the Clarkian lines of Western thought and Japanese revisionist Confucian schools of thought, the students found little discord with the ostensibly conflicting nature of the Western thought and ideas they encountered.

Thus, their intellectual inheritance facilitated the students' embrace of not only Western science and technical skills, but also the Western ideas and values inculcated by Clark and his fellow professors from Amherst. They were adopted as parts of both utilitarian and moral practicalities of the kind found in the Japanese thought tradition, and gathered within one whole to attain the universal moral truth. The importance of equilibrium between the cultivation of mind and body stressed by the college was enhanced, stimulated and extended by the effective implementation of empirical and practical values. Further, Clark's self-cultivation of mind and spirit to attain virtues exceeded in its importance to students the acquisition of technical and scientific knowledge and skills. As he stressed the idea that the strength of a country was achieved through the accumulation not of material wealth but of cultivated, virtuous men, so did the students of SAC enthusiastically endorse and make it their mission to spread the teaching. In one sense, they could have simply perceived the values inculcated by Clark and his fellow Amherst Americans as Wang Yangming's extension of knowledge and the expansion of his focus on the ontological value of the self-cultivation as a means of salvation of the country, an extension that provided a basis for their understanding of more independent, humanitarian liberal thought.

The reputation that SAC earned as the flag bearer of liberal education, of moral practicality owed much to Clark's philosophy and his personality.[58] Clark's extraordinary charisma, calibre as a scholar, enthusiasm and high ethical standard indeed appeared to the impressionable 18-year-old students of SAC to offer an example of the ideal gentleman and a paragon of a cultivated man with a lofty ambition and a frontier spirit. He received admiration and respect

[58] In noting the existence of two main ideological currents in Japanese education, nationalist statism and liberal democracy, Yanaihara Tadao, a former President of Tokyo University, has contrasted Tokyo University with SAC as the two most influential institutions established in the early Meiji period. He remarked that it was unfortunate for the development of modern Japan that imperialist nationalism and statism fermented in Tokyo University became the dominant political thought of the society and that the country failed to develop further the liberal democratic ideology that was nurtured in SAC. Yanaihara Tadao, *Daigaku ni tsuite*, p. 93.

beyond his immediate students.[59] His fame was spread in Meiji Japan and even today he continues to cut a romantic figure who symbolized the virtuous quality of an enlightened man. An eternal legend was then created about the aura of Clark as the symbol of the spirit of the pioneer. Considering his brief stay of only eight months at SAC, it was indeed remarkable that he occupies such a high profile in the modern history of Japan well ahead of numerous other foreign employees who during their long stay, made as significant, if not greater, contributions to Meiji modernization. And the American's influence is well illustrated by a speech Uchimura Kanzô made in 1926 at Hokkaidô University (the former SAC) to an audience of two thousand. His speech was concerned with Clark's parting words 'boys, be ambitious'.[60] Exploring the significance of the words, Uchimura, a graduate of 1880, explained that it was a manifestation of the spirit of New England where such great men as Bryant and Emerson were produced. Clark's 'boys, be ambitious' was therefore derived from the same New England spirit expressed perhaps more poetically by Emerson as 'hitch your wheels to the star'. Echoing Clark's motto and drawing a comparison between Scott and Shackleton, he exhorted that a failure was not a sin, but having a low aim was and, therefore, one must follow a lofty ambition to have a meaningful life.[61] Uchimura testifies to Clark's manifold influence on SAC students. In fact, he became one of the most prominent graduates of SAC who followed Clark's championing of unity of mind, spirit and practical values. Although Clark had departed before Uchimura's entry into SAC, what he had inculcated remained palpable.

[59] Clark's frequent correspondence with his former SAC students continued until near his death in March 1886 and their reminiscences, retold and published repeatedly, vividly illustrated the closeness and mutual affection he shared with his students.

[60] When he left Sapporo in April 16, 1877, about twenty-five students and friends mounted on horseback accompanied him to a village ten miles distant from Sapporo. After a hearty lunch together, he shook hands with the students, who were in tears. It was claimed that his last words to them as he rode off were 'boys, be ambitious!' However, there have been conflicting views as the accuracy of the acount. Uchimura's version is based on a poem by Ôshima Masatake written immediately after Clark's departure and recorded as such in his reminiscence written in later life. Clark's highly emotionally charged departure was romanticized, recounted to their juniors and published by the students. Clark's now famous injunction was virtually unknown outside SAC until around the turn of the century.

[61] Uchimura Kanzô, *Uchimura Kanzô Shisô Sensho*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Haneda Shoten, 1927), pp. 250–8.

Important as Clark was to the peculiar development of SAC, it was the nature and quality of the students and their intellectual heritage that confirmed its success. The students themselves were of high quality and highly motivated.[62] While Clark's mission to nurture cultivated men and create virtuous leaders of the society was manifest through the inculcation of his education philosophy with its motto of 'do it', it was fruitful only because the students were able to respond to the extension of the unity of knowledge and action to absorb Western knowledge and practice through existing values formulated, for instance, in Nakae's concept of *ken no michi*. It was the students who entered SAC in 1876 and 1877 who were under the strongest influence of Clark's philosophy and who carried their role of *ken no michi* into practice and laid a foundation for shaping the reputation of SAC as an institution which fully espoused the liberal, democratic ideology.

Furthermore, their receptivity to Clark's philosophy was strengthened by their conversion to Christianity. The congeniality and affinities they found between Christianity and the Nakae Tôju line of the Wang Yangming school of thought made their espousal of Christianity the more possible. Uchimura Kanzô, for one, found in Nakae Tôju's main tenets some commonality with his principal thought. In his synthesis of traditional and Western thoughts, he was much in the line of Nakae's unity of theism and the technical and scientific skills of practical learning.

With their intellectual heritage employed to process the ideal of the liberal, cultivated man preached by Clark and Western men of letters, the students of the Kaitakushi were to dedicate themselves to pursue earnestly their lofty ideals. Uchimura Kanzô, labelled by some of his peers and some modern scholars as, arguably, the most brilliant student the SAC produced, was no exception. The four years Uchimura spent at SAC became a crucial period for forming his character and the thought that underpinned his philosophy. In fact, the principal tenets of his thought were formed during the period he

[62] Clark found his boys excellent in ability and conduct. Writing to his sister, Clark remarked on the high standard of English exhibited by those who sat for the examination for admission to the college. He thought that they could write and read English better than the average candidates for admission to MAC. (Clark's letter to his sister, July 23, 1876, Kawabata Takashi (ed.), *W. S. Clark: Letters*, p. 14). Like Clark, Wheeler was also impressed with their students who surpassed his highest anticipation, and thought them exemplary from every point of view. He rated highly their aptitude for learning which was, he agreed with others, greater than that manifested by American and European students.

spent at SAC. Besides his crucial encounter with a Christian belief, one of the major elements that constituted a base for his formation of thought was the value of independence in thought and practice. And his espousal of the concept of independence was rationalized and developed by the approach to learning inculcated by William Wheeler (1851–1932), who succeeded Clark as the president during Uchimura's first two crucial years at SAC. The importance of the power of independence became so paramount to Uchimura that it came to govern his stormy, often despairing life and sustain ideologically his unwavering iconoclastic stance until his death. In this regard, Uchmura provides an outstanding case study for acculturation. A further insight into Meiji acculturation will, therefore, be provided through the examination of Wheeler's thought and the affinity of his thought with some elements of Japanese revisionist Confucian tradition, all with a focus on Uchimura's thought development.

The Power of Independent Thought

The idea of independence was an important concept in the Meiji period as the government undertook radical reforms to avoid at all cost the situation China had suffered. It was a paramount mission for the conscientious, educated Meiji youth to make contributions to achieve the complete independence of the nation. The ten-year grand plan for the development of Hokkaidô was formulated to generate economic vitality and create a strong defence of the northern frontier. Prior to their entry to the college, students of SAC such as Satô Shôsuke considered it an honourable mission to take a leading role in this national scheme of campaign for modernization. Fired by Hori Seitarô's passionate speech seeking recruits for the SAC delivered at the Tokyo English College (a preparatory school providing the automatic entry to Tokyo University), many students of SAC held a romantic notion of the colonization of the northern frontier and made it their mission to defend the country from Russian encroachment. It is difficult to judge whether Uchimura was imbued with the same idealism at the time of his arrival at SAC in July 1877, or indeed whether he was then greatly concerned with the nation's independence as vital to her modernization. His idea of independence as an important axiom was primarily focused on the value of the independence of individual thought and action, rather than that

of the independence of the state. Undoubtedly, its basis was shaped and redefined during his time at SAC in an environment where the value of individualism that dominated the morality inculcated by professors from New England, and where the right of independence and respect for individuality as the foundation of a healthy and prosperous nation were stressed.

While much of Clark's spirit was kept alive by the leaders of second-year students, the formation of Uchimura's thought derived to a significant degree from William Wheeler.[63] Wheeler maintained and attempted to implement faithfully broad plans and policies laid out by Clark. He respected and firmly believed in Clark's approach to the ideal of education. In similar vein to Clark's liberalism, Wheeler placed the primary importance on the welfare of the individual man as the foundation of the state. He regarded his appointment as a mission to enlighten a country less developed than his own, and being conscientious and dutiful in nature, he was far more convinced of Japan's need for the SAC students to receive Western education according to the American model than either Clark or Penhallow, his successor.

Wheeler had come to Japan with Clark to serve as professor of civil engineering, mechanics and English language and succeeded him first as the acting president, and later the president of SAC. Once a student of Clark at MAC, he was only 26 when he took over the superintendence of the SAC. In view of his youth, it is remarkable how effectively and conscientiously he fulfilled his tasks in teaching and the management of the college. Besides teaching and administrative duties, he was involved in the expansion of the college: meteorological observation, building of a military hall and a museum of natural history. Together with his fellow American professors, Penhallow and Brooks, he was also actively involved in aiding the Kaitakushi in the development of Hokkaidô. He gave guidance to the community in such matters as farm management, light manufacturing, drawing up plans for roads and railways, designing a military complex and an observatory, surveying of possible locations for bridges and canals and a reconstruction of the Toyohira Bridge. In teaching, Wheeler emphasized the value of empirical sciences and the importance of the unity of knowledge, thought and practice. He stressed the importance of principles as paramount in learning since

[63] Wheeler was followed by Penhallow and Brooks who became president during Uchimura's third and fourth years, respectively.

the sound principles of truth and reason would establish a distinction between facts and appearance, argument and sophism. While emphasizing the importance of principles, he equally stressed the need to maintain the logical connection between facts and principles, and to mould the facts of science to the intellectual purposes of man's will in the ever changing problems and circumstances of life so that their application could effectively be utilized for the general concerns of the service of man.[64] As Clark before him, he made students' participation in practical works compulsory as an ideal method of combining with theoretical instruction 'the best of books—Nature, under the best of teachers—Experience'.[65] He held that 'original thought is progressive, and makes the possessor a leader where few can ever follow' as '[K]nowledge without thought is impotent to go beyond itself'.[66] Wheeler went beyond the extended value of experience formulated by Locke, or practised by Clark in which the act of imitation had a positive quality if the students were given experiences worth imitating.[67] He urged his students to become thinkers as the thinkers, though poor copyists, were possessed of creative and life-giving power and therefore made leaders while the imitators, incapable of surpassing their models, made only followers.

His earnest promotion of the independence of thought and his aspiration to reproduce the Western spirit of scientific inquiry in the students of SAC came about as he began to form his view on a plight of Japanese modernization. Through observation and direct contacts, however brief they may have been, with a broad range of Japanese people, he came to be highly critical of a stagnant, yet very much alive, tradition of learning in Japan. The burden of that tradition, he believed, made the method of acculturation of the West by the Japanese less effective than it should otherwise be. He believed that it would hinder the Japanese attempt to achieve true progress. In his observation it was doubtful if Japan were capable of mastering true progress as Japanese were copying forms and agencies of other nations' progress by gathering the practical and scientific literature in the government offices.[68] He laid the blame on a dominant Japanese intellectual tradition of the Zhu Xi orthodoxy with its

[64] W. Wheeler, *Second Annual Report of the Sapporo Agricultural College*, p. 8.
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[67] John Locke, 'Some Thoughts on Education', no. 66, pp. 42–6.
[68] Fujita Fumiko, *American Pioneer and the Japanese Frontier* (Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 110.

emphasis on memorization of Chinese classics as the 'sole weapons of intellectual warfare'.[69] He believed the ancient learning practised in China, and therefore in Japan, was characterized by the cultivation of imitation to the highest degree, by a neglect of the power of thought and at the expense of the faculty for invention and original design. He critically observed that 'while a few aesthetic arts were carried to a wonderful degree of perfection and veneration, the practical resources of design and invention were neglected'.[70] Wheeler was far more forthright in his criticism of what he perceived as Japanese traits that would retard modernization without imbibing the genuine spirit of improvement. His criticism of the Japanese intellectual tradition found its source in his belief that the exclusive nature of memorization of classics as the highest order of scholarship created a servile attitude among the people towards authority. Wheeler saw the learning, with its emphasis on memorization of classics, as rendering the Japanese people content with a mere life-sustaining pittance. He was convinced that such a learning method placed a high accolade of virtue on the ability to exalt norms and systems established in the ancient periods and prevented them from developing the vigorous inquiring mind that brought progress. This, in turn, created the imbalance between the wealth and power of the few and the poverty and helplessness of the masses which left the state impotent to promote the general welfare.[71]

While Wheeler accurately observed negative traits in the Japanese intellectual tradition, Japan was not entirely devoid of schools of Confucian thought that offered more dynamic and vigorous alternative tenets on learning, and they were widely followed. In elaborating the distinction between true learning and false learning, Nakae Tôju classified learning promoted by 'vulgar' Confucian learning as false learning. The learning of the adherents of such thought was false as they read Confucian works, mastered textual exegeses, laboured solely on memorization and literary compositions and merely repeated whatever they heard.[72] As a time of crisis arose, Japanese scholars developed and reinterpreted Confucian tenets of the Ming and Qing periods and stressed the importance of industrial technology as essential elements of utilitarian practicalities. As the attempt

[69] W. Wheeler, *Second Annual Report*, p. 12.
[70] *Ibid*.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] Nakae Tôju, 'Okina Mondô', *Nakae Tôju, Shisô Taikei*, vol. 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 50–1.

to synthesize the Zhu Xi orthodoxy and the Wang Yangming teaching by the Japanese revisionist Confucians emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Nakae's rejection of learning based on memorization of classical texts as false learning allowed the revisionists to expand the nature of utilitarian practicalities. It also allowed them to synthesize and blend seemingly antithetical schools of thought.

One of the prominent scholars, who attempted to synthesize those two schools of thought, and who shared Nakae's line of thought on practicalities was Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), an outstanding Confucian scholar and a pioneer in Japanese practical learning. He synthesized the Zhu Xi school of thought and natural science and emphasized the value of empirical sciences that were linked directly to the daily life of the people and served the good of man. He found the rational base for the development of his empirical science in Zhu Xi's *gewu qionli* (the investigation of things and exploration of principles) and extended the scope of his practicalities covering everything from the experience and practice of ethics, to manners, linguistics, music, medicine, botany, zoology, agriculture, production, law, mathematics and military tactics, to name but a few. In his *Yamato honzô* (*Herbs of Japan*), he stresses the importance of *hakugaku gômon* (broad learning and diverse experience) for rational and objective scientific inquiry. In order to attain proper distinction between the truth and the false, one must guard against making insufficient observation, uncritical acceptance of what one perceives and exclusive adherence to one's own views.[73] Such a method of scientific inquiry had a profound impact on the later development of the method of investigation by practical learning as exemplified in the work of such late eighteenth-century scholars as Yamagata Bantô (1748–1821) and Miura Baien (1723–89). Kaibara Ekken's emphasis on the value of the power and independence of thought is indicated by his repudiation of the kind of learning that valued the excessive glorification of antiquity or solely the imitation of scholarship developed by the Chinese. Though it may have enhanced influence and prestige, he detested the kind of scholarship that merely resulted in repeating what others had said, without proper exploration or analysis.[74] He rejected the value placed on the skill of mere

[73] Kaibara Ekken, 'Yamato Zokkun', in *Ekken Zenshû*, Ekkenkai (ed.) (Tokyo: Ekkenkai, 1910–11), p. 60.

[74] Kaibara Ekken, 'Gojôkun', *Kaibara Ekken, Nihon Sishô Taikei*, vol. 34 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 147 and 'Yamato Zokkun', *Ekken Jukkun* (Tokyo: Yûhôdô Bunko, 1916), p. 80.

memorization or recitation of sayings by the sages of antiquity as he believed the mere possession of abundant knowledge without the process of inquiry, the implementation of knowledge into practice, and the attainment of principles was not true learning. His rejection was manifested in his promotion of the need for a flexible mind and progressive learning by discarding useless old habits.[75] By abandoning old habits and customs, one would be able to make progress and attain higher things. Ekken's concern for the power and independence of thought had parallels in Nakae Tôju's concept of *ken no michi* and his emphasis on present and practical concerns.

The nineteenth-century scholars of Western learning such as Sakuma Shôzan advocated the clear distinction between the moral consideration and that of the practical and scientific: that the former must abide exclusively by the oriental moral value system while the latter, by Western science and technical learning. Contrary to the concept developed by such scholars, Ekken's all-embracing empirical rationalism allowed the recognition of the moral elements as a basis of Western science.[76] Ekken's practical learning was learning for the purpose of self-cultivation of one's own mind and body. It was also learning that would benefit oneself through realization of the essence of humanity and righteousness, the fostering of the ideal moral relationships, and through a search for whatever would benefit man.[77] His truly useful learning was *juyô no gaku* (understanding and execution of the teaching of the sages) with the moral obligation as the central tenet of human relationships and the core of man's communal existence. In parallel with the rational orthodoxy of the Tokugawa government, the line of thought exemplified by Ekken's synthesis of practical scientific and utilitarian learning and moral self-cultivation developed into a force that smoothed the execution of the concept of *ken no michi* for modernization for the youth of early Meiji such as Uchimura and other SAC students. And the line of Japanese revisionist Confucian tradition, that developed a synthesis of practical, utilitarian learning and moral principle, much facilitated their espousal of Wheeler's educational philosophy and their strengthening of the traditional thought they found much akin to it.

[75] Minamoto Ryôen, ' "Jitsugaku" and Empirical Rationalism', in *Principle and Practicality*, p. 414.

[76] Mukai Genshô, for instance, was impressed with the advanced scholarship of Western astronomy, but abjured the metaphysical component as its foundation. Okada Takehiko, 'Yamazaki Ansai and Kaibara Ekken', *Principles and Practicality*, p. 271.

[77] Kaibara Ekken, 'Yamato Zokkun', in *Ekken Jukkun*, pp. 88–9.

The critical insight Wheeler offered into the Japanese intellectual tradition was calculated to instil into his students the spirit of independence and free thinking. He judged that Japanese students fell behind their American and European counterparts in an environment where a practical, progressive, and self-asserting, spirit had to be exercised. He felt that what Japan urgently required was cultivated and inspired men who could fully master the practical application of the spirit of freedom and independence. Wheeler's strong conviction of the power of independent thought and the application of knowledge was enhanced by his observation of the Japanese government officials who epitomized the symptoms of a stagnant and inert intellectual tradition. Like Clark's, Wheeler's empirical education was guided by the unity of knowledge and action. His unity of knowledge and action was then formulated in his embrace of independent thought and proper application of knowledge through the fulfilment of one's present duties, with the duties of the individual to conform only to his conviction of right principles.[78] With the practical application of the scientific knowledge and the power of independent thought, Wheeler was sure that the students of SAC would develop a mind 'stored with the sound principles of truth and reason'[79] and able

> to mould the facts of science to the intelligent purposes of their will in the ever changing problems and circumstances of life, and to make the end to be accomplished, the key to its accomplishment, even as the simple yet wonderful effects in nature shadow forth their potent cause.[80]

Armoured with a belief in the superiority of the Western system of practical and scientific learning and the spirit of freedom and independence, together with a strong sense of duty, righteousness and national pride, Wheeler carried on the task of the mission Clark had instituted. While the SAC was greatly indebted to Clark's extraordinary ability and calibre, Wheeler's contribution was equally vital in instilling in his students the right to independent thought and hammering into them appropriate skills for the undiluted application of Western value systems, which he identified as the essential element for the true progress of the modern Japanese nation. The paucity of accounts of Wheeler in the enormous amount of journals written by graduates of SAC seems to indicate that students felt no

[78] Fujita Fumiko, *American Pioneer*, p. 108.
[79] W. Wheeler, *Second Annual Report*, p. 15.
[80] *Ibid*.

great attachment to him.[81] Uchimura was no exception. There was hardly any mention of Wheeler in Uchimura's voluminous documentation of his life in his journals and correspondence. It may well indicate that he too felt no closeness to Wheeler. And yet, besides close similarities between them in character and bearing, the development of Uchimura's thought was greatly influenced by Wheeler's unwavering confidence in the values of practicality and the nationalist, liberal moral Christian philosophy that dominated the mid-nineteenth-century New England intellectual environment.

It is uncertain to what extent Uchimura, prior to his entry to SAC, was influenced by the Ekken line of the syncretic blend of practical learning and the empirical rationalism of the Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming schools. However, in view of the fact that his father Yasunori, an influential *han* Confucian, had been keen to adopt Western weaponry and military tactics for the modernization of the *han*, Uchimura was at least exposed to an environment in which Western practical and technical learning was absorbed into the syncretic blend of moral and utilitarian practicalities. Building upon his exposure to such a blend of values, Uchimura found in the nineteenth-century New England education thought, provided by Clark and Wheeler, more direct and permanent sources for his understanding of moral principle. Both Clark and Wheeler urged the students to acquire the spirit of independence and not as a mere moral instruction or a piece of ideological propaganda. Students were encouraged to demonstrate free and independent thinking in action by discarding the rote learning method and instead finding themselves their own study method and conducting research independently. Immediate effects of their instruction were manifested, for instance, in the establishment of the Kaishikisha (the Society for the Cultivation of Knowledge) and the introduction of sports days. The inclusion of such activities in schools was achieved for the first time in the history of Japanese education. Initially, modelling it on the similar MAC association the students organized and ran the Society, as indeed they did the sports day. And by such means Wheeler intended to instil into students the acquisition of independence and the extension of knowledge by

[81] However, one student remembered Wheeler as, next to Clark, the most charismatic and able teacher among the foreign teachers at SAC. Wheeler was, according to him, strict and yet sincere in his conviction and taught students following that conviction. His bearing was distinguished. He earned a lot of respect from students for his ability, moral fibre and his strength of character. Suzuki Toshio, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

practice.[82] The emphasis on the empirical approach to instil into students the ideal of individualism and independence made the absorption of the values of Western liberalism less alienating and smoother than the theoretical approaches to its understanding. The students responded. Rejecting a world of stable, established conventions and the pursuit of the established elite course to officialdom, many graduates of SAC opted for the pursuit of the fulfilment of their lofty ambitions and pioneered new areas. The subsequent prominence achieved by the Kaitakushi graduates owed much to SAC's empirical and practical applications of the idea of independence and individuality in the ordinary physical world, as well as to the outstanding ability of students who with enthusiasm sought to execute the idea.

The reputation of the college by the turn of the century as the mecca of free thinkers thus stemmed from this fundamental philosophy nurtured by the college. Such an ideological stance, however noble it might have appeared to the liberal youth, was destined not to dominate Meiji society as the main stream of thought. By producing graduates prominent in fighting for humanity and the rights of individuals, it was inevitable that the college came to be considered the antithesis of the dominant political views. Uchimura was a vanguard of liberalism and adopted the principle of independence and the pursuit of self-cultivation in order to extend the individual.

He became the most famous of the SAC graduates for his endless fight to guard that ideological position. For Uchimura, independence was a primary source of self-cultivation which sustained his spiritual and emotional life and developed subsequently to become one of the most important axioms which he guarded with body and soul. Independence was an essential vehicle through which the individual could verify and unite the essence of his being and the Truth. In other words, to achieve independence was an empirical verification of self-realization that he was complete within a microcosmos of his

[82] The Society was created to share knowledge, exchange opinions and to debate as well as to develop camaraderie. Meetings were held twice a month and sometimes the staff participated in debate. Debating was intended also to provide benefits for the development of students' oratorical and composition skills. The topics covered in the early years of the Society were predominantly issues that involved moral concerns from a Christian point of view. By 1880, topics of political and national concern such as 'On Nationalism', 'A Lever for Amendment to Japan's Treaty' and 'Japan Does Not Need Christianity' became popular. The change in the nature of topics occurred as a significant number of senior students including Uchimura left the Society.

own independent entity created by God. He argued that a man was dependent only on God and he himself as a man must be true to himself and God. A man was, however tiny it might be, a complete microcosmos created by the Deity. From such a viewpoint, man was able to possess freewill and act independently. Independence was the core of the nature of man.[83] Throughout his battle-plagued, turbulent life, being true to himself, being consistent with his principle, and being unwavering in action following the principle, all characterized his method of self-cultivation. He was to find that some Japanese Confucian scholars of the past emphasized the value of independence as a principle and that by adherence to it one could attain the truth. He persuaded his followers and readers of his various magazines that such notable Confucians as Ishikawa Jôzan, Nakae Tôju, Yamazaki Ansai, Itô Jinsai and Kaibara Ekken were great teachers of the people as they possessed an indomitable spirit of independence and courage, together with the strength of character to endure solitude, to be true to themselves and to remain independent.[84] An independent man in quest of remaining true to principle might face adversity as a result of his conflicts with compassion, desires, friends, family, a state or even the world. But, a truly admirable man was one who stood his ground alone and strove to overcome such adversity.[85] It was his notion of the ideal man. His admiration and respect for such men as Cromwell, Thomas Carlyle and Sören Kierkegaard to a significant degree stemmed from his understanding of the principle of the unwavering pursuit of independence.

The concept of independence which became the foundation of Uchimura's thought was also reflected strongly in the way he formulated his Christian thought during the SAC period. The introduction of Christianity at the college by Clark, though ostensibly only for the purpose of giving moral guidance to students, served to ignite a religious fervour among his students, which resulted in his formulation of the Covenant of Believers in Jesus a month before his departure. Uchimura, though at his initiation hardly in accord with the devotion of his seniors, nevertheless came to embrace a puritanical nonconformist form of Christianity by the time of his graduation. The Christianity he encountered at SAC, too, was an extension of

[83] Uchimura Kanzô, 'Freewilling and Freedoing', *Uchimura Kanzô Chosaku zenshû*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1952), pp. 276–80.
[84] Uchimura Kanzô, 'Jusha ni naraubeshi', *Shôri no Shôgai*, Yamamoto Shichihei (ed.), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yamamoto Shoten, 1991), pp. 175–8.
[85] Uchimura Kanzô, 'Waga Risô no Hito', *ibid*., p. 336.

practicalities and the unity of knowledge and action to attain the moral principle. It was an individual experience of a quintessential element of self moral cultivation for the salvation of not only self, but also of society. His understanding of Christianity which was shared by his fellow SAC Christians culminated in their forming an independent church of their own. In 1881 they founded a non-denominational, 'one church' where there was no demand for uniformity in doctrinal theories and practice but for one body united through the simplest form of creed and a recognition of liberal ideals and contentment in the secular life of ordinary citizens. The founding of the Sapporo Church was a triumph for Uchimura and his like-minded fellows, for it symbolized their most valued tenets, independence and unity, combined in harmony. He declared their act of completing repayment of their loan made to Julius Soper of the Methodist Episcopal Church as Magna Carta.[86] The Sapporo Church free of any dependence on the American mission boards was, on the one hand, an indication of success in their uniting thought and action in pursuit of independence and liberal ideals, and on the other, a physical manifestation of their abilities and capabilities. Uchimura explains:

> It was a humble attempt to reach the one great aim we had in view, namely to come to the full consciousness of our own powers and capabilities (God given) and to remove obstacles in the ways of others seeking God's Truth for the salvation of their souls.[87]

The founding of the totally independent Sapporo Church was also a physical manifestation of the spirit of SAC as formulated by Clark and his able fellow New Englanders that one must act upon and follow through one's lofty ambitions, be courageous about treading on a new frontier and at the same time maintain a cultivated mind that seeks freedom, originality and independent inquiry.

Uchimura and his fellow SAC graduates strove to achieve that legacy and continued to share the aspirations that flowed from the essential values inculcated by the New Englanders, the values of independence, practicality and individual self-cultivation. They

[86] Uchimura Kanzô, *How I Became a Christian, Complete Works of Kanzô Uchimura* (Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1970), p. 87. Through the Reverend Davison the Methodist Episcopal Church initially offered the members of the Believers in Jesus a donation of about US$800 for their planned church, but later settled for a loan after a strong objection voiced by Uchimura and some other members against their financial dependence on missionaries.

[87] *Ibid*.

emerged as prominent members of society and their prominence was gained in fields unique for products of a nominally agricultural college. Uchimura Kanzô, the founder of the Mukyôkai (non-church) movement, and Nitobe Inazô, who became president of the Tokyo Women's University and at one time the Under Secretary-General of the League of Nations' Secretariat, came to be noted as two of the three great cultural hybrids of modern Japan.[88] Besides Uchimura and Nitobe, the SAC in the Kaitakushi period was to produce outstanding members of the modern intelligentsia such as, Ôshima Masateke, a linguist who introduced Hawthorne to Japan, Arakawa Shigehide, who became a pioneer of the earliest Western theatre in Japan in developing a Shakespearean theatre and who also became a theatre director and an actor,[89] Iwasaki Yukichika, an influential educator and a co-author of a Japanese–English Dictionary, Sakuma Nobuyasu, an authority on English language study, Takenobu Yoshitarô, a founder of the long-running magazine *Eigo seinen (English Youth)* and an architect of modern Japanese and English dictionaries, Zumoto Motosada, a father of English-language newspapers in Japan, and Shiga Shigetaka, a critic and writer and a leading advocate of the idealistic vein of Japanese nationalism. Uchimura himself went to extraordinary lengths to practise the axioms in every facet of life. It was shown in his rejection of financial support offered to him from various people at numerous stages of his life. It was also illustrated in his unwavering criticism, frequently at his own peril, of the increasingly authoritarian government, in his activities for anti-war and labour movements and in his environmental stance.

Reflecting constant changes in the government's policies, the SAC itself was to undergo numerous reforms in the next four decades. Following the government's campaign for a political and ideological unity of the state, the college ceased its identity as the Sapporo Agricultural College, was renamed in 1907 Tôhoku Imperial Agricultural University, and in 1918, became Hokkaidô Imperial University, which expanded to include such faculties as Arts, Law and Medicine.

[88] The other was Okakura Tenshin (1863–1913). He was one of the principal founders of the Tokyo Fine Art School in 1887. Like Uchimura and Nitobe, he wrote many of his works in English and endeavoured to better acquaint the West with the East.

[89] Arakawa Shigehide was a brilliant man with enormous talents. Sharing somewhat similar traits with Uchimura, he changed his career many times before settling into the theatre. He also drew public notice when he enrolled himself in Law at Kyoto University at the age of 66.

Undoubtedly, the Sapporo Agricultural College made a significant contribution to the modernization of Japanese agriculture which made in turn the greatest contribution to the development of the economy in the mid to the late Meiji period. More significantly, however, the SAC made a contribution to the building of the nation by diffusing the idea of the cultivation of man as the basis of the enriched society, the quintessential values of Japanese moral thought tradition greatly articulated and enhanced by the exposure to the Western thought values. The legacy of the spirit of SAC was spread wide across the whole of Japan through the graduates who dedicated themselves to educate the youth in the tradition of SAC.[90] Under the influence of the graduates such as Ôshima Masatake and Tsurusaki Kumekichi, the ethos of the SAC was to nurture many prominent leaders of the society who carried on the legacy.[91]

The spirit of independence promoted and enhanced by SAC graduates, among others, subsequently underpinned many and varied developments in Japan: a mystic, emotional, nationalist stance that advocated the independence of the state in parallel with her military and economic expansion, an idealistic Pan-Asianist stance that advocated the independence of Asia, a socialist, religious stance that advocated the independence of the underprivileged, an aesthetic and geographical, nationalist stance that advocated the independence of a nation as the unique part of the phenomenal world, and a liberal, democratic stance that advocated the independence and freedom of the individual. The spirit of independence manifested in the mould of the last two directions predominated in the spirit of SAC and sustained the principle that the cultivation of independent, liberal men was of the essence for the acquisition of wealth and economic and technological advances of the country. Creativity and innovation as well as material wealth can flow naturally only from the mobilization of independent, cultivated men.

In short, the Kaitakushi period of SAC epitomizes a pattern of interaction between Japan and the West at the onset of Meiji mod-

[90] Forty percent of graudates between 1880 and 1895 became teachers as a substantial part of their working life.

[91] Among the notable pupils of the SAC graduates were Hashimoto Tanzan, a postwar prime minister who advocated liberal democracy and the anti-war movement, and Yanaihara Tadao, a Chancellor of Tokyo University, who continued his resistance against fascism and militarism during the war. Hashimoto was greatly influenced by the Clarkian spirit through his mentor Ôshima Masatake. A stone relief of Ôshima's poem romantically describing Clark's departure from Sapporo

ernization. It illustrates a pattern of the process by which the Japanese facilitated the absorption of values of ostensibly greatly different cultures through affinities they found with the existing syncretic thought tradition as seen in the line of thought of Tokugawa Confucian revisionists, Locke and Clark to mould a Meiji pattern of thought adopted by the SAC graduates. It further illustrates that a swift ideological transition was attempted through a recognition of Western values and thought not so much as the totally new, but as entities separate from, yet similar to, the traditional values embraced within one universal embodiment. Modernization was not the alien process it may appear. In this regard, the Japanese modernizers were better equipped with facilitators for a more swift and smooth transition than were Japan's neighbours. No doubt, the meld of the Japanese thought tradition and philosophy of Clark and SAC New Englanders provides for present and future Japan a valuable model for educators, scientists and businessmen who have promoted Japan's need to foster independent and creative thinkers in order to maintain her competitive edge in the increasingly demanding interfacing world. At the same time, it provides a beacon for those who, in their process of evaluating traditional values in the bid to overcome the present dilemma over the economic and social insecurity, oppose a shift to stultifying insularity.

was erected in the school court yard in 1965, together with the inscription, in Hashimoto's calligraphy, of the injunction 'Boys, be ambitious!'.