


日本における英語遠隔教育史 1885-1950 を紐解く Unveiling History of Distance Education in English Education: Japan 1885-1950

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ABSTRACT

本稿は、同じく Vol.64 に収録された書評：「英語教育史重要文献集成第13巻：英語通信教育」を補完するものである。本稿の目的は、先人である天野郁夫氏（1994）や江利川春雄氏（2019）の大著に依拠しつつ、未だ細論において開拓余地が多く残された日本における遠隔教育の歴史を紐解く上で重要かつ基本的な研究ツールや希少な関連資料の検索・保存などのノウハウについて、情報共有することである。国内に一編、二編、しか現存を確認出来ない希少資料を発掘し、知られざる遠隔教育の歴史を再構成する手作業は、宝探しにも似た発見の喜びに満ちている。書誌情報や検索に有用なキーワードは出来る限り日英併記とし、国内外の研究者への便宜に留意した。なお、本稿著者の研究内容・見解と書評とを書き分けるため、別様式で二編を同号内に掲載することをお許しいただいた。

This article provides a supplementary research note to the book review “Collection of Significant Literature on the History of English Education Vol.13: English Distance Education” included in the current *Educational Studies* journal volume 64. It aims to share arising research topics in the field of the history of distance education in Japan. Basing on two prior core works by Amano (1994) and Erikawa (2019), it develops discussions through examining specific topics regarding chronology and archival research. This process provides further research potentials and shares the know-how that would hopefully be useful for other researchers in-and-outside of Japan. It ends with a remark expressing the enjoyment of unveiling the unknown history of distance education, analogous to a treasure hunt of priceless ancient gold.

1. Introduction

This exploratory study introduces a research area, namely, the history of distance education in English education in Japan. This paper takes the form of a research note because this area is being born, and therefore, constructing common knowledge grounds with methodological tips is urgently needed.

This study covers three topics. 1) A review of the core prior literature that provides the overview of the history of distance education and those in English education in Japan, 2) sharing fundamental research tools for relevant archival documents, and 3) examining example studies with specific research topics for further study. Also, the urgency of conservation and preservation of relevant archives is alerted.

In this paper, the reference information, key proper nouns, and keywords are provided both in English and Japanese when appropriate for easier access to the original references by other researchers in-and-outside of Japan. For references that include old Chinese characters in the original publication, the characters are converted into the current for a higher reading flow, with their original older characters in the references at the end of this paper.

2. Core Prior Literature

This section briefly introduces two pieces of prior literature. Both are must-reads as a starter to gain the basis for studying the history of distance education and English education in Japan.

2.1 Amano (1994)

Vol. 67 (Amano, 1994) provides an indispensable overview on the origin and structure of distance education (hereafter, DE) in Japan. The chief editor Dr Amano, Professor of the Open University of Japan and Professor Emeritus of the University of

Tokyo, led this volume project. Among the voluminous 300 plus pages of the research report, the Introduction and Chapter one on the “Lecture notes” (講義録) are the most relevant to the current discussion.

Lecture notes are defined in this report as “Lecture record as a form of learning medium in non-formal education — a primitive form of distance education and correspondence education, which was widely used in pre-war Japan” (p.6)¹. This definition presumes the prior execution of oral lectures, simultaneously or posteriorly transcribed in written/printed form for distance delivery afterwards. With the concept of lecture notes as its core, the report collects research on DE from a multi-perspective; this eventually had developed into the formal and non-formal history of distance education. Notably, many traditional universities lasting more than one century in Japan offered DE courses at the beginning (Amano, 1994, p.18).

2.2 Erikawa (2019)

Vol.13, one of the 15 volume series of “Collection of Significant Literature on the History of English Education”, includes the reprint of primary documents — textbooks, program instruction booklets, prospectus, and others — used in DE courses outside the formal education systems 1885-1950. The chief editor of all the 15 volumes is Dr Erikawa. According to the historical significance, 11 documents are selectively reprinted into the Vol. 13 to which Erikawa, Professor Emeritus of Wakayama University and the former chair of the Society for Historical Studies of English Learning and Teaching in Japan, detailed the historical meaning at the end of the volume spanning 24 pages.

Vol. 13 makes a significant contribution to the field of study in two ways. Firstly, most reprints are rare archives hardly found anywhere anymore; the revival by reprint permits much more prolonged

and broader scholastic sharing of them in a structured and consistent manner. Secondly, the appended 24 pages bibliography provides a concise overview of the significant historical events with a clear account of and relevancy to each archival document, which was eventually condensed into a chronological table of English distance education 1885-1950 in Japan (app. pp.3-4).

3. Archive's Search Tools

Two central databases, free of charge, would be the most helpful and first to be consulted for further pursuit of archival document search for the study.

3.1 National Diet Library (NDL)

NDL Online (<https://www.ndl.go.jp/>) is a database that conserves all the publications and doctoral dissertations produced within Japan.

It allows search in four languages of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English. The database has been evolving; it is now linked to external search engines such as CiNii (next mentioned) and Google Scholar, making it more comprehensive and borderless. Besides, the research results include the conservation status by public libraries; the CiNii database does not cover this feature. That means that from any local public library, the NDL service is accessible without visiting the main library buildings located only in Tokyo and Kyoto.

Its digital library collections — treasures of rare archives —, allow copyright expired/cleared valuable documents, maps, audios, videos, and others, of more than 350,000 entries (NDL, n.d.) freely accessible from anywhere. In some cases, the data are downloadable in PDF or other data formats for possession by individuals for further on-screen analysis. The new acquisition has been daily made, which necessitates regular checks on the database for archival analysis updates.

3.2 CiNii (*sai-nee*)

CiNii (<https://ci.nii.ac.jp/>) or Scholarly and Academic Information Navigator, maintained by the National Institute of Informatics (NII), is a bibliographic database specifically for academic articles, books, journals, and dissertations published within Japan (NII, n.d.). We can use the interface in Japanese or English, and the search results are exportable to main reference management tools such as RefWorks and EndNotes. The CiNii entries, written initially in Japanese, occasionally provide their official English titles (under “Other title”), which is helpful for precise referencing in academic papers in the English language. Sometimes it offers Japanese phonetic transcription (under “Title transcription”), allowing accurate syllabic segmentation. Moreover, the housing information of specific documents is available, that is, which university libraries or research institutes possess, of both public and private. Through interlibrary loan (ILL) service, the photocopies of rare archives can be obtained by post, usually only for actual costs without visiting them long distances.

It is to be kept in mind that the search results are limited to the publication made within Japan only: those published or conserved outside Japan are undetectable using these. Likewise, archives of significance possessed by individual researchers are not trackable by either database if the systems do not register them.

4. Emerging Research Topics

Hereunder provides some examples of specific research foci that would need detailed examination for further study.

4.1 Chronological Dating

Specifying the exact date for historical events is a time-consuming task. For example, in the

chronology by Erikawa, 1950 is listed as the establishment year of the Japan Society of English Study (日本英語教育協会). We can confirm this date is authentic by the record managed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan (MEXT, n.d.). On the other hand, textbook data registered on CiNii provides 1947 (Nino, 1947) as the earliest. Moreover, two booklets at the author's place, are dated 1948 as its first edition (Otani, 1950) as Figure 1 right and 1948 as its first edition (Kagawa, 1948) as Figure 1 left, both being two years before 1950. The colophons of these two booklets at hand are inscribed "Not for Sale" (非売品). We can see the Ministry of Education approved the DE course at that time (文部省認定・通信教育), so there should have been some undeclared episodes here.

The years around 1950 are presumably amid the post-war chaos in Japan. The existence of two dates, 1948 and 1950, deserves further exploration because this point concerns the establishment of the Society and the actual beginning of the correspondence course by the Society. This point may intrigue research curiosity because of the ever-increasing influence of the Society in various aspects of English education that it has been giving to present Japan.

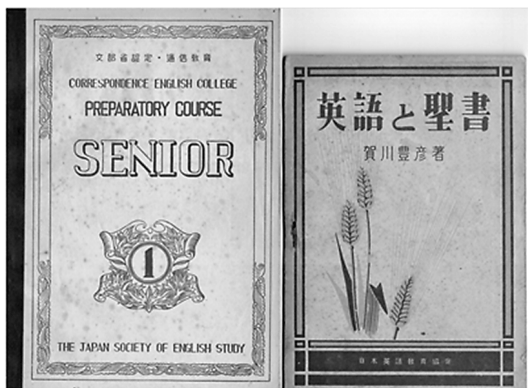


Figure 1 *The Japan Society of English Study (English textbook 1950 left² and "English and the Bible" 1948 right³)*

4.2 Single and Dual Modes

The distinction between "dual-mode" and "single-mode" as core concepts has been established in distance education. A single-mode institution refers to those in which "distance education is the sole activity." In contrast, a dual-mode refers to "one that adds distance education to its previously established campus and class-based teaching." (Moore & Kearsley, 2005, p.4). This definition may have been made with distance education as a centre; therefore, Table 1 has been further developed in this paper, which is more inclusive to cover all potentially possible patterns in terms of instructional delivery.

Theoretically, the start of the institution/program could take all the three modes of F2F (face-to-face) only, DE (distant education) only, and the dual-mode of F2F and DE. In times, each could have stayed with the same model with its origin or have changed to take other mode/modes than its origin. The eight patterns highlighted in grey are those including DE components. This table allows us to ponder that, even if the first pattern F2F→F2F may be considered the most authentic or standard instructional mode, which may be also the most predominant feature of formal education at present, this pattern takes only one possibility out of nine options.

The concept of difference in instructional delivery mode could become critical when we restore and interpret historical events. The categorization could also affect the scope of the

Table 1 *Nine patterns of the historical development of an institution by instructional delivery mode*

Patterns	Originally	At some point
1		F2F
2	Single mode	DE
3	F2F	Dual mode
4		F2F and DE
5	Single mode	Single mode
6	DE	DE
7		F2F and DE
8	Dual mode	Single mode
9	F2F and DE	DE
		Dual mode
		F2F and DE

archive collection process. For example, at present, Eygaku-Sokuseiko (英学速成校) is a viable candidate to be the first institution that provided in 1885 an English correspondence course outside formal curricula in Japan (Erikawa, 2019, p.3). When writing this research note, the rare archives regarding Eygaku-Sokuseiko are registered by only three institutions. Seinan Gakuin University and University of Tokyo conserve *Daily Lessons for the Student of the Eygaku-Sokuseiko* (英学速成校生徒日課) 1885; DNL digital conserves *English Conversations* (英学規範 会話之部) 1887 (Tomotsune, 1887). From these, we can learn that Eygaku-Sokuseiko provided the English course in a daily chunk-based practice structure.

On the other hand, there are archives at the author's place *Daily Lessons for the External Student of the Eygaku-Sokuseiko* (英学速成校校外生日課) 1885 (underlines added). We may infer that the first two textbooks above were for F2F mode, whereas the last one was for DE mode. That is, the Eygaku-Sokuseiko might have started as dual-mode at its birth in 1885 (patterns 7-9).

For the DE archival research, the term "external student" (校外生) should be paid particular attention because it implies the existence of "internal student" to make it dual mode. For DE focused study, documents regarding "external student" are of direct relevancy. By locating which pattern to fall in for a specific institution in terms of DE, we could better identify the missing piece to be filled in the jigsaw puzzle of the history.

4.3 Formal/Non-formal/Informal learning

As was summarized earlier, the work by Amano (1994) focuses on the restoration of the history of lecture notes (講義録) regardless of subject areas. In contrast, the work by Erikawa (2019) focuses on distance education in English education "outside the formal education" (非正規). Amano's Vol.67 research report applies the term "non-formal" (非

定型), juxtaposing both English and Japanese in the volume. In contrast, Vol.13 by Erikawa use only 非正規 in the Japanese language.

An official definition of the three learning – formal, non-formal, and informal learning — is introduced hereunder (COE, n.d.) :

Educational systems exist to promote formal learning, which follows a syllabus and is intentional in the sense that learning is the goal of all the activities learners engage in. Learning outcomes are measured by tests and other forms of assessment. (...)

Non-formal learning takes place outside formal learning environments but within organizational framework. It arises from the learner's conscious decision to master a particular activity, skill or area of knowledge and is thus the result of intentional effort. But it need not follow a formal syllabus or be governed by external accreditation and assessment. (...)

Informal learning takes place outside schools and colleges and arises from the learner's involvement in activities that are not undertaken with a learning purpose in mind. Informal learning is involuntary and an inescapable part of daily life; for that reason, it is sometimes called experiential learning. (sic)

It is not fair to consider the definition by the Council of Europe as the single authentic definition for the distinction; on the other hand, the terminology used by Amano and Erikawa may give a different connotation. 非定型 may suppose something fixed vs unfixed concerning program structure; 非正規 may assume something regular vs irregular concerning school system, both referring to the same learning model, that is, non-formal 非正規, more precisely. This point could be critical because both admit that non-formal learning may have been a much more significant portion of education than

formal learning in Japan. When we research this area, exceptional attention to these distinctions is needed. Establishing consistent categorization criteria of the archives to restore the history is a recommended procedure.

5. Thoughts for Further Study

This section briefly provides some thoughts on further directions of the field of study, which would hopefully be helpful to other scholars.

One of the difficulties detecting the missing piece archives relates to characteristics that non-formal DE holds. DE course textbooks often took the form of booklets sent at certain regularity by post, printed on papers of quality equivalent to magazines as they were supposed to be out of use after a while and easily degradable. In the DE history in Japan, after a course delivery of success, sometimes these booklets are further collected as one or a series of hard-bound book collections and published for a wider audience. In such cases, better quality papers may have been luckily used, allowing the archives more durability than the original booklets. Besides, the author witnesses the quality of documents for the course booklets depends on socio-cultural factors, i.e., around war times, the quality of booklet papers was often more inferior as papers and opportunities of learning were becoming a scarce luxury.

Volume 13 for non-formal English DE limits its scope between 1885-1950; namely, excavation earlier than 1885 and after 1950, alongside the detailed examination of 1885-1950 are left to be done. It is verified that the formal systematic DE at a higher level of education has its official records of the start in 1885 by Igrisu Horitsu Gakko (英吉利法律学校), the former Chuo University, (Amano, 1994, Yamazaki, 2010) and the customs of making the recorded lecture, earlier in 1884 by Meiji-gizyuku-horitsugakko (明治義塾法律学

校⁴). In this sense, the year around 1885 seems a viable candidate for starting more systematic DE, both informal and non-formal learning, in Japan overall. The author of this paper somewhat embraces a littler earlier start for the conception of systematic DE than 1884 in Japan, which will be reported in a separate article. As an inevitable nature of historical research, new archives have been gradually and constantly discovered thanks to research endeavours and new findings that would demand the modification of our understanding of the chronology and fact events.

The large-scale digitalization project by NDL is a big step forwards, which would help raise the shareability and conservation of invaluable archives in Japan and overseas. Because of the ephemeral feature of the archives, special awareness and responsibility by the relevant researchers to consider durable conservation and preservation of these are demanded. Donation of the value after our research analyses to some non-profit organization is a solution to protect our priceless treasures. The missionary vision to contribute and service may be a needed quality to pursue this research area.

6. Conclusion

Due to the pandemic, our education needs to shift from the standard face-to-face to online or dual mode. As we saw, face-to-face is only the one possible among nine potentials: why not take this pandemic opportunity to think of taking some of the other eight possibilities? The pandemic appears to have a similar impact on how we learn as in wartime. In the long history of education, there is no apparent reason to go back to the single face-to-face mode.

Digging out the unfound historical events with invaluable archives is like a treasure hunt amid the vast desert of sand. I would be happy if this small research note could help share the pleasure of

uncovering the unknown facts of distance education that I cherish so much of this country.

Notes

- 1 Original Japanese: “戦前期の日本において広く普及をみていた、非定型的な教育＝学習のメディアとしての講義録—遠隔教育・通信教育の原初的な形態”
- 2 It was scanned from the original textbook published in 1950 (Showa 25), first edition 1948, “Correspondence English College: Senior 1”.
- 3 It was scanned from the original booklet published in 1948 (Showa 23).
- 4 University of Tokyo Graduate Schools for Law and Politics / Faculty of Law Center for Modern Japanese Legal and Political Documents [Meiji Shinbun Zasshi Bunko / Manuscript Division: 東京大学 大学院法学政治学研究科 附属近代日本法政史料センター (明治新聞雑誌文庫) 所蔵: 「法學講義筆記」 (1884-1885)

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