

# COMPARATIVE CULTURE

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# 比較文化

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## Before putting your course online...

Jeffrey Mok

今日教育に関わる者はオンライン学習に高い関心を持っているが、オンラインを効果的に利用できなかった教え手もいたようである。オンライン教育には使用前に考えておくべきことがいくつかある。本稿はオンライン教育の成否に関わるコースデザインの三要件、すなわち臨機応変に対応すること、現実感をもたせること、最新の情報を取り入れることの三点について考察する。

Online learning has been and still is the buzz in educational circles today. However, some teachers may have had unsavoury experiences using it for teaching. Before jumping in to put your courses online, there are several things to look out for. This short paper looks at three important factors that determine the success of online teaching: flexibility, authenticity, and being up-to-date in your design.

The ubiquitous e-learning knocks on our doors every now and then. Whether it is the glorious promise made in an article you read, or whether your school has mandated your courses go online, the notion of putting a course online has invariably crossed many a teacher's mind. I was enticed nine years ago when I read about the glittering promises of e-learning. Like a mouse to the piper, I followed the masses into cyberspace. I started using Topclass in 1999 and moved to Blackboard, WebCT, and now MOODLE. I went from putting my teaching material and video clips of my lectures online, to practice questions, and eventually having entire courses online without having to see my students face to face. So, what are the essential things one must know before putting a course online?

The foremost question that one should ask is 'Why should I go online, when I'm fine with the 'talk and chalk' method?' This is because your students will be asking the same question: 'Why should we go online for this learning activity or course when we can do it face to face? What are the benefits? Why must we go beyond the 90 minute classes and do extra work online? I did not sign up for this online thing; I paid my fees for the face to face classes.' These are the questions to consider during the design and delivery of your teaching online. What is your purpose? Why are you doing this online? Once you have adequately answered these questions, you are not far from having a successful online teaching experience.

As a teacher, putting your course online offers many advantages. The main one is flexibility: flexibility in updating your notes, materials, and resources anytime and anywhere in the world where there is an internet connection. I had the pleasure (or pressure sometimes) of grading my students' assignments overseas on a holiday. Without bringing my laptop or papers along, I used the hotel's business centre where there was an internet service. Online teaching also makes grading easy as the system tabulates the percentages and grades without me having to punch in figures on a calculator. Any course management system also provides a great monitoring system on students' attendance and participation in the cyber class. Essentially, for the teacher, it provides a one stop place for excellent teaching and administrative features. Teaching functions include quizzes, tests, video teaching clips and visual demonstrations via asynchronous and synchronous platforms. Administrative

functions include giving announcements, giving reminders, housekeeping matters, and most importantly, grading.

However useful and flexible it is for the teacher, the students are not fooled in an online course. If flexibility for the student is compromised, they will sense it immediately and will voice their displeasure. I had students coming up to me and telling me point blank that they hate going online because it was too cumbersome. Once, my students handed in their assignments in hard copies asking why they should submit online when they can do so right in front of me? I have also seen teachers instructing students to type messages online to each other whilst sitting in the same class (!). Students will see the illogical and irrelevant manner of communication and learning when put through a longer path to get to their destination. So, while it makes good sense for you to go online for several of the teaching and administrative purposes, it is important to think about things from your students' perspective.

The keyword then is flexibility, especially for students' learning. Often times, in the teacher's eagerness to incorporate online learning into their courses, they forget this fundamental reason why courses are offered online. Turning your course online for the sake of having technology or just following the crowd would be a huge mistake. Flexibility for the students means they should be able to learn at their own pace, retrieve notes, lecture video and other information at anytime and from anywhere. They should both be able to get feedback on their work via the program you have and receive more comments from you than if it was face to face. After all, this is the differentiating benefit of online learning. It should also be a one stop place where students need not log into another system, such as an email or program to access information. You can sell these benefits to your students if you are starting to go online. Students need to be convinced of the benefits, otherwise they will not even visit your website!

The second important question to ask when you go online is whether you provide an authentic learning experience. This, like any teaching method, provides the relevance and context of learning for the students. I have seen teachers who required the class to discuss a topic online using English in an EFL class. It turned out to be highly unnatural for the students who could write to each other in their own native language, but who were forced to use English. The test of authenticity is this: which is the more natural way for your students? If for example, to source for a definition of an unknown word the students find it natural to flip open their e-dictionary rather than to wait for the booting up of the computer and logging onto the website, then the requirement for the students to check for the meaning of a word by going online is inauthentic. The students will find it unnatural and a waste of their time and effort. Authenticity goes a long way in ensuring your online teaching experience is both enjoyable as well as relevant.

Authenticity means an access that is either complementary or supplementary. If you were to take a cursory look at the manner most people go online either for work or for leisure, it is inevitably done as a complement or a supplement. A modern company's intranet has become almost a necessity for the company to function. Emails, file sharing and even administrative matters such as applying for leave and receiving personal income statements have gone online and employees are required to use the intranet for organisational effectiveness and performance. So, face to face communication and conducting of business have been complemented with the online intranet. The online system complements because it is more efficient (and flexible!) in processing business and communication. It has cost-effective benefits for both the employee as well as for the employer. Likewise, in e-learning,

when a conventionally contented face to face class decides to go online, the complementary benefits of effectiveness and flexibility must be evident for both the learner and the teacher. A supplementary function may exist too for online access since it offers records of past meetings' minutes or the option of checking up on another employee's phone number instead of rummaging through cabinets for the hardcopy version. Likewise, face to face teaching classroom can be supplemented with notes, instructions, announcements and video clips of lectures uploaded online for students to refer to after class if needed. So, we have to be clear in our minds whether we design our online classes as supplementary or complementary to regular classes in order to reap the fruits of e-learning.

A cautionary note must be made about using online teaching as a substitute for regular classes which is the third mode of use. In most educational settings, students are able to attend classes physically. However, I have seen an entire course conducted online with the students physically sitting next to each other in a face to face classroom. It not only looked odd when they were typing to each other messages seated next to each other, but it was highly unnatural in terms of communication! Students will soon recognize such glaring idiocy; I have read online forum discussion messages saying 'let's meet after lunch to discuss this.'! On the other hand, substitutional online learning works well for learners engaged in distance learning where they have difficulty travelling to the school for classes.

Finally, my last point about successful online learning is that your online programme must be up to date. In other words, it has to feature some if not most of the modern features of online sophistication. What do I mean by this? For example, current handphone technology allows multiple features such as emailing, taking and sending pictures and video clips, as well as accessing the Internet and watching television. These never-ending new and integrated features satisfy the appetite for convenience and are migrating to e-learning as well. Long gone are the days that e-learners are satisfied with static display of texts and pictures. Information is now presented with more features. You can view or hear a podcast or catch the latest RSS feeds. Visiting any major online newspaper will demonstrate to you how far the presentation of information online has come. Newspapers are more eye-catching and engaging. The learning choice has also improved from pre-determined to being customised and personalised. Information and learning choices must be tailored for the learners. Communication has become multi-party with virtual classrooms being conducted synchronously if needed. And recently, online universities are using 'flash meetings' where tutors and students can 'meet' online for a consultation via the internet with a buzz.

Having described the development of online learning to its current state of technology, it gives you an idea what students are likely to expect from your online programme. Of course, you do not need to have all the modern and integrated features before you go online, but if your online programme is still in the dinosaur age (first generation), then your students will quickly find it boring and will be unmotivated to go online. Your best guide is to take a look at what is offered on the internet, the level of quality and mode of e-learning and will give you a feel of what your students will expect in terms of the features and modernity of your online programme. So, remember these things in your e-learning design: flexibility, authenticity, and the need to be up-to-date and you will not be far from the heaven of online teaching.

## Connections to existing knowledge: The effectiveness of methods of vocabulary acquisition

Brendan Rodda

本論文は日本の大学の一年生の中での単語習得の方法の比較である。主に、コンテキストと言う意味内容的な方法とキーワードと言う記憶術的な方法の間の比較である。二つの方法とも以前の研究の反復練習より、いい結果であったことが示されている。更に、本論文はその二つの方法の組み合わせ、及び対象となる単語の日本語訳の変わりに簡単な英語の説明を使用したコンテキスト方法を調査する。この実験は、以前の方法を比べた実験の不均等を正そうとする。結果は、キーワードを使用したグループがコンテキスト方法を使用したグループより有意差があつて単語を習得した。

This study compared the effectiveness of methods of vocabulary acquisition among first-year students at a Japanese university. The main comparison was between a semantic-based method – called the context method – and a mnemonic one – called the keyword method. Both of them have achieved significantly better results than rote learning in earlier studies. This study also tested a combination of the two methods as well as a version of the context method using simple English explanations of target words rather than Japanese translations of the words. This study aimed to redress some of the irregularities of earlier comparisons of the methods. It found that students using the keyword method were able to acquire and retain significantly more words than students using the context method.

Many researchers have investigated methods that are designed to facilitate vocabulary acquisition. Unfortunately, research findings have been inconsistent and have sometimes lacked validity in typical language learning situations. Perhaps those points explain the neglect of vocabulary acquisition methods among teachers and learners – faced with the inconsistent results and arcane conditions of research studies, teachers and learners tend to ignore the field. This is a pity because some of the methods offer significant advantages over the usual practice of reading the new word together with its translation in order to memorize it or, more simply, acquiring the word through exposure in communication. Despite the confusing results of the research, it is clear that by using the methods, learners can save considerable time and effort.

The aim of this study is to compare two methods of vocabulary acquisition – the context method and the keyword method – in ways that avoid the imbalances and irregularities of some earlier studies. The context method – also known as semantic-context or semantic processing – involves exposure to example sentences using the target word. It is a straightforward method that somewhat mimics the way children learn their first language. However, it differs from natural acquisition in that it concentrates in time a number of exposures to the new word and encourages learners to notice the word and think about it. The keyword method is more complicated. It is a mnemonic technique that involves matching a target word in the L2 with a similar sounding word (the keyword) from the L1. The meanings of the two words are then combined in one mental image (the keyword image). For example, an English speaker trying to learn the Japanese word *mado* – meaning *window* – could use *mud* as the keyword and then imagine a window covered with

mud. The method aims to assist acquisition of vocabulary through creating associations for the form and meaning of the target word with existing semantic and phonological knowledge.

Although early findings tended to support the keyword method, various studies in the 1990s cast some doubt on its effectiveness. Ellis and Beaton (1993) found that the much simpler rote rehearsal method – vocalized or subvocalized repetition of the target word – produced significantly better results for production of target words in a foreign language, although the keyword method was more effective for receptive learning. However, rote rehearsal subjects in the study produced the target words during the learning phase while the keyword method subjects did not and this might have influenced results for productive learning.

Wang and Thomas (1995) found that retention of vocabulary learnt by the keyword method is not durable in comparison to the context method. They attributed their findings to the lack of practice in their study. They set up the study so that subjects in the delayed recall groups did not have any practice sessions or do other tests between the initial learning session and the delayed post-test. Furthermore, they used incidental instruction techniques so as not to encourage subjects to practice recall of their own accord. They claimed that these procedures provide a purer test of the learning methods, unconfounded by other factors such as practice and over-learning. Although the keyword method resulted in greater learning when practice was allowed, in two experiments without practice the context method group had greater retention of target words two days after learning. Wang and Thomas concluded that retention of words learnt by the keyword method is less durable and practice is necessary for effective retention using the method. Gruneberg (1998) criticized Wang and Thomas's study for its lack of relevance to actual situations of vocabulary acquisition. He claimed that in most learning situations, learners review recently learned words, so practice almost always occurs anyway, making Wang and Thomas's findings against the keyword method trivial. Another point that compromised the external validity of their findings is that normally language learners study words with the intention of remembering them, whereas Wang and Thomas's study used incidental learning. Retention might differ considerably under such varied conditions.

Brown and Perry (1991) achieved more external validity in their comparison of the context and keyword methods by using genuine learners as subjects and by providing review of the target words in the form of tests. Furthermore, they gave thorough instruction and practice in the use of the methods to the subjects in their study. The study compared three groups – one using the context method, one the keyword method and one a combination of both methods. They found that the combined method group performed significantly better than the keyword group. The context method group was between the other two, with no significant difference to either group. Brown and Perry referred to Craik and Tulving's expanded depths-of-processing theory (1975, cited in Brown and Perry, 1991) to explain the results. In this theory, acquisition is improved when cognitive processing is deeper and is best when there is elaboration – that is, further processing at another level. Brown and Perry ascribed the keyword method to the sensory level because of its reliance on imagery. They claimed that the depths-of-processing theory explains the greater effectiveness of the context method because this method operates at the semantic level, which is a deeper level of processing than the sensory level, according to the theory. The combined method is most effective because it adds elaboration to the deeper processing.

Despite these negative results for the keyword method, Gruneberg (1998) claimed that about 50 studies have found that it facilitates foreign language vocabulary acquisition, with only about five studies failing to find an advantage. He cites various field studies that have shown that learners have learnt up to 200 words a day, with very high retention after a delay. As these are field studies, there are problems with external validity and internal validity is sometimes compromised. Nonetheless, the findings suggest that the keyword method can be powerful in practice. Experimental studies, too, have found advantages for the keyword method. McDaniel and Pressley (1989) found it to be more effective than the context method. Recently, Sagarra and Alba (2006) compared it to semantic mapping, which involves connecting the L2 target word to L1 words with similar meanings. They found the keyword method to be much more effective, although they only used nouns with a high degree of concreteness and imageability as their target words. Interestingly, although they found the method to be superior to a semantic-based method, they followed Brown and Perry (1991) in using depths-of-processing theory to explain the results. Sagarra and Alba claimed that the keyword method works on both the semantic and the sensory levels and therefore provides deeper cognitive processing than semantic mapping.

As mentioned in the above summaries, researchers tend to attribute the effectiveness of the keyword method to the power of imagery. This view was supported by Shapiro and Waters (2005) who found that the method was much more effective with words that had high imageability.

With results from Brown and Perry (1991) and Ellis and Beaton (1993) favoring combined approaches, it might well be that the most effective method of foreign language vocabulary learning is a combination of context method, keyword method and rote rehearsal. Wang and Thomas have also stated that "the most optimal training program may include a variety of strategies." (1999, p.285)

## **Purpose**

This study compared the effectiveness of the context method and the keyword method for long-term vocabulary retention in ways similar to the Brown and Perry study (1991). However, there were two main differences. Brown and Perry provided subjects in the keyword method groups with keywords but had them think of their own keyword images. This places a greater cognitive load on these subjects compared to those in the context method group. To avoid this disparity, subjects in the keyword method groups in this study were provided with keywords and keyword images for each target word. Secondly, Brown and Perry tested long-term retention of the words at nine days after the final learning session. Here subjects were tested 13 days after the final learning session. This period gives a slightly better indication of the effectiveness of the methods over the long term. Like Brown and Perry but unlike Sagarra and Alba (2006), the methods were compared using concrete and abstract nouns and verbs in order to test the methods in the normal circumstances of language learning, giving the results greater generalizability.

## **Research questions**

1. Do the keyword method, the context method and a combination of the two methods differ in effectiveness for long-term retention of foreign language vocabulary?

The combined method was expected to be superior, in keeping with the results of

other studies. The version of the keyword method used here was expected to make it more effective than the context method. Advantages for the context method that appeared in earlier studies might have been the result of using more demanding versions of the keyword method. When used well, the keyword method connects strongly the form and meaning of the target word to existing semantic and phonological knowledge. The context method, on the other hand, requires learners to establish new knowledge largely independent of existing knowledge, which seems to be a more difficult feat.

2. In regard to the context method, is the use of L1 translations of L2 target words more effective than the use of simple explanations in the L2 of the target words?

This is a relevant point for classes that follow an English-only approach. It was expected that the context method would be more effective when L1 translations are used because, again, there is a stronger connection with existing knowledge.

Another question arose in response to Sagarra and Alba's study (2006), after the experiment for this study was completed. As such, it was not rigorously investigated but some provisional results are indicated.

3. Is the keyword method less effective with abstract words in comparison with the context method?

## Method

### Design

A between-subjects design was used with four treatment conditions: combined keyword method/context method, keyword method, context method with Japanese translation and context method with English explanation. The two dependant variables were an immediate post-test and a delayed post-test. Subjects were not assigned to groups randomly; for practical reasons, class groups at a Japanese university were used for the treatment groups.

### Participants

Four first-year classes in the English department at a Japanese university participated in the study. Students in the classes were at a low-intermediate to mid-intermediate level. Only results from students who received all instruction and testing were included in the study. Three students who had prior knowledge of the words on the final list were excluded. The final numbers of students were 21 in the combined keyword/context group, 19 in the keyword group, 24 in the group using the context method with Japanese translations and 24 in the group using the context method with English explanations.

### Materials

Subjects were presented with 40 words – 20 nouns and 20 verbs, including 8 phrasal verbs. These words were selected from among the words that first-year students at the university in the previous year had indicated they did not know. However, in a questionnaire administered after the final learning session, several subjects indicated on a 5-point Likert-type scale that they had at least a fair knowledge of one or more of the 40 words before the experiment. Three of the subjects indicated knowledge of many of the words so these subject's results were

excluded from the final results of the study. Words that received from other subjects a score of 3 or more on the 5-point scale were eliminated from the final list of words considered for the results of the study. This final list consisted of 24 words – 13 nouns and 11 verbs, including 2 phrasal verbs.

Subjects in the keyword and combined methods groups received keywords and keyword images for each word. Each keyword was chosen for its phonological similarity to the target word. Imageability of keywords was a secondary factor in the selection. Most of the keywords were Japanese but a few were English words or names well-known to the subjects (e.g. *photo* for *fort*). Some of the target words had two keywords (e.g. *egg* and *soup* for *excerpt*). Most of the keywords were nouns but some verbs (e.g. *suwaru*, meaning *sit*) and adjectives were also used.

Subjects in the two context method groups received three short and relatively easy example sentences for each word. The first two were declarative sentences and the third was a question that was designed to prompt subjects to think about the meaning of the word in relation to their own experience or ideas.

Subjects in the keyword, the combined methods and the context (Japanese) groups received Japanese translations for each of the words. Subjects in the context (English) group did not receive a translation of the words, instead receiving a simple English explanation of each word. Subjects in all groups heard each word pronounced four times.

## Procedure

Before the first learning session, the keyword, context (Japanese) and context (English) groups received 30 minutes of instruction and practice in the method that they were to use. The combined methods group received 40 minutes of instruction and practice in the keyword and context methods.

The target words were presented to the treatment groups in two learning sessions on consecutive days. In the first session, the 20 nouns were presented and in the second session the 20 verbs. Subjects listened to each word being pronounced four times and were told to repeat after each pronunciation. This was done in order to control for the effect of rote rehearsal – that is, vocalized or subvocalized repetition of the target word. Some subjects might otherwise have used rote rehearsal by themselves, possibly interfering with the results. The pronunciation and repetition of each word took 10 seconds and subjects had a further 30 seconds in which to use their method(s) to learn each word.

After the second session, subjects answered a questionnaire and then took the first post-test (Test 1). This test was a measure of productive knowledge of the target words. Subjects were given the Japanese translation for each target word – in a different sequence from the learning sessions – and asked to write the corresponding English word that they had studied.

The delayed post-test was administered to the groups 13 days after the final learning session. In order to discourage subjects from reviewing the words, they were not told in advance of the delayed post-test. The first part of the test (Test 2A) was the same as the immediate post-test. Subjects' answer sheets were collected before beginning the second part of the test. The second part (Test 2B) was a test of receptive knowledge. All of the target words were given – again, in a different sequence – and subjects were asked to write a Japanese translation. In the case of the context (English) group, subjects were allowed to answer with a Japanese translation or an English explanation.

Each answer on Tests 1 and 2A was given one point if it was correct or if there was only a minor spelling mistake (e.g. *salk* instead of *sulk*). An answer received half

a point if it had a more serious spelling error but was close to the correct word (e.g. *thron* instead of *thorn*). Synonyms were not accepted. Test 2B was graded by a native-speaker of Japanese. Each answer received one point if it was the translation or explanation that was given in the experiment materials or if it was a synonym. Answers that were fairly similar in meaning to the English words were given half a point.

## Results

To assess the effects of the four treatments, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on results from all tests. The effects of the vocabulary learning methods differed significantly in Test 1 ( $F(3,83) = 23.77, p < .001$ ), Test 2A ( $F(3,83) = 10.95, p < .001$ ) and Test 2B ( $F(3,83) = 14.57, p < .001$ ). Mean scores and standard deviations for all treatment groups on all tests are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: *Descriptive Statistics for Tests*

Treatment	N	Test 1		Test 2A		Test 2B	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Keyword	18	7.31	3.99	3.44	2.73	6.81	4.23
Combined Methods	21	5.98	3.8	3.21	2.91	6.9	4.41
Context (Japanese)	24	2.56	1.86	1.33	1.22	3.77	2.58
Context (English)	24	0.85	0.92	0.48	0.65	1.35	1.36

Post hoc paired ANOVA tests showed no significant difference between the combined methods group and the keyword group in any test. However, in every test, both the combined methods and keyword groups had significantly higher acquisition than both context groups ( $p < .01$ ). The context (Japanese) group had significantly higher acquisition ( $p < .01$ ) than the context (English) group in every test.

To determine the effect of treatment condition on the learning of abstract words, the six most abstract words on the noun list were selected and scores for these six words were calculated for the keyword group and the context (Japanese) group on Tests 2A and 2B. ANOVA tests showed that on both tests the keyword group had significantly higher acquisition of the abstract words than the context (Japanese) group ( $p < .005$ ).

## Discussion

The main research question investigated here was whether the keyword, the context and combined methods differed in effectiveness. The results do not support the initial expectation that the combined method would be superior. In each test, there was no significant difference between the keyword group and the combined methods group. It might be that the participants in the combined methods group – with only 30 seconds to attend to the keyword, keyword image and three example sentences for each target word – did not have enough time to benefit fully from both

methods. It could also be that the use of the context method did not provide any benefit beyond that provided by the keyword method.

The finding that the keyword method led to greater acquisition than the context method is consistent with the initial expectation. The marked difference between the methods was apparent from the immediate post-test. Interestingly, the rate of forgetting for the keyword group was slightly higher than the rate for the two context groups but the initial benefits of the keyword method were such that the method remained significantly more effective in the long term.

The second research question involved a comparison of the use of Japanese translations and simple English definitions. The findings clearly support the expectation that an L1 translation is more effective than a definition in the L2. This is in keeping with the findings of several researchers in psycholinguistics (e.g. Fox, 1996) that suggest that in the brains of language learners, lexical representations of L2 words tend not to connect directly with semantic representations and instead connect with them via the existing connections from words of the L1. In effect, the context (Japanese) group was encouraged to follow this path from L2 words to semantic representations via L1 words by using an L1 translation, while the context (English) group was encouraged to make a new and direct connection from the L2 to semantic representations independent of the L1.

Mediation of the acquisition of L2 vocabulary through the L1 goes a step further with the keyword method. In this case, not just the meaning but also the sound of the L2 word is connected to L1 words. Furthermore, through the keyword image, those two connections are themselves connected to each other. The keyword method takes what is most natural and apparently most effective in language learning on the semantic level and extends the process by mimicking it on the phonological level also and then binds the two processes together. Researchers tend to attribute the effectiveness of the method to its use of imagery, in the belief that visual stimuli in general have a greater impact on memory than other stimuli. However, the finding that the keyword group had significantly greater acquisition of abstract nouns than the context group suggests that imagery might not be such a central part of the keyword method.

The overall findings of this study are better explained by the amount of connection to existing knowledge. The keyword method creates connections to existing knowledge of sounds and meanings and emerges as the most effective. The context (Japanese) method has a connection to existing knowledge in the L1 only on the semantic level and it has less effectiveness than the keyword method but more effectiveness than the context (English) method, in which the connection to the established semantic representations of the L1 is diminished. Given that rates of forgetting were comparable for all methods, the keyword method's advantage lies not in the durability of retention but in the power to prompt initial acquisition. The findings suggest the possibility that initial acquisition is more likely to succeed when there is a greater amount of connection to existing knowledge.

## **Conclusion**

This study has provided evidence of the effectiveness of the keyword method for vocabulary acquisition. There is now a sizeable body of research that supports the method's effectiveness in comparison to semantic-based approaches and rote memorization. Although the method remains largely unknown or unused by language teachers and learners, this body of research provides strong grounds for its introduction into language learning programs. The results of this study counter the claims that the method is not suitable for learning abstract words and that

intermediate learners do not benefit from it as much as they do semantic-based methods (Brown and Perry, 1991) or rote rehearsal (Van Hell and Candia Mahn, 1997).

The use of classes as treatment groups is one limitation of this study. Slight differences between the language levels of classes might have had some influence on results. Replication of the findings with random assignment of subjects or a within-subjects design would provide greater validity. Future research might also compare more rigorously the effectiveness of the keyword method for acquisition of concrete and abstract words. Only a small number of items were used in the comparison undertaken here so no strong conclusions can be drawn.

Although the context method was relatively ineffective here, its good results in other studies suggest that it has a part to play in facilitating vocabulary acquisition. It might be that it is better suited to later stages of a word's acquisition. Used then, it can add durability to the acquisition and provide deeper understanding of meaning and usage. At the initial stage, though, the keyword method is a more powerful means of facilitating acquisition.

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## Of Mac and Mud: Disciplining the Unruly Victorian Street in Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*.

Scott Rode

本稿は、チャールズ・ディケンズ「荒涼館」に現れるロンドンの警察の考え方と態度との結び付きを考察するものである。当時の史料を使って、ビクトリア朝の警察がどのようにロンドン市街で取締りを行い、秩序を維持しようとしたかを見てゆく。動物の排泄物の清掃から始まり、行き交う馬車の交通整理をし、犯罪を取り締まり、やはり病を減らし、浮浪者をあしらう等々、ビクトリア時代の街路に発生する問題はお話にならないほどひどかった。世界一早く産業化した資本主義の国として、ビクトリア時代のイギリス人はこれらの都市問題を解決するお手本をほとんど持っていなかった。ディケンズは、警官と徒手空拳で遣り合う道路清掃夫ジョーの姿を同情を込めて描き出している。このジョーは当時のイギリス人が街路で発生する問題に向き合い、乗り越えてゆくあれやこれやの苦労をまざまざと見せてくれる。このようにある時は正面から又ある時は一寸斜に構えて当時の社会状況を重層的に描き出しているのである。

This paper explores the connections between the attitudes and posture of the London police in Charles Dickens's novel, *Bleak House*, with the historical context of Victorian attempts to police, regulate, and order the actual streets and roads of London. The transport problems facing Victorian streets were monumental, ranging from cleaning up animal waste, regulating wheeled traffic, preventing crime, minimizing epidemic disease, and appropriately dealing with vagrants. As the world's first fully-industrialized, capitalist country, Victorians had few models to look to in order to solve their urban dilemmas. Dickens creates a sympathetic character in the form of Jo the street sweeper who faces police authority at a distinct disadvantage, and who embodies many of the problems Victorians faced in handling their street-related problems, acting as a palimpsest to refract and to reflect historical conditions.

"This boy," says the constable, "although he's repeatedly told to, won't move on."

"I'm always a-moving on, sir," cries the boy, wiping away tears with his arm. "I've always been a-moving and a-moving on, ever since I was born. Where can I possibly move to, sir?" (247).

This dialogue from Dickens's *Bleak House* dramatizes two of the agents within the disciplining or ordering dynamic of the street: policing and cleaning. The exchange between Jo – the orphaned and homeless street sweeper – and police authority in the form of the unnamed constable orders their relationship and reveals their subject positions. Little more than a beggar, Jo earns his money by sweeping up the animal and vegetable refuse that litters London streets. He holds out his hand for payment from both shop owners and well-to-do passersby. On the other hand, the constable earns his money, in part, by preventing obstructions from blocking the public thoroughfares. Besides preventing theft and assault, the police have the mandate to keep traffic along the roads moving. While his authority doesn't extend to outright arresting street sweepers like Jo, the constable does have the authority to "move on" those whom he ascertains to be vagrants or beggars.

Jo remains legitimately afraid of the police, and the constable, in his turn, remains justifiably annoyed with the waif. He reminds Jo that he's told him "five

hundred times" to move on, but the boy won't comply. Drawn by the altercation in front of his legal stationery shop, Mr. Snagsby – who unbeknownst to Jo is his actual father – asks the constable where the waif should move on to. Unfortunately, the constable has neither answer nor authority to address this particular question. "My instructions don't go into that" (247) replies the constable. "My instructions are that this boy move on." In short, the Victorians don't possess ready solutions to street people like Jo. There's no legitimate place for him except on the street, that is, moving on the street and never staying too long anywhere.

This article places literary analysis within a historical context of relevant transport history to argue that Jo acts as a prism that refracts Victorian anxieties regarding the regulating and policing of the dirt and disorder of their roads as well as a focus with which to view the uneven Victorian efforts to control the movements and conditions of a permanent underclass that called the street home. Consequently, this article discusses the dirt and the congestion that characterize the Victorian road as well as the police authority and reformist response that attempt to control these problems. First, this article studies the formation and character of the Metropolitan Police, considering its legal mandate and responsibilities regarding policing the road. Second, the rules of the road are considered through a successive series of Highway Acts. Third, the road problem of vagrancy and vagrants is explored. And finally, this article describes one of the innovative solutions to cleaning the road: the Street Orderly System of Charles Cochrane.

Through an exploration of these issues surrounding the policing and cleaning of the Victorian road, this article argues that the road exists beyond the acceptable horizon of middle-class order, stability, and ethos; instead, the road remains the visible public site for disorder, filth, and degradation. However, as the tangible and visible public site for both actual disease and moral degradation, the Victorian street resides within the orbit of reformist efforts. Yet the Victorians achieve only limited success in shaping the road to meet middle-class standards of stability and order. In other words, although the Victorians attempt to impose order and stability upon their roads, the colonization by middle-class hegemony of the Victorian road remains incomplete and uneven.

Dickens's chapter, appropriately titled "Moving On," remains a good example of one of Dickens's recurring themes: the exploitation of children and society's callous regard for their welfare. Through the intervention of Snagsby, Jo avoids further altercation with the police and moves off. Later in the chapter, the narrator describes Jo resting and eating his meager supper along Blackfriars Bridge and gazing at the cross at the top of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. The boy is sick, exhausted, and nearly starving. His encounters with the police have made him fearful of arrest. It seems his life on the streets is one of great stress as well as great poverty and insecurity. London's great Christian structure – reminding the reader of the opportunity for and obligation of Christian charity – ironically remains blind and mute to Jo's plight. Juxtaposed to the resting boy are the flowing Thames and "the crowd flowing by him in two directions" (253). Everyone and everything seems productively purposeful in contrast to Jo's temporary fixity and purposelessness, an ironic conflation of productivity with instability (movement) and purposelessness with stability (non-movement).

However, most of the time, mobility, that is movement for movement's sake (rather than purposeful movement toward a significant destination), characterizes Jo. His only purpose is survival, yet he is superfluous and expendable to the society in which he lives. He joins the movement only when "he is stirred up" and like

before, "told to move on too" (253). The narrator leaves the reader with a sense of the futility and the unfairness of movement for movement's sake.

The authority given to the police then by today's standards seems very slight indeed. Although in "Moving On," the constable appears to dominate the context of Jo's world, police power along roads and in the streets was very circumscribed and ambiguous for the simple reason that the regulations for the road were few and those few remained ambiguous. Ironically, while congestion along London's streets increased and as social reformers and legislators saw the need to facilitate movement and prevent obstruction, few or no laws were ever passed to regulate street use and movement – except for laws concerning vagrancy and the poor – designed to move them along. (You can exist, but not here.) The lack of road rules coupled with the paucity of police authority to enforce those limited highway rules that did exist seems to mitigate the effects that a dominating colonization could have over a "subject" populace despite the historical imperial purpose of roads. The next section considers the historical formation and development of London's police force and looks more closely at police authority and responsibility.

In *Bleak House*, the street acts as a spatial emblem or marker for what Doreen Massey in *For Space* calls "a constellation of processes rather than a thing" (141), a constellation of processes that "inevitable conflict" (147) but which produces a network (or culture) of multiple "entities and identities . . . collectively produced through practices which form relations" (148). In other words, the street forms a specific space, according to Massey, that functions "as the sphere of relations" (148) between disparate and often contradictory dynamics, a space of "entanglements and configurations" (Massey 148) continuously being constructed through its multiplicities, that is, its multiple narratives and the multiple trajectories of its inhabitants. Michel Foucault in his essay "Of Other Spaces" terms this spatial characteristic of heterogeneous relations and processes a "heterotopia" (24), or heterotopic space, that he beautifully describes as "an ensemble of relations" (22). To perceive of a particular space like the road in terms of Massey's "sphere of relations" and Foucault's "ensemble of relations," I argue, underwrites Dickens's significant theme in *Bleak House* that despite great evil in the world in the form of inequality and injustice, great good and happiness are possible too. Esther's initiation into life and development attest to it.

## **The Metropolitan Police**

At the time of the serial publication of *Bleak House* in monthly installments between March 1852 and September 1853 within Dickens's own magazine *Household Words*, London's fledgling police force had changed very little since its formation in 1829. At the instigation of then Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel (hence the originally derisive terms bobbie and peeler), Parliament agreed to form a Metropolitan Police force that would have jurisdiction over the entire London metropolitan area. This would be a new kind of authority for public space. Two joint Police Commissioners were appointed: Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne.

Previous to the formation of the Metropolitan Police, public safety and the control of the streets within every parish or vestry had been entrusted to the night watch. Called "charlies" because of their reorganization under Charles I (1600-1649), the night watch proved to be as inept as it was laughable. In its original concept, the night watch was to consist of retired soldiers organized along military lines. They assumed their duties from dusk to dawn, roaming the streets not only crying the time but also checking that the locks on shop doors and windows were securely fashioned. Their primary job, like the Metropolitan Police after them, remained

surveillance. However, at the beginning of the Victorian era, the night watch tended to consist of paupers who in order to be kept off charity and out of the work house, were given the job. The nightly patrols became less extensive and less regular. More often than not, the night watch spent the night dozing in a guard house, completely useless. While a horse patrol had begun in 1805 to control the robberies committed by mounted highwaymen along the great roads leading to London in the Metropolitan counties (Smith 161), no official daylight protection existed in London for the safety of citizens or the prevention of crime.

A rash of outrageous daylight assaults and robberies stunned the metropolis. Roaming gangs of thugs would loop a noose or a belt around the neck of some well-to-do walker along the street, render the victim unconscious or otherwise incapable of resistance, then rob the unfortunate. Such crimes were called "garroting," and the fact that their incidences increased rather than decreased shocked vestry officials. These criminal assaults, notorious for their boldness and severity, pushed Parliament into taking action after long months of public protest for the government to do something to make the streets safe. Prime Minister Robert Peel established in 1828 a Bow-Street day-patrol (Smith 162) which evolved into the 1829 Metropolitan Police. However, it was no secret that the "real" purpose of the police force was "the expediency of instituting a force powerful enough to cope with mobs, and to repress those incipient commotions which, if too roughly dealt with by the military, are apt to leave an abiding sense of irritation in the public mind" (Smith 172). In other words, despite the public outrage to garroting through lurid and sensational press reporting, the police force originated for political control of dissidents.

However, Parliament didn't want a paramilitary organization organized like France's gendarmes, nor did Commission Maine want his police force to become a muscular tool for any political faction, particularly that of the upper classes. For five years, the Metropolitan Police seemed generally to fulfill these wishes. An 1834 Select Committee reported that the new police force had done nothing which was inconsistent with the civil rights and privileges of private society. On the contrary, the Select Committee praised the police force but for consistently acting in the spirit of essential English liberties of freedom of movement and freedom from interference (Winter 50).

During his entire tenure as joint Police Commissioner, Maine remained extremely sensitive to criticism and accusations of police political involvement, interference in the liberty of the subject, and brutality. He consistently reinforced the police's laissez-faire interpretation of enforceable laws and closely monitored the police's action to make sure constables didn't overstep their bounds. After all, there were no laws against public drunkenness or prostitution. As long as drunks and prostitutes were neither riotously nor disorderly or violently accosted passersby, the Metropolitan Police tended to ignore them, or direct them homewards, or keep them moving along. Arrest was only an extreme measure employed after repeated warnings to behave went unheeded.

The metropolitan district under the fledgling police force's jurisdiction had a circumference of 90 miles and an area of over 700 square miles (Smith 99). The population of London contained one eighth the total population of Great Britain in 1870, almost three and a half million people, double that of Paris and four times that of New York City (Smiles 88). The metropolitan district was divided into 18 divisions, each division separated into subdivisions, every subdivision divided into sections, and each section into constable beats; the central authority and offices of the Metropolitan Police was located at Scotland Yard (Smith 165). By 1870, there were 921 day-beats and 3126 night-beats (Smiles 100). In 1856, the force consisted of

a Chief Commissioner, Sir Richard Maine, two Assistant Commissioners – Captains Labalmondiere and Harris, 18 Superintendents, 133 Inspectors, 625 Sergeants, and 4954 Constables, making a total in all ranks of 5734 (Smith 164).

The qualifications for beat constables remained fairly high. Every policeman must be able to read and write, possess a good character, and be able-bodied (at least 5' 7"). Every section-house possessed a library, and policemen were encouraged to broaden their minds and enhance their education through personal motivation. In addition, recruit applicants needed "to give proofs of an unimpeachable character for honesty, industry, sobriety, and good temper" (Smiles 98). In short, these working-class men needed to embody middle-class virtues. However, in the first few years, many constables, unfortunately, were dismissed, most from drinking on the job. Between 1850 and 1856, 1276 constables were fired and of these, 68 received criminal convictions for a variety of offenses ranging from extortion and brutality to thievery or receiving stolen goods (Smith 166). Commissioner Mayne employed iron discipline over the force, and he was quite serious about the integrity of a policeman's character and the public perception of the police as incorruptible and able to enforce the law equitably.

The best constables were found to come from outside London, presumably because they were free from both the jaded cynicism of the metropolitan "sophisticate" and also free from any established corrupt relationships with the urban criminal element. Once living in London, they were given a beat in or near their own place of residence in order to increase both their familiarity with the urban landscape under their watch and also to make them familiar with neighborhood residents. Drilled like soldiers and given badges with numbers to maximize individual accountability, a constable was expected to be "a machine, moving, thinking, and speaking only as his instruction-book directs" (Smith 171). In short, he was to impersonally personify an institution but also be friendly and familiar though formal and distant.

In *Bleak House*, Dickens constructs a model policeman: Detective Inspector Bucket. Throughout the novel, Bucket proves to be shrewd and thoughtful, capable and relentless but also amiable and fair. He seems like he could be the "poster boy" for the Metropolitan Police. Lawyer Tulkinghorn hires Bucket to investigate Nemo's (Captain Hawthorn's) death who Tulkinghorn suspects to have been associated illicitly with Lady Dedlock. The reader is introduced to Bucket through Snagsby's first impressions of the officer in Tulkinghorn's offices in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Snagsby finds Bucket a "stoutly-built, steady-looking, sharp-eyed man in black, of about middle-age" (286). Like a ghost, Bucket is attentive and silent, almost invisible, preternaturally able to appear and disappear at will without notice. Indeed, Bucket's most salient characteristic seems to be his habit of lurking in the shadows – watching. He wanders the roads of London and environs as unobtrusively as he can in order to observe a multitude of people, places, and activities. At Tulkinghorn's funeral, he takes the opportunity to hide behind a lattice so as to scan the crowd in order to solve the lawyer's murder.

Lest we disparage Bucket's integrity or dismiss him merely as hegemony's agent of the gaze, we shouldn't forget that the Metropolitan Police's primary function was surveillance. Two-thirds of the force patrolled the streets on the night-beats from 9 or 10 at night until 5 or 6 in the morning while the remaining third of the force took over during their day-beats. The primary duty of officers on patrol at night remains watching, simply checking that doors and windows of houses and shops are secure (Smith 165). The practical theory was that surveillance amounts to prevention of crime. During the day, the patrol constable's primary duties remained

preventing street crime through presence alone, calming “riotous” behavior of drunks and people in loud disputes, and reporting street nuisances like noise and smoky chimneys (Smith 102). However, as traffic increased upon the roads—a flowing multitude of carriages, vans, wagons, omnibuses, horsemen, and pedestrians – their new duty became to patrol the thoroughfares and keep the traffic moving to prevent the roads from becoming “scenes of disorder, danger, and inextricable confusion” (103).

Although a man of good will and character, Bucket’s job – besides watching – remains one of dogged pursuit. As part of the detective force, Bucket’s job is essentially predatory: he hunts and apprehends criminals who have already committed crimes. “His duty is to pursue the criminal through all his shiftings and turnings, until the case is clear against him” (Smith 175). He employs these skills late in the novel in his tracking of Lady Dedlock. Accompanied by Esther, they travel the wintry roads of London pursuing Esther’s mother. Both Lady Dedlock and Esther Summerson travel the Victorian road to unravel and work out the implications of their middle-class identities and desires. Never quite able to catch up, Bucket nonetheless skillfully keeps on Lady Dedlock’s trail by continuously making inquiries of toll keepers, coach drivers, and inn keepers along the road.

London’s detective force was organized in August, 1842 (Smiles 98) principally to track down perpetrators of serious crimes like murder and forgery (Smiles 99). As of 1856, the Metropolitan Police had 108 members attached to the Detective Police, including Inspectors, Sergeants, and “plain-clothes men” (Smith 174). Detective officers found it necessary to maintain a personal knowledge and familiarity of the criminal population of their assigned specialty. However, despite its generally good record and admirable character of its members, the new police force received criticism almost immediately after its inception. To begin with, the police had been charged with brutality in breaking up public gatherings and acting as “agent provocateurs,” or spies, in plainclothes to incite a riot and thereby bring about a swift police response and discredit the rally organizers.

In the spring of 1833, the Home Office (which was the governmental entity to which the Metropolitan Police answered) received word of a demonstration by the National Union of the Working Classes. Armed demonstrators reportedly were poised to engage in violent civil disobedience and planned to march through the streets with the intention of causing mayhem and destruction. Home Secretary Melbourne declared the event illegal and ordered the police to arrest the leaders. The rally was still held at Cold Bath Fields, and Police Commissioners Rowan and Mayne later insisted that Melbourne had ordered them to disperse the crowd, an order Melbourne flatly denied. A battle ensued between police and demonstrators in which two constables were stabbed, one dying. The man who had fatally stabbed the constable was arrested. But after a very public trial, a verdict of justifiable homicide was reached after it was revealed that several plainclothes constables had provoked demonstrators and themselves incited the crowd. In addition, one police spy was proven to have acted under police orders to infiltrate Union meetings (Winter 50-51).

The Select Committee asked the commissioners if public policy as well as the Metropolitan Police’s mandate extended the essential police duty of surveillance to suspect activities like information-gathering and infiltration of any group deemed politically undesirable (Winter 52). Although both the Select Committee as well as the Police Commissioners thought the police a good alternative to calling in military troops to put down civil unrest – suspected or real – Mayne was reluctant to allow his police force to be manipulated or otherwise used for political ends. He intended

that the public perception of the police would be that “the policeman enforced the law and not the will of the ruling class” (Winter 57).

Apparently the Cold Bath Fields lesson proved a lesson Mayne learned well. During the Chartist movement, Mayne not only refused to allow the police to spy on Chartist meetings, he forbade any member of the police to attend a Chartist meeting out of uniform (Winter 56). And although the police practiced a “transparent,” that is, visible presence on London’s streets, by 1848 their recognition by most Londoners as having greatly contributed to the safety and the order of London’s streets not only contributed to their effective control of streets but also had been recognized as a reason for the failure of the Chartist movement to make London an effective center for their 1848 demonstrations (Winter 57). Indeed, the 1834 Select Committee heard criticism not that the police overacted in its behavior in the streets, but rather that the police had failed to intervene perhaps when necessary (Winter 59). Mayne asked for and received written clarification “whether or not a constable was entitled to make an arrest on the spot for an assault he had not witnessed” (Winter 59). He was not.

While the Select Committee ultimately expressed confidence in the honorable intentions and policies of the police, the Cold Bath Fields incident early in the long history of the Metropolitan Police vividly underscores their delicate position. Despite the need for order in an open society, the desire for control to enforce order would be in permanent tension with the equally strong desire for the personal freedom of citizens. The police found themselves daily practicing this equilibrium. Mayne apparently never forgot the lesson of Cold Bath Fields. Throughout the rest of his long career as Police Commissioner, he reinforced the notion of the Metropolitan Police as a “depersonalized, non-military, virtually unarmed, impartial force, answerable not just to the Home ) Office but to the same laws that the rest of the community must obey” (Winter 53). In short, police behavior was accountable to the same law governing citizens.

Yet despite its occasional forceful behavior in crowd control at demonstrations or public events, the police developed a laissez-faire attitude in its systematic way of controlling daily behavior in the streets. This proved the most significant characteristic of the police. In addition, Mayne refused to adopt a popular middle-class conviction that poor Londoners were potential criminals held in check through fear alone, or that neighborhoods lacked any sense of knowable community (Winter 57). At Mayne’s insistence, most constables lived in the neighborhoods they patrolled and were expected to know people by name. They consistently proved that London streets could be orderly (but yet congested) “without diminishing the scope of individual liberty” (Winter 59), the liberty of the citizen subject would not be diminished by police behavior.

Besides crowd control at public events, the police also had the authority to stop any “riotous” behavior which threatened the safety of the public upon the roads. For example, the police had the authority to detain and bring before a Justice of the Peace any teamster guilty of driving any vehicle in a “reckless” manner. Such behavior would include attempting to drive more than one vehicle (Glen 434) or from passing another vehicle at a high enough speed “so as to endanger the safety or life of passengers or passersby” (Glen 435). In another example, common, wandering prostitutes were expected not to behave “in a riotous or indecent manner” (Glen 430). Yet the adjectives that constituted the laws of the road – “riotous” and “reckless” – are subject to very subjective interpretation. The latitude of interpretation in this last phrase may well have “protected” more expensive, well-dressed prostitutes strolling the more fashionable streets. What might be disorderly

to one group of people could be the model of legitimate order to another. What might be considered reckless to one might be considered constrained and controlled by another. And just how fast need someone move to not be considered an obstruction?

Such ambiguity within the legal language of the road isn't helped by the absence of any other articulated and enforceable rules or signs of the road. For example in London, as hard as this is to imagine for us today, there were no street signs, traffic lights, or any traffic signs at all. Indeed, besides the injunctions about moving along but not in a reckless or riotous manner, no traffic regulations whatsoever existed at all. For example, while traditionally travelers used the left hand side of the road, this tradition was not law. Legally, anyone could travel anywhere in the street or road one chose. Hence the road could be a difficult and dangerous place to be. Wagons and carts making deliveries to stores and shops often blocked the road on either side of the street. In order to prevent long delays and keep to their schedules, cab drivers, hackney drivers, and omnibus drivers drove down the middle of the road, stopping in the middle of the road to discharge and pick up passengers. Pedestrians needed to be both alert and move quickly.

In addition to no written regulations, no technological regulating devices existed, at least for long. However, this complete absence of regulatory devices was about to change with a novel experiment. Engineer and railway manager, John Peake Knight (1828-1886), had designed a semaphore signal to be placed at intersection of main and feeder rail lines – a signal that showed either a red or green light to indicate whether a traveling train was free to move through the intersection or for safety's sake needed to stop. In 1865, Knight proposed that “drivers and pedestrians could be disciplined into becoming more orderly street users by means of an impersonal, mechanical monitor” (Winter 34). The progressive Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Robert Mayne, warmed to Knight's idea and persuaded the Home Office to try the signal.

The signal consisted of a hollow cast-iron pole from which red arms could be extended or green lights shone. The light was powered by a gas line running up the center of the hollow pillar and the arms operated by a constable turning a lever at the base of the signal. The experimental signal was to be placed on an island in the middle of the intersection “where traffic coming off Westminster Bridge met the flow from Great George Street and where vehicles going east in front of Parliament met those going west on Whitehall” (Winter 35). To prepare and to educate the public to the advent and to the practice of the semaphore signal, Commissioner Mayne had leaflets posted all over London weeks before the signal became operational in December, 1868.

The signal was a great success. The “rat's nest” of congestion at this busy junction was immensely relieved, and “the public seems to have adjusted quickly and with little fuss” (Winter 36) to what Mayne had feared might be construed as an infringement upon the liberty of the subject. Knight quickly predicted that his signal would soon become a standard component of the street landscape with additional semaphores becoming installed at other major arteries throughout London.

However, the success was short lived. In January, 1869, a series of explosions from leaks in the gas line and consequent gas build-up injured several of the signal-operating constables, one seriously. The fledgling traffic signal project was halted, and quickly died. London remained without traffic signals until 1929 when electric ones were installed (Winter 36). Even this modest experiment, despite its apparent success in regulating traffic, failed to alleviate road congestion and bring long-term order to roads.

Coupled with the lack of any traffic signage, both the police's reluctance to overtly interfere in the "liberty of the subject" and Commissioner Mayne's reticence to allow his force to become a political tool sprang from the lack of any substantial legal foundation that codified enforceable laws at the police's disposal. The next section looks more closely at the legal definitions and descriptions of the road as embodied in Highway Acts.

## **Rules of the Road**

In the same year as the establishment of the Metropolitan Police, 1829, Robert Wellbeloved (1803-1856) codified for Parliament a "Treatise on the Law Relating to Highways." If the newly formed police was to have any authority to enforce laws, the laws themselves regarding roads needed to be officially articulated. Although later acts like the Highway Acts of 1835, 1862, and 1864, clarified, embellished, and amended the 1829 act, Wellbeloved's treatise remained the legal foundation upon which all subsequent road regulations were built. In effect, after 1835, subsequent highway acts periodically came out merely as re-editions of the 1829 Highways Act which had ceased to be published, or they addressed very local and particular problems of legal clarity involving London's renovation and the responsibility for payment of such construction.

Mayhew claims that according to an 1818 Government Report on turnpike roads, there existed 19,725 miles of paved streets in England and Wales and 95,104 miles of other public highways – a total of 114, 829 miles of roads. The volume of traffic traveling these roads was tremendous. These roads served a three-fold purpose: the conveyance of passengers, letters, and goods. According to Mayhew, "the passengers, letters, and parcels were conveyed chiefly by the mail and stagecoaches, the goods by waggons and vans" (Mayhew 330 v.3). However, the next 20 years saw only 4500 more miles of roads added to the country's infrastructure. This rather negligible increase was due to the increased importance of railways (Mayhew 329).

By 1850, the number of streets and roads of London and its environs totaled 3686 miles in length servicing a population of 2,461,960 with a police force of 6,072 (Mayhew 177 v.2). A decade later in 1870, that number had more than doubled to 6708 miles, equal in distance to a straight line drawn from London west across the Atlantic and America to San Francisco (Smiles 100). In 1850, Londoners took pride in the fact that along its roads daily, "a vaster flood of traffic is poured for several hours than is found on any other streets of the world" (Smith 167). In one day, it was estimated that more than 67,500 pedestrians and close to 13,800 vehicles passed only one spot – Bow Church, Cheapside – in a single day. Near Aldgate, within an area of only one and a quarter square miles, no less than 400,000 people poured through the thoroughfares every twelve hours (Smith 167). In 1870, 60,000 people and 25,000 vehicles crossed London Bridge daily while Westminster Bridge daily carried 45,000 pedestrians and 13,000 vehicles in the busiest seasons of the year (Smiles 103). The most crowded roads in the West End remained the corner of Hyde Park during the season, Bond Street afternoons, and the bottom of Park Lane where it intersects the Strand in the evening (Smiles 103). Unfortunately, the tremendous volume of traffic produced unprecedented congestion and stoppages. Crowded thoroughfares and congestion favored pickpockets – the most common kind of street criminal – who relied upon slow-moving people and crowds to ply their trade (Smith 184).

According to Mayhew, there existed three types of pavement in London: stone, macadam, and wood. While many towns and cities used limestone and river cobbles, being without nearby quarries, London imported granite from Scotland.

“The stone pavement is made by the placing of the granite stones, hewn and shaped for the purpose, side by side, with a foundation of concrete. The concrete now used [1850] for the London street- pavement is Thames ballast, composed of shingles, or small stones, and mixed with lime” (Mayhew 203 v.2). Macadamization was introduced into London about 1825, and while it proved much less labor intensive and inexpensive than granite pavements, the disadvantage to this crushed and compacted rock surface was the dust raised through use as well as an increased need for repair of ruts. Last, wood pavement consisted of wood blocks fitted together grain-side up and had the advantage of quiet egress opposed to the disadvantage of slipperiness (Mayhew 203 v.2). The installation of “noiseless pavement” in “appropriate places” – wooden blocks instead of the normal granite over a concrete foundation – helped eliminate “noise pollution.” While only five miles of wood pavements existed in London by 1850, macadam roads outnumbered granite ones four to one (Mayhew 204 v.2).

The 1829 Highways Act addresses two kinds of law pertaining to streets and roads: common law and statute law. Common law refers to rules from custom, that is, rules from traditional or long-established public usage. Statute law refers to acts of Parliament (Wellbeloved 41), that is, explicitly legislated. By far, the most important basis for road rules remained common law. Statute law for the most part concerned itself with Turnpike Trusts established by Parliament after costly and lengthy petitions by private parish companies or trusts.

Traditionally, travelers had a right of way to use any highway, day or night, in any season, for any lawful reason. Lawful movement remained a right and not a privilege. Throughout the Victorian era, the well-established phrase – the liberty of the subject – dominated the concept of common law regarding road use. Simply put, the public had acquired the right to use any thoroughfare for passage because of the public’s “uninterrupted possession” (40) of such a right of passage.

The 1829 Highways Act defined what could be considered a thoroughfare to which the public possessed a legal right of way. The act defined a highway as: “Any thoroughfare which is open to all the King’s subjects. No distinction between carriage road, horse road, or mere footpath” (1). Some property owners had seen the Highways Act as the means to control access to their property and prevent trespassing. Wellbeloved wanted no doubt that the law did not infringe upon the long-established right of the public to use traditional paths. He denied accusations that footpaths injured property. He wrote that every right of way remains a public easement, and although this easement “requires” the consent of the property owner who actually owns the soil over which a footpath runs, the consent was “presumed where the public have had a prescriptive possession (viii). In other words, consent of the property owner for public right of way is presumed because of the long-standing traditional use by the public.

Such established use transforms “private” property into public easement. While the legal width of a mere footpath varied from 16 to 24 inches, and a traveler was guilty of trespass if found straying from said circumscribed borders, the right of a traveler to use the path would not be abridged. While some property owners thought to circumvent the jurisdiction of traditional right of way public easements by arguing that the Highway Act actually related to highways capable of two-way vehicular traffic, Wellbeloved’s treatise effectively invalidated this argument before it gathered any precedence. The act read that “no distinction can be found between footpaths and carriage roads: the right of the public is of exactly the same quality over one as over the other” (viii). Furthermore, according to Wellbeloved, “any way which is common to all of the King’s people, to be traversed by them, is a highway”

(6). The twin concepts of the liberty of the subject along with the notion that the benefit to the public good outweighs the interests of the private landowner would dominate road legalities throughout the Victorian era.

We find a legal battle about road rights between Sir Leicester Dedlock and his neighbor, Lawrence Boythorn in *Bleak House*. Their dispute remains a comic and smaller simulation of the greater Chancery suit of Jarndyce and Jarndyce about which so much of *Bleak House* revolves. Both men claim as their own property a stretch of "green pathway" (111) and accuse the other of trespass. Boythorn remains a thorn in Dedlock's side through his relentless adolescent stubbornness. While neither man refuses to acknowledge the other's "right of way" to use the pathway for passage, neither wants the other to erect any structures along the road – like a gate – that implies ownership of the property through which and upon which the thoroughfare traverses. Their long-standing and apparently irresolvable quarrel in a way gives satisfaction to both of them. By the end of the novel, the disputed thoroughfare has become a reason for their getting out of their respective homes to view the latest spatial insult by their "enemy." Boythorn's last challenge was to "post tremendous placards" (812) along the disputed bridle-road denouncing Leicester. Having lost so much including their health, the dispute exists to humor the two implacable neighbors.

Yet actual road disputes proved less humorous as disputatious parties demanded fuller definition by the law. In 1865, because Wellbeloved's 1829 treatise had long been out of print, William Cunningham Glen published an annotated version of the 1835 Highways Act. Glen was very clear that Wellbeloved's 1829 treatise was still "recognized as a standard authority on the Law of Highways" (viii). His work more fully articulates and clarifies Wellbeloved's position. Glen reiterates and embellishes upon what structural entities are to be considered highways. He writes that a highway is "all roads, bridges, carriageways, cart ways, horse ways, bridleways, footpaths, causeways, churchways, and pavements" (2). In addition, Glen states in his preface quite unambiguously who has the right of passage along highways: "Every person, in every parish and hamlet, has an equal right to use the highways within it, at all times and seasons, for passing and repassing, on purposes of lawful business or pleasure; and the law entitles every person to the enjoyment of that right without let or hindrance" (vii).

Herein resides one of the duties of the police, like that of the constable who rousts Jo. In order to facilitate the movement of traffic and yet maintain the "liberty of the subject," Jo has a right to "pass or repass" any stretch of road as long as he doesn't stop and become an "obstruction." Unless a licensed stall owner, virtually any person who makes a living in the street – workers such as costermongers and musicians – has a legal right to pursue their trade as long as they kept moving at a sufficient pace.

By 1865, Glen had more fully articulated exactly what constitutes a legal obstruction of the road. Although numerous, these offenses of obstruction read reasonable and fair. Like many laws, the laws pertaining to the obstruction of the road describe in the negative the activities that should not be conducted on roads rather than attempting to detail rightful use other than passage. Legal obstructions include: digging up of gravel or stones for private use, mining, removing fences or signs, hunting, shooting guns within fifty feet of the center of the carriageway, pitching a tent, baiting bulls or fighting dogs, gambling or betting, dumping of garbage or junk, turning out livestock to pasture, storing of dangerously flammable materials, and standing sales by street vendors (414).

While these activities weren't criminal in and of themselves, they were banned from being conducted on the road by being defined as obstructions. Likewise, certain sexual behavior – like exposing oneself indecently – was criminalized as a road obstruction rather than as a sexual indiscretion. If one leaves out hunting and shooting parties, these obstructive laws clearly affect the lower classes significantly more than the upper ones. They seem mainly directed against those who through want or simply public entertainment look to the road as the site wherein certain “lower” desires can be satisfied.

Perhaps highway acts remained unable to consider this kind of inequitable class consequence of its road rules because they focused upon more basic considerations like the definitions of the terms “street” and “road” themselves. While the previous Highway Act of 1829 readily included any type of track or way used for any kind of travel to be considered a “highway,” the difference between road and street came not so readily. While the Highway Acts of 1862 and 1864 made the attempt at defining “main road,” the definition was less than completely serviceable. James Abraham Foot writes in the preface to his *Consolidated Abstracts of Highway Acts* that a main road will be considered any road which is “a medium of communication between great towns or a thoroughfare to a railway station.” Inhabitants of “smaller” towns chafed at the thought that their town wasn't considered great. Operators of the remaining turnpike coaches bridled at the thought that they were excluded because their vehicles carried traveling passengers rather than communications like newspapers, dispatches, or letters. How could they advertise and reach a large audience if they couldn't proclaim that they serviced “main roads”?

By late-Victorian times, the problem of ambiguous definition persists. Sydney Davey's 250- page treatise, *The Law Relating to Construction, Sewering, Paving and Improvement of Streets Under the Public Health Acts, 1875-1925* (including the private Street Works Act, 1892), spends most of its time attempting to articulate some final difference in definition between “street” and “road” – unsuccessfully. In addition, it spends a significant portion of time addressing who will pay for a multitude of street improvements, and the penalties and fines incurred for those who fail to comply.

Section 4 of the Public Health Act, 1875, reiterates the broad definition as articulated by the Highways Act of 1829. It reads that “the term ‘street’ includes any highway and any public bridge (not being a county bridge) and any road, lane, footway, square, court, alley or passage, whether a thoroughfare or not” (135). According to Davey, the term “street” used in its widest sense refers “not only to roads with buildings at the sides – that is, at its margins or edges or buildings bordering the pavement – but to highways of all sorts and private ways as well” (1). This definition appears at odds with one vein of popular parlance that had streets as urban ways while roads were rural ones. However, a later legal definition upheld the sense that “a street is not limited to a street in the popular sense, that is, a roadway with buildings at the sides” (136). Traditionally, even highways that stretched for long distances into the countryside no matter their urban terminus – for example, Ermine Street – never received the appellation of “road” anywhere along their length. Davey admits that “the word ‘street’ is not limited to its popular meaning” (57). In fact, Davey's definition of street seemed to indicate an interchangeability of terms that couldn't be untangled precluding making any definitive or productive distinction between streets and roads.

Yet legalists persisted in articulating definitions. An 1892 definition clarifies a private street. Interestingly, it hinges upon neither ownership nor use, but

responsibility for repair. It reads: "A 'street' in the private Street Works Act, 1892, means...a street as defined by the Public Health Act, 1875, not being a highway repairable by the inhabitants at large" (135). However, even this seemingly direct and workable definition runs into problems. Churches, chapels, and churchyards are exempt from the expenses of building, improving, or repairing streets and roads. They cannot be taxed for such purposes (Davey 89). These roads and paths exist on private – church – property although the public maintains the freedom to use them.

This caveat became exploited by property owners to get the public to pay for the maintenance of their private roads. They simply built a road and declared it public. The 1892 statute remains worth reading in its entirety. It reads:

A borough or urban district or rural district council may agree with any person for the making of roads within their district for the public use through the lands and at the expense of such person, and may agree that such roads shall become on completion highways maintainable and repairable by the inhabitants at large. The council may also, with the consent of two-thirds of their number, agree with such person to pay any portion of the expenses of making such roads. (53)

The potential for a landowner, through coercion or bribery, to persuade the local administrators to use public funds to pay for private roads over which the public had the common law right-of-passage anyway made sense to landowners but not to general rate payers.

Appealing to the assumption underlying turnpike tolls – those who use or benefit from the road should pay for it – rate payers shifted the burden of road repair to adjacent commercial interests or private owners whom they claimed most benefited from the road. The addendum read: "Under section 150 of the Public Health Act, 1875, an urban authority (now styled a borough or urban district council) may require a street, not repairable by the inhabitants at large, to be sewered, levelled, paved, etc. by the owners of the premises in the street" (55). In other words, if roads are not maintained to the minimum standard of the local borough authority, that authority may make improvements and repairs and bill "the owners or occupiers of the premises fronting, adjoining or abutting" (55) said street.

Shifting the focus of definition from use, Davey thought the distinction might be made by the manner in which a highway is changed through improvement. According to the "construction" definition, because a street tends to imply adjacent buildings, and as buildings are a sign of civilization, growth changes both the volume and the diversity or complexity of use of the highway. In other words, roads become streets when buildings spring up along their margins. Yet despite the construction or alteration of buildings on either side, could the newly refurbished way be entitled to an entirely new name rather than just the change in appellation from road to street (16-17)? No one knew. And if a road will have buildings erected on at least one side through planning, may that road be termed a street (58)? No one could agree. Could a street return to being a road when the buildings were gone? No one had the answer. After 250 pages, Davey concludes that the nomenclature actually doesn't matter for either legal reasons or for ordinary, every day use.

While definitions of structure remain whimsical and unimportant, definitions of people remained an entirely serious matter. While important to the parties involved, disputes in definitions between "street" and "road" tended to have financial payment as the motivating force. Simply put, it amounted to who would foot the bill. But street sweepers like Jo and other "vagrants" remained a moral

matter of greater cultural consequence. In the next section, I turn to the middle-class ethos concerning a permanent underclass permanently associated with the road.

### **Vagrants and Vagrancy: Degradation, Contagion, and Reform.**

The obstruction law concerning road use overlaps with vagrancy laws to define vagrancy as an obstruction of the road. A vagrant was any person “not having any visible means of subsistence, and not giving a good account of himself or herself” (Glen 430). From this legal definition sprang the constable’s authority in *Bleak House* to move along poor Jo. The history of vagrancy legislation shows an increasingly harsh judgment and treatment of poor wanderers from the early Middle Ages through the Tudor period. Successive statutes criminalized poverty and rootlessness. In other words, economic conditions that pushed the poor along the roads made them criminals. The law rewarded conformity to stability and having roots while it punished mobility.

By 1876, there were an estimated 36,000 tramps and vagrants in England and Wales (Brown 4). Their numbers rose and fell with upswings and downturns in the economy. “As in earlier times, changes in the vagrancy laws during the nineteenth century were typically presaged by an official announcement of alleged dangerous threat to public security from an increase in vagrancy” (Humphreys 107). Late-Victorian authority accepted that nationally there would be 40-30,000 traveling poor in good economic conditions and 80-70,000 during a down-turn of the economy (Humphreys 109).

Their presence was most visible along British roads, and therefore, the rules of road obstruction seemed the most suitable to control them. The 1824 Vagrancy Act categorized the mobile poor into three categories in ascending order: (1) the idle and disorderly; (2) rogues and vagabonds; and (3) incorrigible rogues, that is, hardened, vicious criminals (Brown 5 and Humphreys). The very definitions were pejorative, and legally gave no grace or redeemable status to the itinerant poor. Throughout the Victorian era, these categories were invoked to stigmatize and demoralize the traveling poor as well as to ensure their harsh treatment under vagrancy laws (Humphreys 82). If arrested for vagrancy, the offender generally received as punishment one month at hard labor. For the second offense, the vagrant received three months hard labor and jail until the next quarter session of court convened. The third offense meant twelve months of prison. At this point, forced transportation to one of the colonies loomed as a real threat for repeat offenders.

Not only resonating with the concept of liberty of the subject, vagrancy oddly parallels the argument about determinism and free will. The Victorians debated whether the plight of those homeless poor labeled vagrants was of their own doing and therefore a moral matter, or a contingent product of their social environment and therefore not governable by the will. In *No Fixed Abode: A History of Responses to the Roofless and the Rootless in Britain*, Robert Humphreys describes the debate as one between an environmental view and the individual one. He notes that contrary to the environmental view forces beyond the control of individual citizens like the economy, weather, class structure, and one’s own family, the individual view reinforces the notion that each individual was responsible for his or her own fate (3). However, Humphreys maintains, that an enlightened perspective wasn’t encouraged in the population’s consciousness. He says: “Although the possibility of economic factors contributing to the changing numbers tramping the roads had long been incontrovertible, the idea was still largely kept under wraps by the authorities” (93). In a distortion of the liberty of the subject, vagrants were given their

individuality, and their vagrancy was therefore a matter of their own moral responsibility.

Yet, determinism played a role too, a determinism that smacks of the racializing process of colonization. Victorians were encouraged to view poor wayfarers as having three determining characteristics. They were of "repulsive nature, of 'evil disposition,' and were destitute" (93). Ironically and incredibly, many critics of Victorian charity believed that the traveling poor in reality possessed covert means of support that rendered them undeserving of charity and help. However, the facts were that, like Jo, the "majority of wayfarers were devoid of support and frequently of ailing health" (93). Middle-class morality tended to be blind to such ailments, or if acknowledged, to blame the victim for choosing a poverty that a free will and moral character could prevent.

This "belief in the paramount importance of individual ethics," Humphreys says, "led the nineteenth-century middle classes to conclude that it was unfair, undesirable, and nationally dangerous to allow a lazy residuum to loiter aimlessly in dark corners" (3-4). According to Humphreys, the nineteenth century believed that "the worth of the nation was, in the long run, the accumulated qualities of the people composing it" (3). Since Britain's greatness was seen to have been built on the strength of character of its citizens, Britain's industrial and economic success was the direct result of the energetic application of the entrepreneurial spirit embedded within the character of its citizens. This national character remained embodied by solid middle-class virtues. "Personal success incurred diligence, discipline, deference, morality, sobriety, and self-reliance...Poverty resulted from improvidence, insobriety, and character deficiency" (3). Middle-class values stated that: "Individual shortcomings could always be overcome by personal discipline, hard work, and a positive attitude towards self-improvement" (3). The individual remained responsible for conformity with these social conventions that were deemed essential in the building of an acceptable morality. Hence, middle-class values and morality were a sign of civic virtue and patriotism

On the other hand, the rootlessness, poverty, and idleness associated with vagrants were associated with immorality and inappropriate citizenship. Valorizing the virtues of "thrift, diligence, and respectability" (91), Victorians viewed even those without a humble cottage roof over their heads as generally depraved, disorderly, idle, and unstable (91). Popular Victorian sentiment was convinced "that those without a settled way of life should be viewed with caution and anxiety" (91). Unsettled equaled uncontrolled. Uncontrolled equaled disorderly. And disorderly meant riotous - a condition under police jurisdiction - and riotous behavior was as undesirable as it was criminal.

Jo clearly falls into the first category of vagrant: idle and disorderly. Although Jo maintains a visible means of subsistence - his street-sweeping broom - his activity is defined as begging because he holds out his hand for payment from passersby or solicits money for his services from shop owners who front the streets he sweeps. By definition, beggars are obstructions to order because they're stationary. By extension - despite his broom - Jo is without visible means of support because he's a beggar, and beggars are defined through Poor Law definition as nonproductive idlers. In addition, although he routinely sleeps in a derelict and abandoned house in Tom-all-Alone's rather than "sleeping rough," that is, out in the open, Jo's fixed "home" is considered inappropriate stability.

But perhaps most tellingly, Jo is unable "to give a good account of himself." His lack of education and his stammering speech (fear and sickness render him inchoate) make his inarticulation suspect. Language facility is an emblem of

legitimacy while limited linguistic capacity is considered criminal. As voiceless, Jo is dominated by the voiced. In addition, as an orphan, Jo has no memory of his parents. He has lost not only an important component to his identity but part of his history. Given that the colonizer operates by erasing the history of the colonized, Jo's lack of a permanent home and substantial means of support, his lack of voice, history, and parents, combine to forge an identity illegitimate to middle-class hegemony. His identity, in fact, is as the colonized. As Jo-all-Alone, he remains one of the most vulnerable persons to inhabit the road, a member of London's poorest street workers and permanent underclass.

Dickens maintains a curiously ambivalent attitude towards Jo. On the one hand, Dickens paints a very sympathetic portrait of the waif based not only on his sense of social justice but also on his own precarious childhood experiences in which he needed to work at a young age and often found himself starving. Dickens's Jo is bathed in pathos and isn't portrayed as either vicious or criminal but merely disadvantaged and unfortunate. Dickens makes Jo, a minor character, pivotal in the plot. Lady Dedlock seeks him for information concerning her former lover, Captain Hawdon (Nemo) based upon Jo's past association and experience with the fallen man. And Dickens constructs a lengthy death scene for Jo like that of Little Nell's in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, a scene which cathartically engages the reader in sentiment and that emphasizes Jo's essential goodness and innocence through pathos.

Yet Dickens also dehumanizes Jo. Believing that "the sooner he comes out of the street, the better," (595) Esther and Allan take in Jo. Because of their charitable impulses, they feed the starving boy who ravenously gulps down coffee, bread, and butter as he looks "anxiously about him in all directions...like a scared animal" (591). Besides describing Jo in terms of animality, Dickens compares Jo, in a manner similar to Booth, with the needy Africans to whom Mrs. Jellyby would minister. But the narrator doesn't quite equate them but admits that Jo "is not a genuinely foreign-grown savage; he is the ordinary home-made article" (595). It's a "left-handed" compliment; Jo is still a savage, something much less than civilized. As "dirty, ugly, disagreeable to all the senses" (595) Jo remains – that is, remains to the middle-class senses of the narrator and the audience – merely "a common creature of the streets" (595). The term "common" carries a double meaning: pervasive and lowly. While Jo is part of a large disadvantaged class, his condition isn't unique. To prick the conscience of a middle-class audience, the narrator reminds the reader that there are people like Jo "dying thus around us every day" (604). And the term "creature" bespeaks a Victorian commonplace, like "she is such a delicate creature" rather than solely referencing Jo's bestiality.

Dickens's narrator then launches into a biting diatribe filled with savage irony. Continuing the comparison between Jo and the foreign native, the narrator admits that the grime, filth, parasites, sores, and rags are all "homely" products rather than foreign-made. Dickens's narrator foregrounds environmental determinism to explain Jo's condition. Jo is a product grown from "English soil and climate" (595) as well as made by the "native ignorance" of the British at home. The narrator admits that people like Esther and Allan, George, Squod, and Miss Flite (that is, middle-class people) shrink from people like Jo and distance themselves from him because they cannot place him in their world. "He is not of the same order of things, not of the same place in creation" (596). Jo's incomprehensibility to the characters and the audience is spatialized. Jo cannot be positioned by middle-class referents to anything beneficial or virtuous. Jo remains, in fact, "of no order and no place; neither of the beasts, nor of humanity" (596). But if Jo is neither animal nor human, what is he? His ambiguous status within the conceptual framework of the

middle class marginalizes Jo and places him in some indefinable in-between place. Jo simply occupies the shadows of culture and borders of society, the shadows and borders of the road.

Commenting upon the poor's degraded living conditions, Dickens says: "I am so surrounded by material filth that my Soul cannot rise to the contemplation of an immaterial existence" (Fielding *The Speeches of Charles Dickens* 129). While Dickens is sympathetic to the plight of the poor, we see that the influence of Henry Mayhew's godless description of the unsettled poor complicates his response. Dickens goes on to doubt the positive effects of teaching children given that the misery of their lives contrasts sharply with the ideals and content of education. He reasons that the "noxious, constant, ever-renewed lesson" (Fielding 129) of that child's whole existence can't be overcome or even mitigated by education. Dickens dooms Jo.

If enough distance is placed between Jo and the middle class, perhaps he will go away, disappear, and be forgotten. Jo is unable to be classified satisfactorily by a Victorian culture obsessed with cataloguing. His presence, instead, reminds Victorians of not only their inability to adequately and fairly deal with people like Jo, but of their own precarious position and proximity to Jo's condition. Jo is dangerous to middle-class complacency and security because he is so unsettling a reminder of how far the middle class could fall themselves. The middle class will do anything to prevent themselves from being like Jo and living on the street.

But besides being a threatening sign of middle-class precariousness, blindness, and selfishness as well as a sign of depravity and criminality, Jo exists as a real physical threat. Earlier in the novel, Jo contracts smallpox, and in caring for him, Charley become infected. In caring for her, Esther becomes infected and is temporarily blinded. Esther survives but with a scarred face. The spread of disease was directly linked to infected street people associated with working and living primarily in the road and with the unsanitary conditions of the road. The fact of as well as the potential threat to the physical health of the social body instigated much needed sanitary reform in London. And sanitary reform meant road improvement.

Ironically, it took disease to change minds before any real street improvement began. The cholera epidemic of 1832 killed over 5000 Londoners (Sheppard 23). In 1837, a typhus epidemic hit. Advancing from the orient (or so it was thought), successive cholera epidemics in 1848 and 1854 rocked and shocked the city. Epidemics not only resonated with the time in which Dickens wrote *Bleak House* but also coincided with the text's serial publication. Since disease had been positively and directly linked to water – sanitation, sewage, drainage, supply – some overall plan to combat these fatal epidemics was advocated by the fledgling Board of Health, spearheaded by a friend and disciple of Jeremy Bentham, Edwin Chadwick. Funded by the London City Council, Chadwick administered the closing of cesspools, the removal of dung and excrement, and facilitated the rudimentary beginnings of sewage control and surface water drainage in the most densely crowded and hence most virulent areas.

Dickens himself addressed letters to the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers (Story *The Letters of Charles Dickens* v.5) supporting a plan to change London's decrepit brick sewers with a modern system of pipes. In his journal *Household Words*, Dickens included a section titled "Social, Sanitary, and Municipal Progress" which provided both his editorial endorsement and an editorial outlet for the fledgling Metropolitan Board of Sewers to communicate its progressive plans for sanitation reform in the forms of water supply and sanitary waste disposal (Storey). Further throwing his support for the Board-instigated Public Health Acts, Dickens

himself addressed the Metropolitan Sanitary Association on a number of occasions in 1850 and was the keynote speaker at the first anniversary banquet of the association May 10, 1851. Congratulating the Board on its installation of centralized water-works that helped to eradicate cholera-producing cesspools, Dickens earned the cheers and toasts of his audience.

Because of the drainage and sanitary improvements in the decade following outbreaks of cholera and typhus, road construction, improvement, and repair seems to have fallen under the authority and the jurisdiction in 1875 of the Public Health Department. The association between roads and health parallels the Victorian metaphorical use of streets and roads as circulatory channels responsible for moving vital fluids of the social body. When these channels become congested or blocked, ill health and disease result. The idea of urban streets as blood vessels within the general circulatory system or the pulmonary system gave rise to a rhetoric of the organic body – with attendant qualities of health and disease – when referring to the state and function of roads. Most Victorian reformers considered that the broadening and straightening of urban thoroughfares would increase ventilation and therefore the health of residents.

At a chance meeting between Dr. Allan Woodcourt and Jo, the former expresses his desire for Jo to accompany him so that the two of them may leave the fetid neighborhood and street of Tom-all-Alone's and emerge "into the broad rays of sunlight and the purer air" (590). The street was considered a morally, spiritually, and physically compromised site by most Victorian street reformers, few of them realizing, like William Morris, that the diverse use of the street contributed to the "zest of city life" rather than exposure to stimulation and bad influences jeopardizing the health of urban residents.

In order to counter the tendencies of vagrancy against the moral and national health of the country, the Charity Organization Society (COS) adapted a plan in 1869 developed by Dr. Thomas Hawksley – a system of charity police (Humphreys 4). This system would replace gratuitous charity with mandatory workhouse incarceration in which deterrent discipline would prove to morally benefit inmates (4). In other words, the traveling poor would be punished with incarceration, and an incarceration that remained anything but pleasant in order to make them fear traveling, being poor, and ending up in the workhouse.

The 1824 act as well as the 1834 Amendment enforced spartan accommodation in workhouses and casual wards in order to create so unpleasant an environment as to force users to change their chronic welfare and indigent ways. Charity was designed to be harsh in order to make chronic relief inhospitable. Some workhouses were so bad that inhabitants committed crimes in order to be sent to prison, a step up in material conditions for them (Humphreys 95). Casual ward inhabitants were consistently subjected to search – and owing to the 'filthy state,' their clothes were torn apart and vagrants were forcibly bathed while their clothing was disinfected. Sleeping quarters were clinically clean but simple to the point of being harsh (Humphreys 95).

A great need arose in 1848 as many Irish emigrated after successive disastrous potato harvests and found themselves roofless and rootless in Britain (Humphreys 88-89). A real fear of civil unrest traveling upon the heels of an army of traveling poor made control – either containment, disbursement, or elimination – paramount to the stability of middle-class order. Thus not only criminality but revolution spurred on the enforcement of vagrancy laws. The 1868 Poor Laws Board suggested that vagrants be registered, searched and bathed, forced to perform daily labor of at least four hours, and made to consume a uniform diet (Humphreys 95). This

regimen suggests a police or totalitarian state in which a mobile population need be controlled, contained, and disciplined while under surveillance. Most Victorians (though not the vagrant poor themselves) didn't see the drop in the users of casual wards as due to the harsh measures but rather to their beneficial effects.

Such drastic measures failed to eliminate the problem of workless workers traveling the roads. In 1881, W.M. Wilkinson said that "tramps were 'perpetuating and increasing the breed and begetting a race which has the very genius of not working within its bones and sinews'" (4). He further maintained that "if the natural history of this 'nomadic, lowest, seething-class could be written, we should probably find it is the residuum or dregs of our social system for many centuries" (4). Spencer's hypothesis of 'the survival of the fittest' seemed "confirmed by the daily indications that the rich did rather well out of life whereas nature 'understandably' rejected the indigent poor" (92). The racializing of the itinerant poor remains consistent with colonization's tendency to render an exploitable, troublesome class inferior.

Such social Darwinism saw that if workhouse moral discipline and forced work programs didn't improve the character and behavior of these "dregs," then the only humane alternative was forced resettlement in the colonies, that is, transport abroad. This process, albeit its mandatory system, remains what Booth of the Salvation Army recommends. Although his plan sought to train the previously "worthless" residuum in some productive trade in the city and farm colonies within England before their emigration abroad, Booth's plan like Hawksley's saw the solution as getting rid of the troublesome and problematic, undesirable and, it seems, no longer worthy of domestic residence, segments of the population who lived on the road.

Rootless people were told to leave the parish or be arrested as criminals. As diseased bodily and morally, the middle class avoided contact with the vagrant poor at all costs. Fear of contamination of individual bodies as well as the social body was paramount. Like the constable telling Jo to move on, the parish authority simply sought to keep them moving and out of sight and finally out of one's own jurisdiction. Some parish officials employed "beggar pokers" who went "armed with a painted pole about five feet long" (92) warning "beggars to move on, and if it were necessary, escorted them like a guard of honor to the side of town" (92). The "deserving poor" had homes, so ran the generally accepted definition, while the undeserving poor were characterized by their own mobility, and hence degraded, criminalized, and harassed.

However, not all parishes responded harshly. For example, the parishes of Dorset construed a more humane scheme. The Dorset System was developed to provide "a regional system whereby travelers with honest intentions might be encouraged to take a pre-determined route between casual wards" (Brown 109). Judging them to be honest workers traveling the road looking for work [here one thinks of Gabriel Oak in Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd* as an example of an honest workman down on his luck], the Dorset System printed tickets that could be exchanged at specified places for a pound of bread and occasionally a piece of cheese. Later in the day, the same ticket might guarantee a bed for the night to genuine travelers.

But enlightened and relatively inexpensive care for the traveling poor is notable for its exception rather than the general rule. While their moral degeneracy and human worth could be debated, their association with filthy streets couldn't be argued away. The next section considers the Victorian effort to clean its roads, roads

universally agreed to be tremendously dirty, and hence in need of policing and ordering.

### **Of Mac and Mud: Cleaning the Road and Street-Orderlyism.**

As conduits of consumption and funnels for production, roads both generate and receive the residual waste associated with a commodity culture. During young Queen Victoria's coronation, a visitor to London streets would have been appalled by the filth, the stench, and the congestion. With horses pulling the omnibuses and trams, and coal-burning locomotives pulling the aboveground and underground trains, the streets were dismally dirty and foul. In 1849, Henry Mayhew reported in *London Labour and the London Poor* that visitors described London streets as smelling like a stable-yard due to the enormous amount of manure (217). While three and a half million tons of coal were consumed every year in London adding to the dust and dirt deposited on the streets (225), Mayhew notes that a Report of the National Philanthropic Association ascertains that "four-fifths of the street-dirt consists of horse and cattle-droppings" (217). Although the data are imperfect, estimates ranged from 20,000-24,000 horses each daily dropping close to 30 pounds of dung on the thoroughfares of London. With typical Victorian obsession with statistics that comprehensively quantify, Mayhew reports that the total weight of animal droppings per year amounted to a stunning 52,000 tons (219) – close to 100 tons a day! Vestryman and head of the Street Orderly Brigades, Charles Cochrane, conservatively estimates that over 24,000 tons of manure is deposited annually on London roads. The Board of Health doesn't hesitate to put the total amount of manure deposited annually on London streets at a staggering 200,000 tons (Mayhew 219 v. 2). Perhaps the Board was including the droppings of not only the 224,000 cattle and the 1,617,300 sheep, calves, and pigs driven to the Smithfield market but also the deposits of the countless tens of thousands roaming dogs and cats.

John McAdam's new system for constructing road surfaces added another element to street refuse. In addition to animal waste, both macadam and granite pavements deteriorated through use. Iron shod horses and iron-rimmed wheels ground the surface down and created granular particulate that needed to be swept or scraped to keep the roads clean. Through use, the road itself is in a state of degradation and decomposition and becomes the repository for waste. Mixed in with pulverized, dry manure or the fresher variety as well as coal dust was vegetable matter and assorted human litter. The chemical nature of animal urine and manure significantly contributed to the dissolution of pavement integrity.

Street workers called scavengers evolved a special terminology to describe the road residuum, a language adopted by the better classes. Any matter that could be swept from the road pavement was called mud while material that needed to be both scraped and swept was termed mac, short for macadam (Mayhew 220-21 v. 2). In a culture where everything is catalogued, often according to quality, street refuse remained no exception. Street-cleaning contractors complained that mac was inferior in "quality" to the purer manure or mud. Because it was comprised of a mix of street matter, mac fetched lower prices.

While at the very beginning of *Bleak House*, Dickens's lyricism about Chancery fog is well-known, embedded within this famous description and actually leading into it remains the reference to mud in the streets: "As much mud in the streets, as if the waters had but newly retired from the face of the earth" (1). Mud remains as ubiquitous as fog. Dogs are sunk in the mire and horses are "splashed to their very blinkers" (1). It's no accident that Dickens references these two animals since they remain the primary sources of mud, a euphemism for animal dung. Like

the fog, street mud is everywhere, a daily fact of life for all Londoners regardless of class. Pedestrians slip and slide through the filth as new deposits are daily added "to the crust upon crust of mud...accumulating at compound interest" (1). Dickens choice of metaphor remains apt. Not only does mud build-up at a daily, exponential rate if not picked up, but the picking up of street refuse is big business.

While vestries procured the service of a few contractors that owned mechanical street-sweeping machines, most street cleaning was accomplished cheaply and regularly by a small army of the poor equipped with brooms, shovels, and barrows. Typically, the street sweepers were young boys like Jo. Many were Irish orphaned children, and often were girls. A prime location for such work remained intersections of major thoroughfares that saw heavy traffic and thereby offered a good opportunity since the sweeping needed to be constant to rid the street of animal manure. If the street sweeper operated at an intersection of streets, he or she was referred to as a crossing-sweeper.

In order to deal adequately with this street waste on a systematic basis, the founder and president of the National Philanthropic Association, Charles Cochrane, formed in conjunction with vestry boards the Street Orderly Brigades (see Mayhew *London Labour and the London Poor* 285 Vol.2). Recognized as self-supporting laborers, the thus employed crossing-sweepers were paid minimum wage through both charitable donations received by the National Philanthropic Association and the tax rates collected by individual parishes. This system of Street-Orderlyism was seen by Cochrane as improving not only the health of city streets but also the employment opportunities for the working poor and, as industrious workers, thereby their moral health (Mayhew 289 v.2).

This 1842 system proved to be an ongoing project designed with a two-fold object: to provide employment to pauper labor and to keep the city streets clean. As a London vestryman as well as philanthropist and reformer, Cochrane "became inspired with the possibility that filth could be turned into an instrument for social regeneration" (Winter 120). First recognizing that dirt was an impediment to movement, and then developing that concern with dirt as a cause of contagion, Cochrane progressed with the concept that dirt could be part of the social reformer's welfare agenda. Cochrane first became interested with projects concerning the road when in 1841 he proposed to London's vestrymen to pave the entire length of Oxford Street with wooden blocks. He claimed that this type of pavement was easier to clean than macadam or granite surfaces, muffled traffic noise, and provided excellent traction for horses when dry. Despite these advantages, wooden block pavements became extremely slippery after even a light rain that turned animal dung into a greasy film (Winter 121). But both the initial expense of replacing the pavement along the entire length of Oxford Street as well as the expense of keeping the street clean due to frequent inclement weather simply proved too costly for parish officials. The majority of vestry officials voted against the proposal (Winter 122).

Instead of abandoning his plan, Cochrane, instead, lobbied for an expanded proposal to pave all the city's streets with wooden blocks and argued enthusiastically for the practicality of using parish expenditures on such a scheme. He gave a series of speeches that convinced enough vestrymen to pave a section of Oxford Street on an experimental basis (Winter 122). To counter the drawback that in wet weather dung made wooden block pavements slippery, part of Cochrane's expanded plan included a group of street sweepers placed at intervals along the busiest streets. He would provide them with "scoops and short-handled brooms or brushes" (Winter 122) in order to sweep up dung and urine before it had a chance to

seep into the pavement and either grease or dissolve the surface. He said that these sweepers would be trained to “dart out and remove animal excrement almost as soon as it plopped onto the carriageway” (Winter 122). He would recruit his sweepers from “boys and single, able-bodied men on the Poor Law lists and form them into Street Orderly Brigades” (Winter 122). These street-sweeping brigades were to be organized around a military model with one foreman (sergeant) overseeing about twenty men. Militarization, in this case, of a domestic organization, remains one of Brantlinger’s characteristic elements of imperialism. Not only does the street-cleaning brigade order the streets, but the militarization of the Brigade ordered its members as well.

Modeling the Street Orderly Brigade upon the relatively newly-formed but nonetheless proven Metropolitan Police, Cochrane believed uniforms gave a sense of pride in the wearer and instilled both a sense of order in public space and accountability of brigade members. Increasing the self-esteem of the working poor as well as paying them a decent wage for their regular, full-time employment weren’t the only advantages dreamed of by Cochrane. Working a regular beat like a constable, the street orderly would become a sort of assistant constable. As familiar to neighborhood residents as the constable, the sweeper would be able to keep an eye on passersby and street activity, and pass along any information concerning suspicious characters to the local constable (Winter 124). Thus in addition to their sweeping duties, the Street Orderly Brigade would be involved in surveillance and perhaps become informants.

Not only would the sweepers wear uniforms, receive regular wages, and live in barracks, they would receive moral and spiritual guidance (Winter 122). Since the sweepers lived in barracks, they could easily attend regular classes given for their benefit on Bible instruction. Cochrane envisioned that this spiritual guidance coupled with a new-found self respect produced from gainful employment would elevate the working poor from the degradation they currently suffered. After a year or so in the Brigade, according to Cochrane, veteran members would move onto better employment. Thus the Street Orderly system was a stepping stone to salvation for the destitute much like Booth’s colony system, intended to turn the human detritus of Victorian society into productive and responsible working citizens. Cochrane reports that only a few of his sweepers return to a life of work in the streets. Most moved onto more advantageous employment (Mayhew 297 v. 2).

In addition, the swept-up dung, Cochrane claimed, could be sold to farmers as fertilizer, and the sale not only would pay the expenses of the brigade but would also turn a profit to the City Corporation. Because the excrement was gathered “fresh,” it would fetch a higher price because it was unadulterated with miscellaneous road grit. Cochrane also claimed that his cleaning system would increase the value of shops that now stood along the filthiest sections of roads. Property owners, he claimed, could command twice the rent for shops once they were located on clean premises while shops could expect more sales since respectable customers could patronize them even in foul weather unimpeded by filth (Winter 122). In short, Cochrane promised to turn waste into wealth. The image of new life rising from decomposition was an organic image that coincided with the circulatory metaphor as applied to streets, an image of reclamation that proved very compelling to Victorian sensibilities.

In 1842, Cochrane rented a barracks building on Great Windmill Street and recruited and equipped close to a hundred orderlies out of his own pocket. He offered their services to keep certain selected streets “perpetually clean” to any city administrative or commercial group willing to help defray some of the expense. A

group of shopkeepers along Regent and Oxford streets were the first to respond. Fifty orderlies were immediately put to work in the winter of 1843-4. In 1848, Cochrane's address to a public meeting of the Literary and Scientific Institution notes that the failure of potato crops in Ireland in 1846 and 1847 would flood London with thousands of destitute Irish in 1848. Cochrane argues that 10,000 men could be employed in London alone through Street-Orderlyism. While Cochrane argues that the economic and humane benefits would be significant, the political consequences are tempting. No one wanted thousands of desperately poor and hungry people influenced by the growing Chartist movement roaming the streets to become a mob clamoring for worker's rights. Employing the unemployed thousands could very well prevent civil insurrection and the kind of class war that most property owners desperately desired to avoid. Cochrane, in effect, offers Street Orderlyism as the means to politically control or order London's streets. After his fervid speech, the Institute resolved in favor of Cochrane's suggestion of "Employment of the Poor," particularly through street cleaning.

Over the next nine years, the Brigades expanded, working in even the filthiest streets of St. Giles and St. Pancras. In 1851, Mayhew reports that 546 men and boys passed through the Street Orderly system. Their current numbers ranged from 80 to 90 with an average employment rate of 60. Mayhew notes that almost 1900 dependent wives and children benefited too (294 v. 2). Every orderly was assigned a particular series of courts or yardage of public way (295 v. 2). During the summer, almost 30 applicants a day applied to enter service.

Cochrane's "excremental vision" (Winter 123) earned the support of the press as well as received enthusiastic from such other liberal reformers as Edwin Chadwick, Henry Mayhew, and Charles Booth who praised Cochrane for reclaiming the destitute rather than merely subsidizing them. Like them, Cochrane was a "miasmatist" rather than a "contagionist" who believed that disease originated from putrefying matter rather than from ingested drinking water infected with excrement or spread by physical contact (Winter 125). The 1851 report by the City Surveyor of Sewers, William Haywood, published in Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, lauded Cochrane's impressive results reporting disappointment only that the system wasn't pervasive enough to cover the entire city. According to Haywood, streets greatly benefited from continuous and near instant cleaning of droppings compared to mere intermittent sweeping. Streets looked clean and smelled clean rather than resembling a stable. Haywood rates the importance of Cochrane's Street Orderly System to community health and safety behind only proper systems of sewage and drainage as well as proper road surfaces (Mayhew 305 v. 2).

However, not every health official concurred with Haywood's and Cochrane's optimistic assessment of the Brigade's results. London's 1851 Board of Health claimed that Cochrane and his supporters exaggerated the benefits of his system. The Board of Health denied their assertions that "the unwholesome of the metropolitan thoroughfares" (Mayhew 305 v. 2) persisted in the City of London. In addition, a handful of vestry committees resented Cochrane's sweepers for infringing upon private contracts that were a form of vestry patronage (Winter 125). In Westminster, one contractor refused to pick up the piles collected by Cochrane's orderlies claiming that he wasn't paid enough to cart away such an excessive load. When he demanded more money, Cochrane loudly complained of corruption, and the parish cancelled the experiment. Another Westminster parish replied that people on the filthiest streets preferred to live in dirt (Winter 125). Cochrane couldn't convince them that poor people didn't want to wallow in filth. Cochrane's

enthusiasm was perceived by many to be abrasive, and his tactics of “end runs” around recalcitrant officials to be inappropriate procedure.

Ironically, street-cleaning was termed “scavenging” and street-cleaners constituted part of the “scavenging” class, a class described by Mayhew at the very beginning of his encyclopedic work as a destabilizing and destabilized group of nomads. Cochrane’s street-orderly system competed with the class of irregular cleaners and scavengers like Jo who claimed territorial rights to certain streets. Their precarious existence hung by the narrowest of margins, relying upon what little they could scavenge, then either trade or sell. Street-Orderlyism divides the nomad class against itself, pitting members of its subgroups against each other. In this sense, Street-Orderlyism disrupts the sustenance of the lowest portion of London’s permanent underclass, ironically disrupting the order of their lives while stabilizing the order of middle-class life. In other words, by directly competing with the class of irregular sweepers, the Street Orderly system orders their disorder by taking their work.

Furthermore, if shop owners and institutions merely waited for Cochrane’s street-orderlies to arrive, the streets in front of their premises would be cleaned through someone else’s charity or paid taxes. So rather than paying irregular cleaners “out of pocket”, the middle-class usually opted to wait for the Street-Orderly System to proceed on its ordered rounds. Consequently, “illegitimate” cleaners often reduced their wage rates to compete with Street-Orderlies and existed far below even Victorian standards for a living wage. Further disenfranchised, the plight of these scavengers seemed to resemble the residue that they swept up, they themselves becoming the detritus produced by Victorian ‘business as usual,’ waste discarded and ignored by middle-class sensibility.

In addition to human competition in the form of organized reform like Cochrane, sweepers like Jo faced competition from street-sweeping machines. In 1842, while Cochrane was forming the Street-Orderly Brigade, Joseph Whitworth conducted successful trials in Manchester with a horse-drawn, mechanical street sweeper. Whitworth argued that four of his machines could do the work of 70 or 80 human hand sweepers at a considerable savings in operational cost (Winter 123). He echoed the popular sentiment: “Machinery itself is progressive” (Winter 123). In order to sell his machines to city officials and to counter the alleged redemptive value to pauper labor of Street-Orderlyism, Whitworth argued that cleaning the gutter was humiliating work actually unfit to elevate anyone either economically or morally (Winter 16).

Not only do workers like Jo have to compete with formal organizations like Cochrane’s, but with Whitworth’s machine, they also competed with technology. Paralleling competition between horse-drawn conveyance and steam-driven road locomotives, as well as the competition between railway cartage versus road cartage, the sweeping controversy reflects the general ascendancy of technology into every facet of Victorian life as well as the colonization of roads by motorized transport following WWI.

## Conclusion

In this article, I have discussed the generally ineffective ways in which the Victorians tried to control and order their disorderly roads. Dirt and congestion seemed to not only characterize Victorian roads but also were problems that only seemed to become aggravated during the Victorian period. Not only did the Metropolitan Police lack the specific authority to fully control the activities upon roads, the police lacked the inclination to infringe upon the rights of citizens.

Instead, the police were careful to respect the liberty of the subject and freedom of passage that long had been British traditions.

Despite legislative threats or reformist help, the problem of thousands of itinerant poor traveling the roads never abated. Despite the Victorian conception of vagrancy as a moral condition and the vagrant as part of an inferior race, the moral imperative never was able to adequately address or mitigate the numbers of homeless poor which continued to fluctuate dependent only upon uncontrollable economic conditions.

If those Victorians permanently associated with the road – like vagrants and tramps and street workers – were characterized by moral degradation and material dirt, it's only because the physical condition of roads remained so appalling. Reliance upon animal power and lack of appropriate sanitation contributed to the filthy character of Victorian roads.

Similar to Booth's Salvation Army and the Metropolitan Police, military-style organizations like Cochrane's Street-Orderly system that coupled productive work for the poor with clean streets for the middle class had limited success because the problems of dirt and poverty were of such immense scale. In short, despite their desire to address road problems through a model of colonization, the Victorians remained unable to fully order their disorderly roads.

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# Translation of Jugaku Akiko (1983): “Nihonjin no kiiwaado ‘*rashisa*’” from Kokugogaku 133:45-54.

Debra J. Occhi

## Translator’s Introduction

日本語の母語ではない日本に関して研究する学者が日本人に作られた理論を熟考することが望ましいことである。そのため、国語学の学問であった寿岳章子（じゅがくあきこ）の名うってない重要な作文の一つを翻訳する。ジェンダー学や認知言語学などにつき重要な可能性のある、思考を刺激させる作文をそれぞれ出しましたが、寿岳氏は国語学の学問に所属されたため、その作文が国内・国外でも値する注目を受けられなかったことである。

Researchers on Japan who are non-native users of Japanese do well to consider native theorizing in their analyses. Toward that end, I have translated a lesser-known but important work by Jugaku Akiko, a scholar trained in the *kokugogaku* ‘Japanese native linguistics’ tradition. Jugaku contributed several provocative works of potential importance to gender studies and cognitive studies; however, because of her affiliation with *kokugogaku* these works have not received the attention they deserve in Japanese nor in foreign readership.

## Translation

### Synopsis

*R*ashisa is a suffix with an extremely strong, active force in the Japanese language. Reflecting on its circumstances of use, we can consider *rashisa* to be a ‘keyword’ of Japanese. *rashisa* fixes a certain value on its object and, in doing so, functions to create a basis for judgement [of all putative exemplars of that object]. The clearest case of this is seen in the use of the term *onnarashisa*. Often, *rashisa* has a virtual image, regardless of whether this differs from the real condition, which has a strong power to affect the real world.

### 1. My history of thought on ‘keywords’

My study regarding ‘keywords’ came out in print in Kokugogaku fifteen years ago. After the basic outline had been laid out, I had felt no need to rethink the issue. Nowadays, in scholarly and critical circles, ‘keyword theory’ has not been active to that extent, nor has its use been prominent. When Dr. Hisanosuke Izumii casually asked some linguists or national language scholars, what we thought about the notion ‘keyword,’ I took it equally casually and did not respond, nor did the others discuss it much. I don’t know what Izumii thinks about keyword analysis, but for some reason I myself began to take an interest again. Thus, the following provides a summary of works already published.

### A. Necessary Conditions for 'keyword'

1. The object has a special character.

Following this, the chosen 'keyword' is difficult to translate. In the case of Japanese, special words already chosen include: *tsuraate* 'spiteful words,' *tsurayogoshi* 'disgrace,' *ikihaji* 'living in disgrace,' *shi ni haji* 'shamed to death,' *hitokiki* 'wish not to be overheard,' *ki ga okenai* 'easy to get along with,' *ma ga warui* 'unlucky/embarassed/puzzled,' *seken* 'social world,' *arigatameiwaku* 'an unwelcome favor,' which are terms describing social sensibilities and human relations. Keywords referring to the sense of beauty include: *kime*, *koku*, *fûmi*, and *sabi*. The terms referring to human relationships could be summed up as *hito* 'person/s' and taken as keyword-like. The connected term *tanin* 'other/s' is also interesting.

2. Keywords show the true nature of the object.

In other words, a keyword must necessarily concern itself with deeply explaining the complete, true nature of the object.

3. A keyword, along with having explanatory power, must also, when used to view its object, be capable of connecting deeply to each aspect of the object. That makes for an excellent keyword. In short, given conditions which seem disorderly, the use of a keyword can provide a thread of connection that links them organically.

### B. A true keyword

In England during the Middle Ages, the "Merry" in "Merry England," or in medieval Japan, *ichimi dôshin* 'kindred souls' or *yûtoku* 'virtue.'

### C. The character of a chosen keyword

1. The word is exhaustively used in that work.

2. Beyond explaining its object and being discovered to explain its object well, it's desirable for the word to come out initially as a keyword.

The preceding is a simple putting forth of what 'keyword' concretely means, in connection with various objects, in the world of Japanese.

This background was laid out quite some time ago, and I argue, was used to look at a variety of objects in a generalized way. I have also reached the point of putting forth my own statement about a certain keyword, and to theorize it as well. Again, even as a general critique, many people have presented keywords based on their own theorized objects. The reasoning goes 'this author has this keyword.' The author's chosen writer's keyword is such and such, or the story's keyword is a certain word...all along this line of thinking and style of writing didn't used to be so prevalent. Or, when an essay was being written, the hope of finding something that could be called a keyword or a descriptor has come not to be [so] rare. In sum, thinking in terms of keywords came to have an extremely practical merit. During the time when I had been thinking about what a keyword was, the circumstances changed drastically.

## 2. Concerning *rashisa* and *-rashii*

I have from time to time given talks at meetings about *onnarashisa* 'womanliness' and *onnarashii* 'womanly.' These meetings were not concerned with linguistics, rather, they were meetings of research groups connected with women's

issues. I had expressed my misgivings about the way women were pulled towards a certain style of living through these terms. For instance, I have made proposals concerning the fact that throughout my life I have often been told through various expressions things meaning "you don't belong in the category called 'women'." Of course, I knew what they were getting at, but why, given that biologically I can never be mistaken for a man, would anyone say things such as "you are different from women"? Although I can fathom the meaning of these remarks, I do not find this to be a desirable way of looking at the world, and have therefore decided to take up a critique of the notion *onnarashisa* 'womanliness.' Thus, from the fruit of remarks made from the standpoint of women's theory comes the issue of what concrete meaning do these terms hold in Modern Japanese, and this issue fully enters the domain of language.

That is to say, when a woman receives criticism by someone using expressions of the type like "you aren't womanly" or "you've lost your womanliness," under what circumstances and regarding what behaviors are these words used in judgement? The following examples are experiences shared -- with mixed emotions -- by attendees of women's groups.

The daughter of a small business family in Osaka, when she expressed her wish to undertake entrance exams for Kyoto University, met with the retaliatory response *onnarashikunai* 'unwomanly' by her family.

A female researcher and doctoral student at a veterinary university, when she expressed an original idea, was told by her instructor, *anata wa onnarashiku arimasen ne* 'you're not very womanly, are you'?

At a meeting, a woman who was first to put up her hand was told critically, *onnarashikunai hito da* 'you're not a womanly person.'

In these kinds of cases, when the women at the meeting were set to do something, or had done it, regardless of the fact that they had no natural feeling of resistance, they were looked at strangely, or otherwise had their behavior repressed through the existence of the term *onnarashii*; they told their stories with mixed feelings one after another. Following these, *womanliness* means 'don't apply to universities like Kyoto University; go to a university suitable for women; be average, put forth commonplace observations that don't lead to anything; put forth your question nervously, after many others have spoken.'

Up to now I have sufficiently presented this kind of problem that the Japanese language has. On the other hand, for the group members, when each was about to live following her own independent will, terms such as *onnarashii* 'womanly' and *onnarashisa* 'womanliness' truly became a nuisance, and at the moment they spoke together of this fact, these terms moreover became an issue within the domain of *kokugogaku*.

At that meeting, there was one woman from India. She was a visiting student at a certain university in Kyoto, studying Buddhism. When she was asked if there wasn't a similar phenomenon in India -- with the expectation that there was -- she said something quite unexpected. The attendees had heard that India was wrapped up with its own women's issues, and expected to hear that there was some similar kind of expression used to control women that she would have experienced. However, she said that she herself didn't understand well about the point of the other attendees' stories, because there was no such kind of term in India like *onnarashii*.

There are languages that don't have terms like *onnarashii*. In the countries where those languages are spoken, regardless of whether they have women's issues

or not, there are languages that don't use expressions like *onnarashii*. Given this fact, there is a problem of language, as well as a topic in the realm of reflection.

The following is recorded in a Japanese-English dictionary: *onnarashii* 'womanly; ladylike; womanish; effeminate.'

In other words, it is not the case that Japanese *onnarashii* does not have English expressions that are counterparts. However, the issue of whether, for people in English-speaking countries, these expressions have the tendency to be used for handing down criticism, cannot be understood from dictionaries. In truth, a writer of English literature has said that this concept is not expressed as much [by English-speakers] as by Japanese. I have heard the same for German and French, and although I have not conducted a survey, it seems that in considering the lives of women in these societies, [the concomitant words in] these languages probably do not hold the same kind of harsh control as they do in Japanese.

Meanwhile, we ask when the terms *onnarashisa* and *onnarashii* came into being and into their present forms. It is common knowledge to historians of Japanese that as a suffix *rashii* came into being in the Middle Ages. In the *Shikishô* 'Historical Record of the Han Dynasty,' the adjectival forms bearing the suffix *rashii* appear in the following extracts:

*Tsuberashii* 'cruel'

'not to the extent of being cruel, not to people to whom one owes favors' (95)

'the exacting official's way of dealing with people was sympathetic to the extent of being cruel' (15)

*nasakerashii* 'kindhearted'

'to the extent of Haikô (the first Han emperor)'s beautiful and kindhearted way of being dealt with' (6)

*hajirashii* 'shy'

'not quite shy' (3)

*bakarashii* 'foolish'

'even if one's words and deeds are not regrettable, and one's actions accord with nature and one's allowance, from the start some foolish thing may still come along as one follows the grain of this happiness' (10)

*bakerashii* 'fantastic'

'even though there may be some fantastic things running through the historical record' (8)

*dokurashii* 'menacing'

'even though the surface appearance is calm, if the heart is menacing harm will come to the person' (16)

*hitorashii* 'humane'

'acting like a bad guy is not humane.'

In the *Nippo* [Japanese-Portuguese] dictionary several of these are listed as well. We also find *onnarashii* and *otokorashii* 'manly' therein.

After the Middle Ages, in the recent period, and nowadays too, words bearing the suffixes *-rashii* and *-rashisa* can be seen to have increased. Though a sufficient survey has yet to be undertaken, *ahoorashii*, *oitoshirashii*, *shisairashii*, *uramirashii*, *majimerashii*, *saikunrashii*, and so forth have emerged.

However, strictly speaking, from the middle to the recent period, most of the uses of *-rashii* mean ... *no yoo de aru* 'it seems like that' and do not connect to the domain of meaning of *-rashisa* that I am discussing in this paper. The meanings of

*onnarashisa* as well as *otokorashisa* could be simply explained with the use of ... *no yoo de aru* 'it seems like that' but do not lend themselves to the following explanation.

The *Shogakukan Nihon Kokugogaku Daijiten* dictionary describes *onnarashii* thus:

1) graceful, kind, a disposition thought to be that of a woman. Suitable for women. (material ellipted) [as in] *Omoide no ki* 'record of memories' by Tokutomi Roka (3, 3): 'a daughter like a cut bamboo, aunties and mothers now rather womanly and noticing of small things, is what was desired' or as in *No no hana* 'wild flower' by Tazan Hanabukuro (4): 'there was hardly a womanly woman as she, a gentle auntie with a lovable smile.'

2) though a man, resembling a woman in outward appearance and personality; a sissy; delicate.

One can't help feeling deeply impressed that there are such completed works. Even though there are various women, with an inescapable sense of variety in their natures, some women will be contained by the boundaries prescribed as *onnarashisa* while others will be excluded. To put it in that way, there are heavy expectations behind such demands. Opposed to this attitude which faces women is the one which faces men. In the same dictionary, the definition of *otokorashii* is as follows. It comprises the reverse of meaning (2) listed just above.

*Otokorashii*: in disposition, behavior, physique, voice and all other respects to be thought of as a man. Masculine. Brave. (material ellipted) [as in] the *yoruri*'s "*Yukionna Gomai Hagoita*" *Maibane Kohan*, (middle) 'speaking with a bit of an accent, [saying things like] *dousubei kousubei*, an enviable masculinity' or in *Omoide no ki* 'record of memories' by Tokutomi Roka 3, 4: 'regardless of the fact that I thought he performed *otokorashisa* to a great extent,' or *Ie* 'Home' by Shimazaki Tooson (afterward, 9) "*Sofusan* 'grandfather'" and *Shôta* shifted into a form that rang of masculinity.'

Of course, as there are as many different kinds of men as there are women, they fall into a different frame. There are also expectations for men. But as a frame set in a completely opposite direction, the frame for women takes the form (*kata*) of confinement, while that for men takes the form of pulling them forth, either of them no doubt being painful and unnatural to those persons who aren't that way. but where **that frame and the word come together**, they combine to form a complete kind of *rashisa*.

The point is, there are 'great expectations.' As aspirations these 'great expectations' would like to be aligned to, but if we discuss them in connection with the 'keyword' issue, speaking of Japanese people generally, there are those who feel this expectation extremely strongly. That is to say, I would like to put forth *rashii/rashisa* as a keyword for the contemporary Japanese language. In what way, given its extreme function as *onnarashisa/onnarashii*, can we take this an object overlapping into social science and beyond, having brought forth various kinds of ill effects into contemporary society? (To put forth my rather subjective impression, the true damage is not the suffering of men under *otokorashisa* but rather the obvious masses of women who struggle with *onnarashisa*).

Already in the Middle Ages there was a similar circumstance with *hitorashii* 'typical of humans/humane.' Though humans are no doubt possessed of various good and evil traits, the *hitorashii* person was possessed of good form, not an evil one. Furthermore, this provoked a complicated issue to the extent of *onnarashii*. After all, the history of *onnarashii*'s origins are inseparable from sociohistorical conditions, which possess a truly complex character; however, that piece will be omitted here.

Generally, when the Japanese refer to a fixed, conspicuous characteristic [X] possessed by some object, there is always the tendency that the word *X-rashii* will be used. In other words, when there is nothing special about an object, it will not be termed in that way. With anything rich in individual character, such as travel spots, we love to use *X-rashii*. So I took up the following issue three times in a lesson given to about twenty students of Middle Japanese literature at Kyoto University. They answered for me the questions of what images are borne by *toshiyorirashii* 'typical of old people,' *kodomorashii* 'typical of children,' *musumerashii* 'typical of daughters,' *kyôtôrashii* 'typical of Kyoto,' *hokkaidôrashii* 'typical of Hokkaido,' *akirashii* 'typical of autumn,' and *kyôtôdaigakurashii* 'typical of Kyoto University.' The list follows. Words in bold received more than one response.

### *toshiyorirashii* 'typical of old people'

*shiwa* 'wrinkles,' *yaseteiru* 'thin,' *guchippoi* 'grumbling,' *mukashibanashi* 'reminiscences,' *yoboyobo* 'decrepit,' *shizuka* 'quiet,' *ochitsuki* 'calm,' *katakurushii* 'formal,' *odayakana* 'calm,' *kareta* 'withered,' *fukappatsu* 'inactive,' *monowakari ga yoi* 'sensible,' *yukkuri* 'unhurried,' *hinatabokko* 'basking in the sun,' *fuyu* 'winter,' *sôzôryoku* 'creativity,' *koteika* 'become fixed,' *jimi* 'modest,' *yowaki* 'timid,' *atatakasa* 'kind,' *haihaku* 'ashen,' *onwa* 'gentle,' *yuttari* 'comfortable,' *satori* 'enlightenment,' *engawa* 'veranda,' *shibui* 'sober,' *shiroge* 'white hair,' *segamagaru* 'bent back,' *neko ga iru* 'having a cat,' *hige nado o hayashite ue o tsuite hinatabokkoo shiteiru jôkei* 'the scene [of someone] wearing a beard, using a walking stick, basking in the sun.'

### *kodomorashii* 'typical of children'

*kawaii* 'cute,' *airashii* 'lovable,' *yôchi* 'immature,' *zankoku* 'cruel,' *sutoreeto* 'straightforward,' *wagamama* 'selfish,' *undo* 'movement,' *kenka* 'fight,' *genki* 'healthy,' *tobihaneru* 'skipping,' *akai hoho* 'redcheeked,' *wanpaku* 'mischievous,' *kizudarake* 'covered in scrapes/bruises,' *asobi* 'play,' *itazura* 'teasing,' *sotchoku* 'frank,' *mujaki* 'innocent,' *yosanai* 'very young,' *sunao* 'docile,' *shôjiki* 'honest,' *shizen* 'nature,' *tenman ranman* 'unaffected,' *hakahaki shite iru* 'brisk,' *sugao* 'barefaced,' *muka* 'pure,' *yutaka* 'abundance,' *nobi nobi* 'carefree,' *dada o koneru* 'acting tired/peevish,' *ôki na koe de becha kucha shaberu* 'chattering in a loud voice.'

### *musumerashii* 'typical of daughters'

*shitoyaka* 'gentle,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *utsukushii* 'beautiful,' *seiketsu* 'clean,' *wakawakashii* 'unripe,' *seisô* 'neat/tidy,' *uiuishii* 'naïve,' *junboku* 'simplehearted,' *pichipichi* 'young/lively,' *ubu* 'naïve,' *monotarinasu* 'sense of incompleteness,' *mijun* 'unripe,' *hannari* 'bright and elegant,' *nigiyaka* 'lively,' *kimono* 'kimono,' *egao* 'smiling face,' *adokenai* 'innocent,' *yasashii* 'kind,' *hazukashigari* 'tending to be embarrassed,' *hogaraka* 'merry,' *wakai* 'young,' *nonki* 'carefree,' *hajirai* 'blushing,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *jûjun* 'submissive,' *kon no seifuku* 'indigo school uniform,' *okappa atama* 'shoulder length hair with bangs,' *skaato sugata* 'figure in a skirt.'

### *kyôtôrashii* 'typical of Kyoto'

*gairojyu* 'treelined streets,' *kamogawa* 'Kamo River,' *rekishi* 'history,' *jyôchoteki* 'emotional,' *fusei no aru* 'elegant,' *konjô ga warui* 'bad-natured,' *tera* 'temple,' *jiin* 'temple,' *takusan no jisyu* 'many temples and shrines,' *kiyoraka* 'pure,'

shizuka 'quiet,' shittori shita 'moist/quiet,' ikezu 'mean,' furukusai 'oldfashioned,' hozonteki 'conservative,' gakusei 'student/s,' midori 'green,' **kofû** 'old style,' atarashii 'new,' machinami ga kirei 'pretty streets and houses,' kitayama 'North Mountain,' kotoba 'words,' Sei Shonagon [author of the Pillow Book], onwa 'mild,' yasashii 'kind,' shittori 'moist/quiet,' fûryû 'refined,' yawarakai 'soft,' jôhin 'elegant,' ochitsuita 'calm,' seijaku 'quiet,' ~shiharu 'dialectal for 'to do,' tôku no hikui yama 'faraway, low mountains,' Arashiyama 'Mt. Arashi,' Ohara nado no kôyô no meijô 'famous places with colorful [autumn] leaves, like Ohara,' nomiya ga ottori shite iru 'the bars are calm,' tokai to shizen 'city and nature.'

### **hokkaidôrashii 'typical of Hokkaido'**

**jagaimo** 'potato,' **hiro**i 'wide,' midori no hara 'green fields,' **yûdai** 'magnificent,' shinrin 'forests,' kôdai 'vast,' nobinobi to shita 'carefree,' tokeidai 'clock tower,' **yuki** 'snow,' **setsugen** 'fields of snow,' komoru 'be confined,' **samui** 'cold,' dorô 'road,' fuyu 'winter,' zôkibayashi ga kirei 'pretty forest of various kinds of trees,' michi no sekai 'unknown world,' daishizen 'great nature,' shizen 'nature,' zankan 'bitter cold,' shizen ni megumarete iru 'blessed with nature,' marui suiheisen 'round horizon,' doko made mo tuzuku shingoki no nai dorô 'road/s that continue on and on with no stoplights,' kuma no horimono 'bear carvings,' kani nado umasô 'delicious crab and the like,' yuki ni uzumoretai 'buried by snow.'

### **akirashii 'typical of autumn'**

**kôyô** 'colorful leaves,' **ochiba** 'fallen leaves,' susuki 'pampas grass,' meigetsu 'bright moon,' monosabishii 'deeply lonely,' shikisai yutaka 'richly colorful,' kanashii 'sad,' moeizuru ko no ha 'burning red leaves,' **sabishii** 'lonely,' **seijaku** 'quiet,' kôyû 'great bravery' kareha 'withered leaves,' samui 'cold,' aishû 'grief,' ame 'rain,' hito koishii 'the dearness of someone,' kareta 'withered,' ryokô 'travel,' sugukizuke no kabu no shukaku 'turnip harvest for suguki pickles,' gussuri nemureru 'able to sleep deeply,' sora no iro ga kirei 'the sky is a pretty color,' kaze ga sunde iru 'the wind clears [the sky].'

### **kyôtôdaigakurashii 'typical of Kyoto University'**

soboku 'homely,' shigeki ga nai 'unstimulated,' nodoka 'calm,' **majime** 'serious,' **yabbotai** 'unsophisticated,' semai 'limited,' hito ga sukunai 'few people,' atto hoomu 'in one's element,' shôkibô 'small scale,' mossari shite iru 'acting like someone from the country,' akanuke shinai 'unpolished,' heibon na 'average,' hissoni shita 'quiet,' miuchi 'close relations,' **jimi** 'modest,' **inaka** 'countryside,' pattosen 'unclear/blurred,' sanryû 'third-rate,' inki kusai 'gloomy,' imokusai 'rustic,' imo 'bumpkin,' mossai 'countrified,' kitanai shirobukuro 'dirty white bag,' se ga hikui 'short,' nani ka ni tukete wasurerareta daigaku 'a university that forgot what it was attached to,' shôraisei ni kitai 'expectations for the future,' benkyô 'study,' kinketsubyô 'chronically short of cash,' jitensya 'bicycle,' sukeeru ga chûsai 'small scale,' atama ga yoi 'intelligent,' kankyô wa batsugun 'outstanding environment,' kenjitsu 'reliable.'

As we can see the seeming unboundedness of *rashisa* in the above, we can also see the flip side of it as an 'image word' and pay attention to it. The topics I assigned were of two types: either subjects in which the students had virtually no daily experience, or those that were utterly inseparable from everyday life. 'Kyoto

University' and 'Hokkaido' exemplify these opposite poles. 'Kyoto' and the rest had intermediate status. 'Old people' (*toshiyori*), 'daughters' (*musume*), and 'children' (*kodomo*) were things where immediate experience or observations were mixed with 'kata-type' concepts.

For those people who had enrolled in Kyoto University through various means, the extremely vivid and truthful negative images of its *rashisa* were quite interesting. These were truths that were certainly true to the point of evoking laughter. Though [it's] somewhat masochistic [to admit it], they really were the case. However, the truth value of these facts comes only to insiders and may be things that seem merely to be the oddities of any group when viewed from the outside.

Therefore, as suffixes such as *rashisa* and *rashii* are used as tools to assign an image to an object, they generalize only to the extent that they are farther removed from their objects, and align themselves in a positive direction. *rashisa* is a virtual image or conclusion and is **not** truth. After all, as was made clear in the section on *onnarashisa*, it is a grand expectation.

Furthermore, I had the students write regarding the connection of self to *onnarashisa* for the female students and similarly, to *otokorashisa* for the male students. Results for the males indicated that the men were hardly interested in *otokorashisa* and merely wrote that it had the feeling of necessity. For the women, while they had strong ideas about it, they seemed not to relate to it for the most part. However, we would not expect that the statements of these young women who haven't fully stepped forwards as independent women in the world would have the dramatic intensity as those of the research group I discussed earlier, in which women of middle age angrily felt the intervention of *onnarashisa* as a virtual image into their individual lives.

### 3. *rashisa's* effectiveness as a keyword

Let us consider that people who use Japanese are inclined to be trained towards various things attached to the concept *rashisa*, including examples such as *onnarashisa*, even though they are a nuisance to certain types of people. After all, the consciousness of *rashisa* is an inextricable part of the lifestyle of a Japanese person, and moreover, of Japanese culture.

Here is an example from a television show in which a group of amateurs displayed their skills in traditional arts. A five-year-old girl did the 'hand-fan' dance and won an award. Dressed in the genuine costume of a traditional Japanese *musume* 'daughter,' her behavior was full of *onnarashisa*. With a rather coquettish sidelong glance, she gracefully moved her slender body, while her toes pointed inward. Though her behavior, clothing, and all had no connection to those of her daily life, by acquisition of the form (*kata*) it was possible for her to become a dancer; this five-year-old little girl changed into the shape of a woman. The most extreme case is that of *onnagata* 'drag.' Through the concrete change into *onnagata*, a 'woman' somehow more womanly than women can be made real on the stage. A common compliment to an *onnagata* actor goes that even though he is a man, he is considerably more feminine than an actual woman. Naturally, since he is in competition with a 'great expectation,' he becomes a woman to the extent of overflowing.

The traditional arts are full of this extreme kind of *rashisa*, from which many *kata* have been formed. In the field of *genjo seikatsu* 'language life' we often hear admiring cries of *rashii na* 'it does seem so!' brought about by the understanding of many Japanese phenomena. This shows the close connection between philosophical

method and the way Japanese people observe things. Travel, evaluation of persons, and various behaviors are probably on the whole based on the keyword *rashii*.

Usually, when Japanese people speak of 'keywords,' very often the special terms put forth are *haji* 'shame,' *shibusu* 'quiet tastefulness/astringency,' and *wabi* 'austere beauty,' and they do have some effectiveness in that capacity; however, looking at the world of words such as *wabi-sabi* as if all of Japan is a world of beauty conceals the whole of it and is impossible. Even as the restrained simplicity of tea ceremony is loved by Japanese people, so is the explosive kaleidoscope of energy spewed out at *matsuri* festivals; both are unmistakably part and parcel of the same society. Given these circumstances, it must be said that to specify one single keyword is difficult.

In order to test this claim, the aforementioned Kyoto University students were given the task to write about *meimei no biishikigo* 'names of aesthetic terms.' Data regarding both positive and negative aspects were amply gathered. This owes to the fact that there is a raft of terms relating to *utsukushisa* 'beauty' readily available to the average Japanese.

*Aesthetic Terminology (according to Kyoto University students in the special linguistics course, 1991)*

Rank	Use%	#words	words
1	10.4	1	<i>kirei</i> 'beautiful'
2	8.9	1	<i>kitanai</i> 'dirty'
3	7.9	1	<i>uruwashii</i> 'lovely'
4	7.4	2	<i>kawaii</i> 'pretty/loveable,' <i>minikui</i> 'ugly/indecent'
5	6.9	2	<i>sawayaka</i> 'fresh,' <i>seiketsu</i> 'clean'
6	6.4	2	<i>sui</i> 'purity' [or, <i>iki</i> 'chic, stylish'], <i>karei</i> 'splendid'
7	5.9	3	<i>azayaka</i> 'vivid,' <i>kiyoi</i> 'pure,' <i>yabo</i> 'unrefined'
8	5.4	4	<i>adeyaka</i> 'luscious,' <i>jôhin</i> 'elegant,' <i>tsuyayaka</i> 'lustrous,' <i>hanayaka</i> 'gorgeous'
9	4.9	2	<i>airashii</i> 'sweet,' <i>gehin</i> 'inelegant'
10	4.4	5	<i>karen</i> 'lovely/pitiable,' <i>shikku</i> 'chic,' <i>namamekashii</i> 'coquettish,' <i>yûga</i> 'elegant,' <i>yûbi</i> 'graceful'
11	4.0	7	<i>akarui</i> 'bright,' <i>kiyoraka</i> 'pure,' <i>sappari</i> 'refreshing,' <i>junsui</i> 'pure,' <i>seizen</i> 'tidy,' <i>sôrei</i> 'magnificent,' <i>miriyokuteki</i> 'charming'
12	3.5	5	<i>kihini</i> 'grace,' <i>seiso</i> 'neat/clean,' <i>fuketsu</i> 'unclean,' <i>busu</i> 'ugly,' <i>bijin</i> 'beautiful woman [lit. person]'
13	3.0	8	<i>akanukeru</i> 'refined,' <i>iroppoi</i> 'sexy,' <i>kabi</i> 'splendor,' <i>kirabiyaka</i> 'showy,' <i>kenran</i> 'dazzling,' <i>senren</i> 'refinement,' <i>tyaamingu</i> 'charming,' <i>birei</i> 'beautiful'
14	2.5	25	<i>aikurushii</i> 'sweet,' <i>iyashii</i> 'vulgar,' <i>kakkoi</i> 'cool,' <i>kurai</i> 'dark,' <i>kesho</i> 'makeup,' <i>kenkô</i> 'health,' <i>kôka</i> 'luxurious,' <i>kôki</i> 'noble,' <i>sabi</i> 'patina,' <i>subarashii</i> 'wonderful,' <i>sumaato</i> 'smart/stylish,'

			<p><i>seijō</i> ‘spotless,’ <i>date</i> ‘dandy,’ <i>tansei</i> ‘handsome,’ <i>tanrei</i> ‘graceful,’ <i>tononou</i> ‘be put in order,’ <i>yoi</i> ‘good,’ <i>busaiku na</i> ‘awkward,’ <i>migoto</i> ‘wonderful,’ <i>ririshii</i> ‘manly/handsome,’ <i>wabi</i> ‘austere beauty,’ <i>bijo</i> ‘beautiful woman,’ <i>binan</i> ‘handsome man,’ <i>biyō</i> ‘beauty treatment,’ <i>bijutsu</i> ‘art’</p>
15	2.0	35	<p><i>akogare</i> ‘longing,’ <i>itoshii</i> ‘beloved,’ <i>uiuishii</i> ‘naïve,’ <i>urusai</i> (<i>kitanai no hōgen</i>) ‘annoying (dirty, in dialect),’ <i>eien</i> ‘eternal,’ <i>tsuya</i> ‘gloss,’ <i>okuyukashii</i> ‘elegant,’ <i>hade</i> ‘showy,’ <i>oshare</i> ‘fashionable,’ <i>kagayaku</i> ‘glow,’ <i>geijutsu</i> ‘art,’ <i>keppaku</i> ‘pure/upright,’ <i>kebakebashii</i> ‘showy/gaudy,’ <i>kōgōshii</i> ‘divine/sublime,’ <i>zatsuzen</i> ‘formless,’ <i>shareta</i> ‘dressed up,’ <i>seijun</i> ‘pure/innocent,’ <i>seichō</i> ‘clear/serene,’ <i>zetsukei</i> ‘picturesque scenery,’ <i>soboku</i> ‘simple,’ <i>dasai</i> ‘tasteless,’ <i>tomei</i> ‘transparent,’ <i>nigoru</i> ‘get muddy,’ <i>hatsuratsu to</i> ‘lively,’ <i>mittomonai</i> ‘disgraceful,’ <i>miwaku (teki)</i> ‘fascination (-ing),’ <i>muku</i> ‘pure,’ <i>mossari to</i> ‘unrefined,’ <i>yasashii</i> ‘gentle,’ <i>yogoreta</i> ‘dirty,’ <i>rippa</i> ‘excellent,’ <i>bika</i> ‘beautification,’ <i>hikyō</i> ‘cowardly,’ <i>bikei</i> ‘beautiful view’</p>
16	1.5	65	<p><i>ai</i> ‘love,’ <i>aikei</i> ‘love and respect,’ <i>ii onna</i> ‘good woman,’ <i>otoko</i> ‘man,’ <i>isagiyo</i> ‘purehearted,’ <i>isshokenmei</i> ‘with all one’s might,’ <i>inase</i> ‘dandy,’ <i>imo</i> ‘bumpkin,’ <i>iroke</i> ‘sexiness,’ <i>ozomashii</i> ‘horrifying,’ <i>otokorashii</i> ‘manly,’ <i>odaku</i> ‘corruption,’ <i>omoiyari</i> ‘consideration,’ <i>onnarashii</i> ‘womanly,’ <i>kawaiirashii</i> ‘cute,’ <i>kichin to</i> ‘properly,’ <i>kiyora</i> ‘pure,’ <i>kirakira</i> ‘brilliantly,’ <i>kirameku</i> ‘sparkle,’ <i>giri</i> ‘duty,’ <i>yogoreru</i> ‘dirty,’ <i>kenshin</i> ‘self-sacrifice,’ <i>kokoroyoi</i> ‘pleasant,’ <i>gotegote</i> ‘heavy,’ <i>koishii</i> ‘lonely,’ <i>shitoyaka na</i> ‘graceful,’ <i>shibui</i> ‘sober,’ <i>jimi</i></p>

			<p>'modest,' <i>shûaku</i> 'ghastly,' <i>junsei</i> 'pure heart,' <i>shôjiki</i> 'honest,'  <i>sugureru</i> 'good,' <i>suteki</i> 'wonderful,' <i>sunao</i> 'obedient,' <i>sumu</i>  'become clear,' <i>sekushii</i> 'sexy,' <i>senmei</i> 'vivid,' <i>sendo</i>  'freshness,' <i>sôkai</i> 'refreshing,' <i>sôshoku</i> 'decoration,' <i>nayoyaka</i>  'supple,' <i>darashinai</i> 'untidy,' <i>tansei</i> 'handsome,' <i>doryoku</i>  'effort,' <i>nameraka</i> 'smooth,' <i>nikui</i> 'hateful,' <i>ninjô</i> 'human  feelings,' <i>netami</i> 'envy,' <i>hakanai</i> 'empty/shortlived,'  <i>hanabanashii</i> 'resplendent,' <i>fukai</i> 'unpleasant,' <i>bukakko</i>  'unshapely/clumsy,' <i>buzama</i> 'shapeless,' <i>mabayui</i> 'dazzling,'  <i>migurushii</i> 'ugly/wretched,' <i>mime ga yoi (warui)</i> 'good (bad)  appearance,' <i>miyabi (yaka)</i> elegance (-ant),' <i>yodomu</i> 'stagnate,'  <i>ryûrei</i> 'flowing,' <i>wakawakashii</i> 'young,' <i>biken</i> 'fine view,'  <i>bishû</i> 'appearance,' <i>bishônen</i> 'beautiful young man,' <i>pittari</i>  'close/snug,' <i>bibô</i> 'good looks,' <i>oishii</i> 'delicious'</p>
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This cannot be called an expression of the aesthetic sensibilities of Japanese people. There are odd bits and parts that make you want to cock your head, but at any rate I have listed the results just as they are, the input from my third year Kyoto University students (about whose Kyoto *daigakurashisa* you read about above). This probably has some import. Strictly speaking, the set is limited to those terms which received at least three votes.

From this word list various kinds of information can be gathered. For one, there is a clear preponderance of terms which have a positive meaning. The words chosen by the students clearly point towards beauty, but we cannot conclude from this whether or not this is an overall condition for the Japanese language.

Another point relating towards keyword-like terms is that they were not placed highly. The terms here are those that connect to a sense of beauty in the minds of college students in the 1980s. Of course, *sui* 'purity' [or, *iki* 'chic, stylish,' which reading was intended was unclear], *wabi* 'austere beauty,' and *sabi* 'patina' appeared, but we mustn't get overexcited. Because these students are in fields connected to literature, they have an extensive understanding of [this] vocabulary, but it can't yet be said that they've mastered it. By saying that, even if we took up keywords taken from the field of words like *wabi* and *sabi* as assurances that they represented the future of Japanese aesthetics, we would have to limit these keywords to a very small range of applicability.

Changing the topic a bit, when you think about the universality (generality) of Japanese people forming mental images through *rashisa* and *rashii*, it can be thought that these suffixes are rather effective keywords.

### Afterword: Regarding *uranishi*

Having lived a long time in Kyoto, when I would go on trips to the shores of the Japan Sea during autumn and winter, I would often hear the local people remark, "Even if you forget your lunch don't forget your umbrella!" A cold, bitter rain is apt to quietly start falling on one. There is hardly ever a pleasant sunny day that doesn't turn cold. This kind of rain is called *uranishi* by locals.

Well, in 1982, all the students were involved in a survey of the Tango area, divided into natural and human sciences, and subdivided further into various topics; I was in the Tango Dialect Consciousness & Lifestyle group as it had connections to linguistics. There were questions on local folktales and dialect; among these was "are there any words in particular that represent Tango to you?" The most common answer was *uranishi*. Many local people leaned towards this term as an expression of the underlying sense of loneliness that pervades this particular natural phenomenon.

It's not clear at this stage whether *uranishi* can be described as laden with lament, or whether it has become a backhanded kind of compliment, but recently when I was in a town in that area I was surprised to see a Japanese sweet for sale named *uranishi*. One wouldn't think about naming a Japanese sweet after the feelings of locals regarding this troublesome weather phenomenon of the Japan Sea coast in winter, rather, one would expect a mere sigh of "good grief" in agreement with this term; yet, it somehow wound up as the name of a Japanese sweet. On the wrapping paper of this *mochi* 'pounded sticky rice' confection, a rather faithful map of the seashore of that area was printed; however, no explanation of *uranishi* was attempted. Rather than feeling aggrieved about 'that famous *uranishi*' one gets the impression of *uranishi* as having become an axiomatic and positive expression.

Within the spirit of seeking '*Tangorashisa*' lives *uranishi*, and thus even such an essentially unwelcome thing is increased in value. These are the fruits of *rashisa*'s formative action.

March 5, 1982

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Kokugogaku, Vol. 62, supplement. [*Taishu no shûji o ataerumono -- 'kata' no mondai* 大衆の修辭を支えるもの-- 「型」の問題-- 62:6:63-70]

Retorikku – *nihonjin no hyogen*. Kyôbunsha, 1965.

*Nihongo to onna*. Iwanami Shinso. 1975, and associated matters.

## Looking at Lee's Love Theory through Abraham Maslow's Eyes: Factor Analyzing Four Different Models

Futoshi Kobayashi

John Alan Lee (1974, 1988, 1998)は六つの愛情の類型を発表し、全てのロマンチックな愛情はエロス（肉体的愛情）、ストージ（友情のような愛情）、そしてルーダス（ゲームのような愛情）という三つの根本的愛情の混成から生じると提唱したが、その主張は未だに実証されていない。本研究では既存のデータ (Borrello & Thompson, 1990b) を再び確認的因子分析することにより、四つのモデルの妥当性を検証した。四つのモデルのうちのひとつは Abraham Maslow (1968, 1970) の愛の概念から作成された。検証結果として、Lee の提唱したモデルよりも Maslow の愛の概念から作成されたモデルの方が妥当性において高かった。Lee の愛情理論を Maslow の愛の概念から解釈する可能性が検討された。

Lee (1974, 1988, 1998) theorized that all romantic love styles are derived from three fundamental love styles: eros (physical love), storge (friend-like love), and ludus (game-playing love). However, researchers have not found support for Lee's assumption. In this study, confirmatory factor analyses of an archival data set collected by Borrello and Thompson (1990b) were carried out for testing different structures of love, including a new structure inspired by Maslow's (1968, 1970) conceptualization of love. The results indicated that the model fits statistics of Maslow's love structure, as well as the performance of Lee's original model. The possibility of interpreting Lee's love styles by Maslow's philosophy of love and its alternative fundamental love styles were discussed.

Lee (1974, 1988, 1998) proposed six different types of romantic love. These six types are based on three basic love styles: eros, ludus, and storge. The desire for union with one's partner by physical satisfaction is referred to as eros. An erotic lover knows what kind of physical characteristics attract him or her to his or her beloved. The intention of having a good time together is represented by ludus. A ludic lover tends to change his or her lover frequently and demonstrates less commitment. A reciprocal relationship, one of "give and take", is called storge. A compound of eros and ludus, a possessive love and the need to be loved, is mania. A compound of storge and ludus, a seeking of the best possible partner, is pragma. A pragmatic lover is just like a consumer who seeks the best buy in the free market. Agape, a compound of eros and storge, is described as "selfless, giving, altruistic love" (Lee, 1988, p. 48) for one's partner.

Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) came up with a 42-item Love Attitudes Scale (LAS) which was designed to measure Lee's six different love styles. Hendrick and Hendrick (1986, 1989) factor analyzed the LAS items, and found six different factors that followed Lee's typology. Thompson and Borrello (1987) chose 18 items (3 items for each type of love) from the 42 items on the LAS and factor analyzed the data. They chose these 18 items because they had the highest loadings on the target factors in the two studies of Hendrick and Hendrick (1986). Thompson and Borrello (1987) found a general factor, composed of agape and mania, and four other thematic factors that they interpreted as eros, storge, ludus, and pragma.

Borrello and Thompson (1990a) factor analyzed the data using 20 items from the LAS. Their results suggested that Lee's six different love styles exist independently from each other. The previously mentioned researchers (i.e., Borrello & Thompson, 1990a; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986, 1989; Thompson & Borrello, 1987) all utilized similar standard factor analysis procedures (i.e., a "Little Jiffy" procedure by Kaiser).

Borrello and Thompson (1990b) also performed a higher-order factor analysis based on Lee's typology of love. Although three second-order factors emerged, they are mixtures of first-order factors that have no specific patterns and they also suggested that mania and agape could be a general factor. Two years later, Thompson and Borrello (1992) used the LISREL program to perform a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of Lee's love styles, and they found that a combination of mania and agape formed a possible factor underlying the six different love styles.

Later, five different models of the structures of love styles were tested by two different research groups in the use of CFA (Thompson, Davenport, & Wilkinson, 1993; Rotzien, Vacha-Haase, Murthy, Davenport, & Thompson, 1994). Their model 1 assumed six uncorrelated factors, while their model 2 assumed six correlated factors. Their model 3 assumed "five factors that are allowed to be correlated, with Mania and Agape (7 + 7 = 14 items) defining a single G-factor" (Rotzien et al., 1994, p. 367). Their models 4 and 5 were both modified versions of their model 2 to improve the model of best fit. However, all five models had an unsatisfactory model fit. For example, these five models' goodness-of-fit indices range from .65 to .83. Murthy, Rotzien, and Vacha-Haase (1996) subsequently performed a second-order factor analysis and found 11 first-order factors and 4 underlying second-order factors when they used the criteria of eigenvalues greater than 1.

Hendrick, Hendrick, and Dicke (1998) made two shorter versions of the original LAS: one consisted of 24 items (4 items for each love style), and the other consisted of 18 items (3 items for each love style). They chose the highest loading items on each factor to construct these short forms of the LAS. A principal components analysis with varimax rotation for three different large samples clearly revealed six different factors which followed Lee's theory.

Additionally, Fiske (1992, 1993) proposed his relational theory that assumes four different kinds of human relationships which can be observed anywhere in human society. These four types are communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing. A "communal sharing" relationship is like that of family members or kin who share some commonality and in which people are supposed to be altruistic towards each other. An "authority ranking" relationship is similar to the military, where higher-status individuals can have authority and the responsibility to protect the subordinates, and subordinates share a low-level of wealth distribution and are obedient to the superordinate. An "equality matching" relationship is a fair exchange of give-and-take among human beings. A "market pricing" is a cost-benefit calculation of a human relationship. Fiske (1992) hypothesized that relationships develop from communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and then market pricing, according to the cognitive development of individuals. Fiske (1992, 1993) also explained that a human relationship develops in this order historically. In daily life, people combine these four models of relationship strategies. A person does not rely on only one strategy in all relationships (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). Comparing Fiske's relational theory and Lee's love theory, the readers may find three similar conceptualizations between the two: communal sharing & agape, equality matching & storge, and market pricing & pragma. It is reasonable to believe that storge and

pragma need higher cognitive functions than agape. Therefore, when fundamental love styles are considered, agape could be fundamental but storge and pragma may be difficult to become fundamental love styles because they require higher cognitive functions than agape.

Although the effectiveness of the LAS in measuring the six love styles of Lee's love theory is supported by many researchers (Borrello & Thompson, 1990a, 1990b; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986, 1989, 1990; Hendrick, Hendrick, & Dicke, 1998), some researchers have already questioned the solid existence of six love styles (Murthy, Rotzien, & Vacha-Haase, 1996; Rotzien, Vacha-Haase, Murthy, Davenport, & Thompson, 1994; Thompson, Davenport, & Wilkinson, 1993). Others have already claimed the possible existence of a g-factor that is probably made up of agape and mania (Borrello & Thompson, 1990b; Murthy, Rotzien, & Vacha-Haase, 1996; Thompson & Borrello, 1987, 1992; Thompson, Davenport, & Wilkinson, 1993). Furthermore, no researchers have found support for Lee's claim that ludus, eros, and storge are the fundamental love styles that make up all love styles. In addition, Lee's claim seems to contradict Fiske's theory of human relationships (Fiske, 1992, 1993; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998).

Furthermore, Maslow (1968, 1970) classified love in two different ways: D-love and B-love. These two love styles are produced by two different human motivations. The first one is deficiency motivation, which is a need to get something good as a result of an immature personality. The second one is growth motivation, which is the need to give something good as a result of a mature personality. Because the g-factor was mainly loaded by both agape and mania items in previous research (Borrello & Thompson, 1990b; Murthy, Rotzien, & Vacha-Haase, 1996; Thompson & Borrello, 1987, 1992; Thompson, Davenport, & Wilkinson, 1993) and agape can be a prototype of B-love and mania can be a prototype of D-love, a new model (i.e., Model 4) is presented below.

From G-Love, both G-agape and G-mania is produced. Then, agape, pragma, and storge can be produced from G-agape because all three have enough giving aspects (more giving in agape, equal amount of giving in storge, and cost-benefit ratio giving in pragma). Ludus, mania, and eros can be produced from G-mania because all three have enough deficiency aspects (emptiness to be loved in mania, considering having self-fun in ludus, and considering physical aspects more highly than any other aspects in eros). Therefore, hierarchical confirmatory factor analyses were performed in checking the model fit of this structure of love styles.

The present study tested four models: (1) Lee's original model, which simply assumes six different correlated factors, (2) Lee's original and full model, which assumes six different factors and also ludus, eros, and storge as the fundamental love styles, (3) an alternative model which assumes a g-factor and the six different love styles, and (4) an alternative model which is based on Maslow's interpretation of Lee's love styles.

Three hypotheses and a research question were investigated. Hypothesis 1: Model 1 is proposed to have the best model of fit statistics because it assumes the simplest structure among these four models. Hypothesis 2: Model 3 is to have a better model of fit than Model 2 or Model 4 because it assumes a simpler structure than these two models. Hypothesis 3: A g-factor of Model 3 should be highly loaded by agape and mania items as previous researchers have found. Research Question: How does the model of fit perform between Models 2 and 4? Conceptualizations of Model 1 through Model 4 are illustrated in Figures 1 to 4.

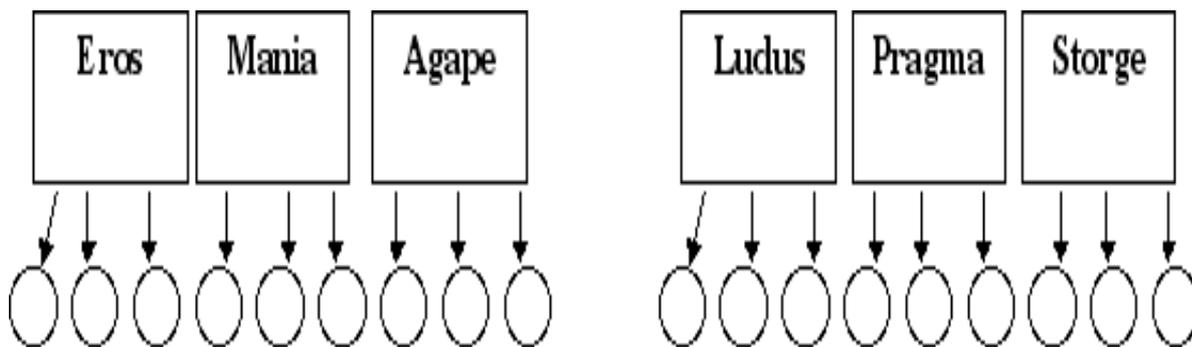


Figure 1. Lee's Original Model Which Simply Assumes Six Different Correlated Factors (Model 1) The circles indicate the variables of each factor. For example, three circles under Eros indicate three variables: EROS2, EROS4, and EROS7.

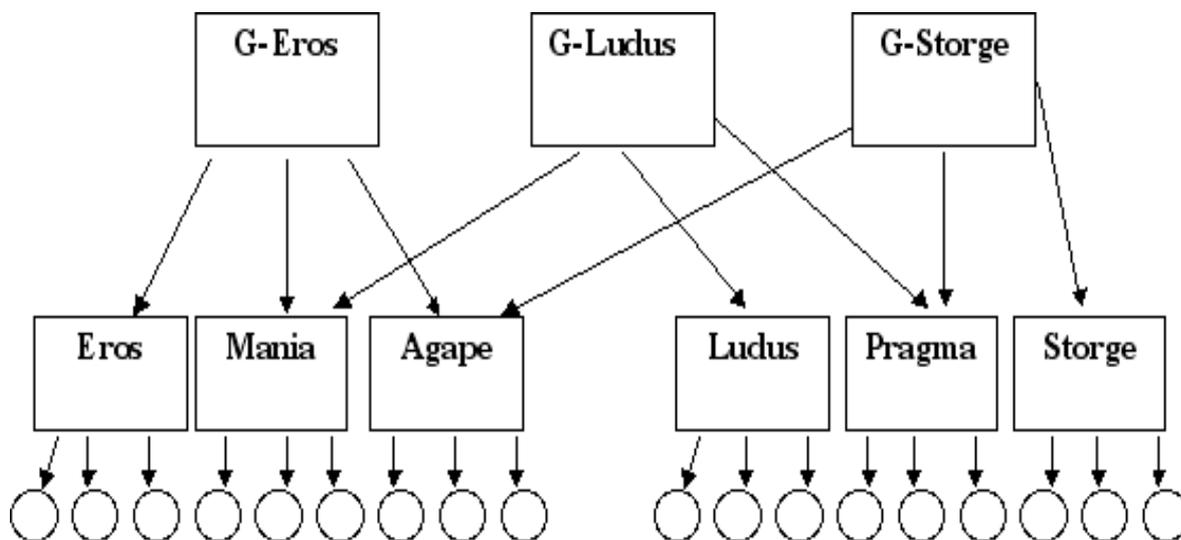


Figure 2. Lee's Original Model Which Assumes Six Different Factors and Ludus, Eros, and Storge as The Fundamental Love Styles (Model 2) The circles indicate the variables of each factor. For example, three circles under Eros indicate three variables: EROS2, EROS4, and EROS7.

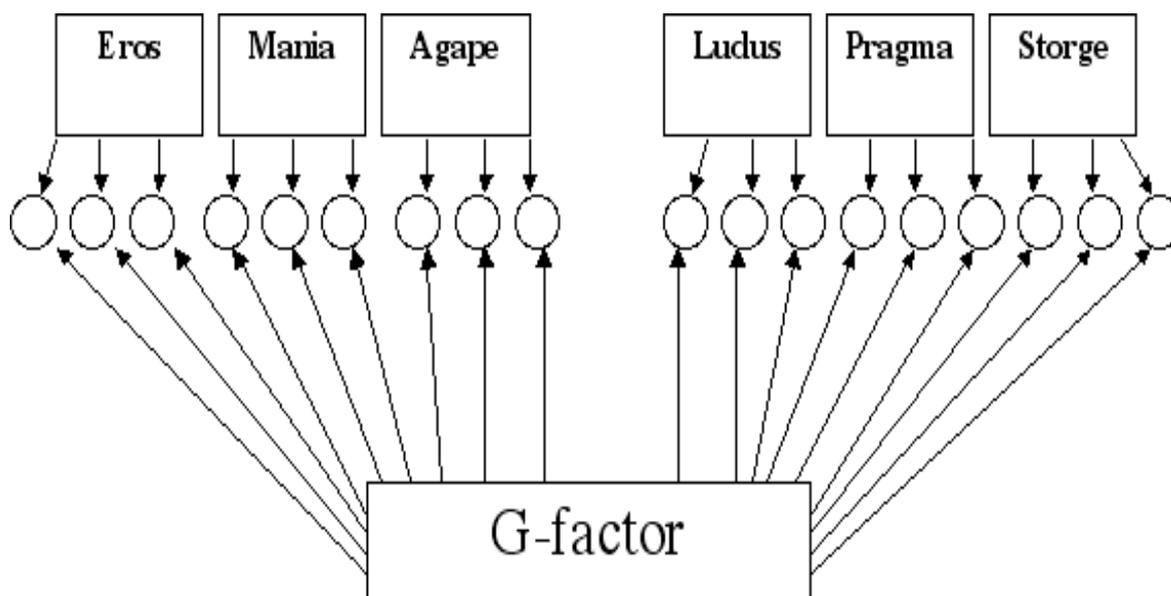


Figure 3. An Alternative Model that Assumes Existence of G-Factor (Model 3) The circles indicate the variables of each factor. For example, three circles under Eros indicate three variables: EROS2, EROS4, and EROS7.

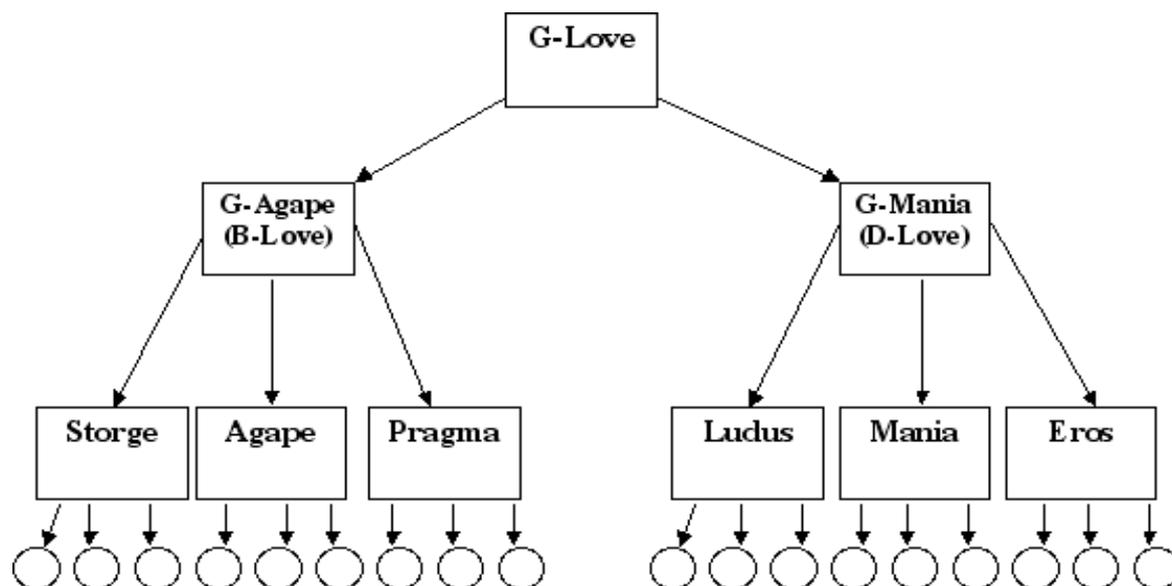


Figure 4. Maslow's View of Lee's Love Styles (Model 4) The circles indicate the variables of each factor. For example, three circles under Eros indicate three variables: EROS2, EROS4, and EROS7.

## Method

### Participants

Due to this study including the use of the archival data set of Borrello and Thompson (1990b), the sample in this study consisted of the same 487 undergraduate and graduate students at the University of New Orleans who participated in the researchers' original study. The mean age was 35.0 years, and 77.2% of the subjects were women. From all of the subjects, a correlation matrix was made and published in Borrello and Thompson (1990b).

### Materials

Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) came up with a 42-item Love Attitudes Scale (LAS) which was designed to measure Lee's six different love styles. Some portion of this scale (i.e., 18 items) was used in the study by Borrello and Thompson (1990b). These 18 items were chosen to measure each love style from Lee's perspective (i.e., 3 items per love style.) These 18 items were identified by Borrello and Thompson (1990b) because they had the highest loadings upon the target love styles in two studies by Hendrick and Hendrick (1986). The manifest variables in this proposed research study are the same 18 items that purported to measure Lee's six different love styles.

### Procedure

For re-analysis of the data, the SAS program 6.12 version for Macintosh was used. CFA were performed for four models: (1) Lee's original model, which simply assumes six different correlated factors, (2) Lee's original and full model, which assumes six different factors and also ludus, eros, and storge as the fundamental love styles, (3) an alternative model which assumes a g-factor and the six different love styles, and (4) an alternative model which is based on Maslow's conceptualization of Lee's love styles.

## Results

The results of model fit indices among these four models indicated that hypothesis 1 was not well supported (see Table 1). Against hypothesis 1, Models 1, 2, and 4 performed equally well, suggesting that Lee's love styles can be well interpreted by Maslow's philosophy of love. In addition, although the model fit performances of Models 1, 2, and 4 were not far from the criteria of the ideal model fit (see Hatcher, 1994, p. 393), Model 3 had a relatively worse statistical fit than the other three models (see Table 1). Therefore, hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Table 1: Comparisons of Model Fit Statistics among Model 1 and Model 4

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
Fit Criterion	.59	.61	<b>.75</b>	.49
Goodness of Fit Index (GFI)	.94	.94	.92	<b>.95</b>
GFI Adjusted for Degrees of Freedom (AGFI)	<b>.912</b>	.911	.880	.911
Root Mean Square Residual (RMR)	.056	.059	.072	<b>.055</b>
Parsimonious GFI	.74	<b>.75</b>	.70	.61
Chi-square	285.53	295.07	363.16	239.40
Null Model Chi-square	1899.95	1899.95	1903.86	1903.86
RMSEA Estimate	<b>.0533</b>	.0537	.0657	.0540
Probability of Close Fit	<b>.24</b>	.21	.00	.21
Bentler's Comparative Fit Index	.91	.90	.86	<b>.92</b>
Bentler & Bonett's (1980) Non-normed Index	<b>.879</b>	.878	.816	.876
Bentler & Bonett's (1980) NFI	.85	.84	.81	<b>.87</b>
James, Mulaik, & Brett (1982) Parsimonious	.66	<b>.68</b>	.62	.57
NFI				

*Note.* Bold numbers indicate best performance in each index.

Hypothesis 3 was supported. Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998) recommended to retain variables which loaded more than .30 on a target factor when the number of subjects was more than 350 in factor analysis (see Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998, p. 112). Only three mania, three agape, and one eros variables satisfied this criteria. In addition, the eros variable had the lowest loading compared to the other three mania and three agape variables (see Table 2).

Finally, Models 1, 2, and 4 had equally better model of fit statistics than Model 3 in several model fit criteria (see Table 1). In order to find the best fit model among these three, chi-square difference tests were calculated between Models 1 and 2; Models 1 and 4; and Models 2 and 4. A chi-square difference test comparing Models 1 and 4 revealed a significant difference value of  $285.53 - 239.40 = 46.13$

( $df = 21, p < .005$ ). In addition, a chi-square difference test comparing Models 2 and 4 revealed a significant difference value of  $295.07 - 239.40 = 55.67$  ( $df = 24, p < .001$ ). However, a chi-square difference test comparing Models 1 and 2 was equal to  $295.07 - 285.53 = 9.54$  which, with 3  $df$ , was not significant ( $p > .10$ ). These findings showed that Model 4 has the best model fit among all four models.

Table 2: Standardized Factor Loadings from The Result of Factor Analysis of Model 3

Variable	G-Factor	Eros	Ludus	Storge	Pragma	Mania	Agape
EROS2	.24	.59	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
LUDUS8	-.04	.00	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00
STORGE18	.11	.00	.00	.96	.00	.00	.00
PRAGMA25	.25	.00	.00	.00	.82	.00	.00
MANIA33	<b>.38</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.53	.00
AGAPE38	<b>.60</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.80
PRAGMA27	.11	.00	.00	.00	.41	.00	.00
EROS4	<b>.31</b>	.71	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
STORGE21	.19	.00	.00	.56	.00	.00	.00
AGAPE39	<b>.71</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.09
MANIA32	<b>.53</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.46	.00
LUDUS14	.05	.00	.63	.00	.00	.00	.00
AGAPE42	<b>.68</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.11
MANIA31	<b>.39</b>	.00	.00	.00	.00	.55	.00
PRAGMA26	.27	.00	.00	.00	.29	.00	.00
STORGE20	-.01	.00	.00	.33	.00	.00	.00
LUDUS9	-.02	.00	.41	.00	.00	.00	.00
EROS7	.24	.43	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00

Note. "EROS2" indicates that it is an item which is designed to measure eros love style and it appeared as a second item in the Love Attitudes Scale by Hendrick and Hendrick (1986). Bold numbers indicate high loading variables on a g-factor.

## Discussion

Although the results suggested that it is possible to interpret Lee's love styles in terms of Maslow's philosophy of love, the limitations of this research should be mentioned. First, the sample lacked diversity. Among the students who participated in this study, approximately three-quarters were American women whose native language was English. Accordingly, one should exercise caution in generalizing these results to a population outside that of American women. Previous cross-cultural research based on Lee's love theory have already reported interesting

national differences among six different love styles (Goodwin & Findley, 1997; Sprecher, Aron, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994). Future research would do well to include subjects from varying ethnic groups or international individuals, and/or non-English speakers.

The second problem is that the author has only the correlation matrix and does not have an original data set. The possibility of non-normality distribution or missing data in the original data set could not be checked.

Third, the author used the Heywood option for the CFA of Models 3 and 4. The Heywood option in the SAS is an artificial restriction that sets communality estimates never become negative throughout the calculation of the CFA. Therefore, the usage of the Heywood option could be the weakest point of this study. However, the author judged that proposing the possibility of combining Lee and Maslow's love theories is more beneficial to the progress in academia than the Heywood option usage.

Since the author would like to propose the possibility of interpreting Lee's love styles through Maslow's philosophy of love, the alternative fundamental love styles will be discussed. The alternative fundamental love styles (i.e., mania or D-Love, and agape or B-Love) can be explained from two fundamental human activities: give and take. Mania or D-Love can be interpreted as the mirror of a capitalist system. Each partner in a romance tries to monopolize his or her partner because s/he is following a capitalist ideology. In capitalism, "having" is the most important human activity (Fromm, 1956). Also Christianity teaches that agape or B-Love is the most desirable for humans. Since subjects in this re-analysis were Americans who grew up within a Judeo-Christian and capitalistic society, it is indeed possible that the fundamental existence of agape and mania might be influenced by the power of the sociocultural system. Both John Alan Lee and Robert J. Sternberg, two contemporary love theorists, supported a social, constructive nature of love. Sternberg has clearly claimed that love is one of the social and cultural products of human beings (Beall & Sternberg, 1995). Lee (1988) wrote, "our civilization has been a battleground for ideologies of love" (p. 42). Lee (1998) also submitted that the conceptualization of love is based on an ideology that is enforced or forbidden by society.

However, both agape and mania also have roots in biology. Humans tend to engage in positive behavior toward their partners without thinking about what they may get in return. This phenomenon may be due to their altruistic nature (Hunt, 1990; Kohn, 1990) and also to gain something for their own survival. Human motivation is not always pure. This study may simply suggest that when American women tried to engage in love in a romantic setting in the late 20th century, they might have been fundamentally motivated by mania and agape, products from both nature and nurture. Although this study had a few shortcomings in both data and samples, it indicated some possibility to combine Lee's and Maslow's philosophies of love.

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## New directions in academic discourse: A literature review

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最近の大学キャンパスで録音されたいくつかのスピーチコーパスが容易に利用できるようになったことがアカデミック談話の新たな一面を開発したという結果になった。それはアカデミック英口語である。本稿が一般的なアカデミック談話、及びその研究の一つであるアカデミック英口語に関する論文をまとめたものである。そして、二つの主な研究問題を取り上げている。一つ目は、アカデミック英口語が、どのくらいアカデミック英文語、または普通の会話に似ているかという点である。二つ目は、アカデミック英口語は学生達の勉学を助け、また学生達との関係を円滑にするために使われている点で

The availability of several corpora of speech on university campuses has led to the development of another dimension in the study of academic discourse: academic spoken English. This literature review focuses on new research in this area within the context of academic discourse in general and with reference to two main research questions. The first of these is the extent to which academic spoken English resembles academic written English and ordinary conversation. The second is the ways in which academic spoken English is used supportively.

### Introduction

Until recently, the study of academic discourse remained largely focused on written rather than spoken discourse. It is easy to see why. In addition to the fact that academic written discourse as data is readily available to anyone involved in academia, written discourse is what we think of as academic English. Written academic English is used to make high stakes decisions on hiring, tenure, and assessment and thus occupies a "special place" in academic discourse (Lindemann & Mauranen 2001:459). With the development of the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE, Simpson et. al., 2002) as well as other corpora, the focus is turning to the spoken form of academic English. This has obvious benefits for international students and graduate teaching assistants as well as faculty who deal with such students. But, in addition to this, it can help teachers understand what we are doing when we use academic English. As we learn more about academic spoken English (ASE), we get a clearer picture of academic discourse as a whole, what it is and what it is used for, which may make the teaching of English for academic purposes more focused and beneficial to students. Although in the popular imagination academic discourse is a tool to indicate in-group status and confuse the uninitiated, in reality it is being shown that such discourse, in its spoken form at least, can be used for nurturing novices and making concepts clearer for them. If international students are made aware of this, it will put them on a more equal footing with native-speaking students. It is also more clear that academic English differs considerably across discipline, and level of instruction. Students of English for academic purposes should also be made aware of the interpersonal component of academic discourse.

Since the development of MICASE and other corpora, a great deal of research has been done on ASE. In this literature review we will deal specifically with two subjects that have emerged from this research. The first is the extent to which ASE resembles academic written English as opposed to ordinary conversation. The second is the positive nature of ASE and how it is used to support students.

## **About MICASE**

Although not all of the works here deal specifically with the MICASE corpus, the way that MICASE has defined ASE informs our understanding to a great extent. MICASE comprises a number of speech events in different academic settings, and is not limited to those one would think of as “academic” (lectures and seminars, for example). The compilers define academic spoken English as any speech event which occurs on the university campus except those that might be expected to be the same if they occurred in a different place (buying something in the bookstore, for example). It includes lectures, office hours, seminars, student presentations, lab sessions, study groups, tutorials, advising sessions, and service encounters. MICASE includes four academic divisions: humanities, social sciences, physical sciences, and biological sciences. The speakers are also differentiated according to academic level, from undergraduate to senior faculty. The corpus also includes visitors and staff. This paper will define ASE the same way that it is defined for MICASE—as discourse that occurs on a college campus, except for discourse which we would expect to be largely the same in a different context.

## **Comparison with academic written discourse and ordinary conversation**

One of the main uses to which the study of corpora of academic spoken English has been put is to explore the question of whether it shows the same features as academic written English, or of everyday conversation. As Swales & Burke (2003) express it, does the purpose of academic spoken discourse, intellectual activity, make it more like academic writing? Or does the fact that like other types of speech it is made to some extent under time constraints make it more like ordinary conversation (p. 1)? Answering this question is one of the goals that Swales (2001) has for studies based on MICASE. The answer to this question is not at all clear. Different studies have obtained different results depending on the area of study, level of instruction, and other factors. The extent to which academic spoken discourse resembles written discourse or ordinary spoken discourse seems to depend a great deal upon context.

Many English for Academic Purposes courses, attempting to prepare international students for the English-speaking classroom, focus heavily on such things as writing research papers and comprehending articles. However, understanding a university-level lecture or participating in a discussion might also pose a significant challenge. By increasing our understanding of how these things differ from ordinary English that the student is already familiar with, and from the written academic English that they are learning, we can help students in their adjustment.

Some differences between academic speech and academic writing have been set out in general terms. Swales (2001) has pointed out following Dudley-Evans & Johns (1981) that academic speech shows more variety than writing, in structure, function and style (p. 34). He also points out that academic speech is more “contingent,” in Gilbert and Mulkay’s (1984) term (Swales 2001: 35).

The concept of contingency is important in examining the differences between academic speech and academic writing. Gilbert & Mulkay (1984) in a study of scientists' written and spoken discourse, contrast what they call the "empiricist repertoire" with the "contingent repertoire." The empiricist repertoire "portrays scientists' actions and beliefs as following unproblematically and inescapably from the empirical characteristics of the impersonal natural world" (p. 56). The contingent repertoire, in contrast, represents things as being more dependent on outside events; that is, it tends to show the steps leading up to the finished paper, lecture, etc. The empiricist repertoire, Gilbert & Mulkay find, tends to be used in writing scientific articles, where the contingent repertoire is used when scientists talk about their professional actions. Lindemann & Mauranen (2001) echo Swales's evaluation of academic speech as contingent, describing it as more "heterogeneous, contradictory, and varied" than written academic prose (p. 460).

### **Institutional Discourse**

An important reason why academic spoken English might differ from ordinary spoken English is the fact that it can be described as "institutional discourse," thus carrying a number of purposes and constraints that non-institutional discourse does not. Drew and Heritage (1992) define institutional discourse as that which is oriented to a "core goal, task or identity" which is connected with the institution. It has specific constraints on what is allowable in the discourse, and it may have particular institutional frameworks (p. 22). A few researchers have examined how institutional constraints affect academic spoken discourse, making it less like everyday conversation.

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) show that conversational closings tend to be different in academic speech from in ordinary speech because of institutional constraints, in this case, time constraints, in a study using transcripts of advising sessions. They found that closing sequences in this situation tend to be different from those of ordinary conversation, as described by Schegloff and Sacks, (1973). In an ordinary conversation, a previous topic can be felicitously reintroduced during the closing sequence. However, in academic conversations it is precisely this sort of topic which is infelicitous, although other topics, which orient the speakers to other, non-institutional identities, were allowed. Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig determine infelicity by looking at subsequent turns as well as by interviewing the advisors.

Thonus (1999) refers to Agar's (1985) idea of discourse ecology to interpret conversations between tutors and NS or NNS tutees in a writing center. Agar defines discourse ecology as the "circumstances around the institutional discourse over which neither the institutional representative nor the client have any control" and they include time constraints and differing levels of background knowledge (p. 156). The tutoring session must be conducted efficiently, requiring the tutors to choose sometimes between politeness and the institutional goal of being a good tutor. "Being a good tutor" is defined by the guide for tutors as not giving direct advice on the paper but instead encouraging the tutee to find it herself. Thonus finds that this is a common dilemma in institutional settings. In the case of writing center tutors, this is complicated by the fact that NNS tutees might misunderstand more polite constructions.

Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993) have looked at a different effect of institutional speech on spoken discourse, which they term congruence (1990, cited in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993). Congruence describes the extent to which participants act according to their own and their interlocutor's relative status during an encounter. In another study looking at conversations between advisors and NS or

NNS advisees, they find that sometimes it is necessary for the participants in this sort of encounter to act in a noncongruent manner. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford examine how NNS advisees' pragmatic competence develops by showing the extent to which they are able to mitigate noncongruent speech acts in a native-like manner. Making a suggestion, for example, is a noncongruent speech act for a lower status person in an institutional encounter, but it can be necessary in the advising session as a way of the student to control his own class schedule. Native speakers are able to mitigate this by such measures as forming the suggestion as a question.

The studies above highlight the interpersonal dimension of academic English. It is important for students to know that pragmatic routines that are acceptable in ordinary English are not appropriate in an academic context. Another facet of the interpersonal dimension is hedging and boosting, which will be treated in the next section.

### **Differences according to characteristics of the course**

One of the things that is becoming clear from studies comparing ASE to ordinary conversation and academic written English is that ASE shows a great deal of variance depending on discipline, instructional level, and degree of interactivity. The following studies illustrate ways in which the disciplines can differ.

One significant study involves hedging and boosting. Hedging and boosting are ways of showing a writer's or lecturer's attitude toward either the subject matter or the reader or listener (Holmes, 1984), and these have been extensively studied in the context of academic discourse. Holmes (1984, 1988a) has shown how hedging and boosting are used in ordinary conversation, for politeness, as well as for the purpose of making a statement stronger or more hesitant. Hyland (1996, 1998a) points out the necessity of boosting and hedging in the context of academic discourse. He shows that, in addition to expressing the amount of confidence the writer has in the ideas she expresses, they also allow the expression of solidarity with and membership in a group of scholars.

Poos and Simpson (2002) have the intention not specifically to show differences between academic and ordinary speech, but to counter the idea that hedging is a characteristic of women's speech; an idea which has been reported mainly in studies using data from ordinary speech. They refer to Lakoff (1975), who postulated the idea of a "women's language" which shows women's lower social status; and Holmes (1986, 1988), who shows a more varied use of hedging than Lakoff.

Poos & Simpson (2002) concentrated on two of the most common ones: "kind of" and "sort of." It should be noted that these words can be used as hedges, as in "This is kind of difficult," as well as acting as pause fillers, which speakers use to indicate to the listener that they are not finished with their turn. Poos & Simpson investigated these terms in all but the literal meaning of "one type of," so both of these uses are discussed. This was done in two parts, the first by concordancing the two terms and the second by making a close investigation of one outlier who used more hedges than other speakers in the corpus. They found that hedges in academic speech do not depend so much on sex but rather on academic discipline. Speech events in the hard sciences use less hedging overall than those in the humanities and social sciences, regardless of the sex of the speaker. The authors postulate that this may be because the language of those disciplines is less precise than that used in the hard sciences, thereby more often necessitating the use of a pause filler when the speaker is thinking of an appropriate word to use. They also put forth the related idea that in the humanities and social sciences, "there is more to hedge about" since

these are less precise and also offer more opportunities for stating different opinions and points of view which might be hedged (2002:14). They support this with evidence from other studies, in which the number of vocabulary items and the number of times the lecturer used a filled pause (such as “um”) were compared across different academic disciplines. It was found that lecturers in the humanities use more filled pauses than those in the sciences, and that a higher number of vocabulary items were used in humanities lectures (Schachter et. al 1991, 1994). Although more research needs to be done before we can say with confidence that the humanities and social sciences are in fact “fuzzier” than the hard sciences, the evidence as yet is that they are.

Poos & Simpson (2002) also briefly compare hedging in spoken discourse with hedging in written discourse, as was investigated in Hyland 1996, 1998b, and 1999 (page 3). Poos & Simpson find their own results “similar” to those of Hyland in that hedging is used to show caution and modesty, but it is not clear in what way they are similar. This is a point worth pursuing further.

A study which compares ASE levels of instruction and degree of interactivity was done by Csomay (2002), which builds from studies by Biber (1995, 1998), Biber and Conrad (2001), and Biber and Jones (2005) who take what they call a “multidimensional” approach to studying differences in register. This approach involves applying multivariate analysis to computer corpora. By doing this, Biber was able to find clusters of linguistic features which tend to occur together (or tend rarely to occur together). He then analyzed the functions that these dimensions serve in various registers. For example, one group of features which occur together includes private verbs (such as “think” and “know”) personal pronouns, and contractions, among many others. These features constitute the dimension of “involved production,” often found in conversations (Biber & Conrad 2001: 185). Each register might contain a number of different dimensions. Analysis of conversations shows the interactive dimension as well as the dimension of production under time constraints, for example.

Csomay, (2002) used some parameters from Biber’s (1998) initial study to compare low-interactive and high interactive<sup>1</sup> undergraduate lower division (first and second year), undergraduate upper division (third and fourth year), and postgraduate classes to find grammatical features associated with academic writing and conversation. These five parameters were informational focus; involved production; elaborated reference; abstract style; and on-line informational elaboration. Language that shows a high degree of informational focus has a high frequency of nouns and passive constructions. The second parameter, involved production, shows an interpersonal focus and is characterized by affective language. Elaborated reference is characterized by relative clauses, used to elaborate information. Abstract focus, which refers to a quality of impersonality, shows a high degree of passive constructions. The last parameter, online informational focus, refers to speech with an informational focus that has not been prepared before speaking. These parameters occur in various registers of spoken and written discourse. For example, involved production, as mentioned previously, is characteristic of conversational style, whereas abstract style occurs mostly in writing. Csomay found a great deal of variation depending on the level of interactivity, with highly interactive classes, unsurprisingly, exhibiting more features typical of conversational style. However, he also found that level of instruction and also, in some cases, discipline, have an influence on these differences, echoing the results of Poos and Simpson (2002). Another influence was the academic level of the

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<sup>1</sup> This was judged by counting the frequency of turn-taking.

students. Graduate classes demonstrated a high level of features from the on-line production circumstances set, which might indicate that in the graduate classes participants in discussions are transmitting a great deal of information under on-line circumstances, without preparation. This contrasts with undergraduate classes where participants are not required to transmit as much information.

We can see from the examples above that as yet there is no consensus about whether academic spoken discourse resembles academic written discourse or everyday spoken discourse more closely. Perhaps academic spoken discourse cannot be treated as a single entity, since a great deal depends on context: the nature of the speech event, the level of the students being taught, and the discipline. It would stand to reason if prepared lectures, for example, showed more characteristics of written academic English, and if discussion groups were more like ordinary conversation. This poses new challenges for teaching EAP since it suggests that the English that students will encounter in their classrooms, and the skills they will need, might differ greatly depending on the level of the student and their field of study.

## **Spoken Academic Discourse as a Way of Supporting Novices**

### **Metadiscourse**

Both of the two main questions which have emerged from the research emerge mainly in the context of metadiscourse in academic spoken discourse (Swales & Malcezewski 2001; Swales 2001; Lindemann & Mauranen 2001; Fortanet 2004; Swales and Burke 2003; Mauranen 2003). Both the definition of metadiscourse and its usage are the subjects of some controversy. Hyland (1998b, 1999) discussing metadiscourse in written contexts, defines it as, "those aspects of the texts which explicitly refer to the organisation of the discourse or the writer's stance toward either its content or the reader," and he further mentions its non-propositional nature as one of its essential aspects (1998b:438). In his research about metadiscourse in research articles, he points out that it serves an interpersonal function in helping situate the writer as part of the academic discourse community. In his conception, writers use metadiscourse to achieve the two main goals of the research article: to have the reader understand the article, and to have them accept its premise (1998b:440). The studies cited above use a definition in line with Hyland's, treating mostly non-propositional lexical items. (It should also be pointed out that metadiscourse does not always consist of lexical items, but can also include prosodic features, such as phonological paragraphs (Thompson, 2003)).

The definition of metadiscourse set out in Hyland (1998b, 1999) is not entirely unproblematic. Ifantidou (2005) believes that Hyland is mistaken in some of his characterizations of metadiscourse, particularly that metadiscourse is non-propositional in nature. Using the framework of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986), Ifantidou shows that some items which would be characterized by researchers such as Hyland as metadiscourse do in fact contribute to the truth condition of the utterance and as such are propositional.

One of the main institutional goals of academic discourse is to support novices in their socialization into the academic speech community. Several studies using corpora have shown how this is done, and there seems to be agreement that academic spoken discourse is generally supportive in several ways. Rudolph (1994) shows that academic discourse is used by experts (professors) to socialize apprentices, and she compares this with a Vygotskian perspective on child

language development. Academic discourse, she feels, is used to create an important bond of trust between the expert and the novice. In her study of conversations during office hours. She found that students and teachers construct a "positive affect bond" by several means. Teachers use confirmation checks to, at least theoretically, invite a contribution by the student into the conversation. Students in turn, echo the professor's use of language.

In addition to a study such as the one above which deals with discourse, evidence of supportive speech has been shown in studies of single lexical items. Swales (2001), in his study of the words "point" and "thing" as used to refer to discourse produced during academic encounters, shows that they are usually used in supportive, rather than antagonistic, speech. Positive adjectives were used in the overwhelming majority of cases, even if the person they were discussing was not in the room. He found almost no instances of negative adjectives such as "poor" and "weak," used to modify those words. However, it might be noted here that "poor" does not usually collocate with "point" or "thing" in this sense.

Fortanet, (2004) studied the use of the lexical item "we" in university lectures, and also found ways of use that could be considered supportive. First, as might be rather intuitively obvious, the use of "we" serves to suggest some sort of bond between the speaker (the lecturer), and the hearer (students). It can suggest that the hearer is somehow involved in the action, as in, "Today we're going to talk about . . . ." Also, she believes that "we" has a metadiscourse function. Fortanet found that the "we" clusters very frequently with "know that," and this cluster is used often in metadiscourse as a summarizing device (p. 61).

Swales and Burke (2003) studied the use of adjectives in academic speech. They hypothesized that academic speech would show more polarized adjectives than academic writing, thereby making it more like ordinary conversation. Polarized adjectives are more extreme, for example "huge" rather than the more centralized "big." They did not find that speech in academic contexts showed more polarized adjectives than writing to a significant degree, but they did find some interesting usage which adds to the discussion on the supportive use of academic speech. One of the polarized adjectives with the highest frequency was "weird," and other adjectives expressing deviance, which Swales and Burke felt could be used to decrease the power differential in the professor-student relationship (p. 12).

Poos and Simpson (2002), in the study cited above, show that hedges can be used for various interpersonal functions. In addition to the frequency counts already mentioned, Poos and Simpson performed a pragmatic analysis on the data and noticed that they were often used in mitigating negative feedback. They also found that "kind of" and "sort of" are also frequently employed when using difficult vocabulary or jargon, as a way of the instructor distancing herself from the material and demonstrating solidarity with the students (p. 17). They also found, in a close analysis of one speaker, that "kind of" and "sort of" when used in front of metaphors, have a metadiscourse function in that they signal the student that the utterance is not being used literally (p. 17).

Hyland has also treated the subject of metadiscourse in writing for novices in the community (1999). Hyland makes the point that metadiscourse in introductory textbooks serves the function of making the writing easier to understand, but, as the texts tend to deal with established facts in the field, does not show the persuasive function as much as research articles do. Hyland also points out that the metadiscourse in introductory textbooks tends to position the author as the expert, in contrast to research articles which are more egalitarian (1999:20). Hyland believes that this might fail to properly initiate novices into the discourse community.

Although academic spoken discourse is often evaluated as supportive, it has also been pointed out that, because of its supportive nature, it may fail to properly socialize in certain aspects. Mauranen (2003, 2002b) feels that spoken academic discourse, more than written, is used to socialize novices, because written discourse usually describes a finished product, while spoken discourse describes the process. She found that metadiscourse in academic discourse is often linked to evaluative speech, which tends to be positive. Negative evaluations in metadiscourse were found, but they were usually hedged and less repetitive than positive evaluations. In a study specifically dealing with the way criticism is marked, she found the markers to be “so banal as to escape notice” where positive criticism is explicitly stated (2002b:9). She wonders how novices can become accustomed to more negative evaluation if they have so few chances to be exposed to it (2002a, 2003).

These studies do support the fact the ASE is positive and supportive, although it may be necessary to do studies with several different methods to really determine what is happening in the classroom. It also remains to be shown that the supportive nature of ASE is detrimental to students’ development as scholars.

## Conclusion

Many things remain to be discovered about academic discourse in general, but studies in Academic spoken English have changed the rather simplistic notion of academic discourse on which many courses on English for academic purposes are based. It has become clear that courses that focus solely on grammar and vocabulary are ignoring the interpersonal aspect of academic discourse. It would be safe to say that unless a course in English for academic purposes addresses this aspect of academic English, it is not serving the students well. It is also clear that academic discourse is used in various ways to support students, and international students need to be made aware of this. More research needs to be done on the positive nature of ASE, in what ways this is manifested in the classroom and what effect it has on students’ learning.

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## Choosing among the Long Spoons: The MEP, The Catholic Church and Manchuria : 1900-1940

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フランスのカトリック宣教師社会の MEP (*société des missions étrangères de Paris*)、カトリック教会が設立されたのは近代。日本では 1850 年代。20 世紀めに数多くの課題が、起きた。にもかかわらず、日本のカトリック教会が大きく成長した。この成長は日本だせではなかった。制限されませんでした。MEP はまたマンチュリアにおいても活動した日本人はマンチュリアを支配して、マンチュクオを作りました。マンチュクオは国際連盟により承認されませんでした。日本は本当に国際連盟マンチュクオの識が欲しかったです。バチカンによる識も重要でした。MEP はそしてバチカン、日本そしてマンチュクオを処理しなければなりません。MEP はバチカンの外交政策、と日本の要求、そして、自らの状況を評価します。この記事にはこの時代におけるマンチュリアノ MEP によってとられた。また、この困難な状況において、カトリック教会の存続つるために支払なければならなかつた代償についても書かれている。

The MEP (*société des missions-étrangères de Paris*), a French Catholic missionary society, had founded the Catholic Church in modern Japan in the 1850s. Despite many challenges the Catholic Church in Japan had grown significantly by the beginning of the twentieth century. This growth was not restricted to Japan. The MEP was also active in Manchuria. The Japanese came to dominate Manchuria and created the state of Manchukuo there. Manchukuo was not recognized by the League of Nations. Japan really wanted recognition for Manchukuo. The recognition of the Vatican was important for them. The MEP had to deal with Japan and Manchukuo and with the Vatican. The MEP was caught between the policies of Vatican diplomacy, the aspirations of the Japanese, and their own assessments of the situation. This article looks at the different strategies adopted by the MEP in Manchuria in this period, and at the cost they had to pay to try to secure the survival of the Catholic Church in this difficult situation.

Therefore behoveth him a full long spoon that shall eat with a fiend  
(Geoffrey Chaucer: *The Squire's Tale*, c1386).

### Introduction

The MEP (*société des missions-étrangères de Paris*), a French Catholic missionary society, had been founded in Paris in 1658 by a small group of socially well-connected French ecclesiastics and their supporters<sup>1</sup>. From the beginning, they were explicitly linked in direct obedience to the Papacy as was the Society of Jesus. However, they were also very much of a national society, not an international one. Their personnel were exclusively French (except for a very small number of other European francophones) and they were very much tied to the French Catholic

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<sup>1</sup> The most exhaustive history of the MEP remains Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Tequi, 1894) republished in 2003. For a shorter and more up to date treatment see: Jean Guenno, *Missions étrangères de Paris* (Paris: Fayard, 1986).

Church. Their origins lay in the combined enthusiasms of Tridentine Catholicism to expand the faith and of the French monarchy to expand its areas of influence overseas, in this case in Asia. For the MEP, there was no essential or logical dissonance with their allegiance to the Papacy and to France. This would only arise, and then in a somewhat partial form, with the French Revolution and especially with the Third Republic beginning in 1870.

Initially, the MEP's focus on Asia may have exacerbated antagonisms between France and Portugal (and by extension Spain) over control of the various Catholic churches and mission territories in Asia, but this was one of the reasons why the French monarchy favored the growth of the MEP in the first place. It was also, given the recurrent conflicts between the Papacy and the Iberian powers over the *Padroado*, one of the reasons for papal favor as well<sup>2</sup>. The *Padroado* system was to be a source of endless vexation to the Catholic Church, though it was not finally suppressed until the agreement between the Vatican and the government of Portugal in 1928. Various Popes were not slow to see the problems attached to giving the Kings of Spain and Portugal a virtually free hand with missionary developments around the world. Lay Catholic rulers, especially the King of France, were likewise chagrined by the arrangement albeit for a mixture of religious and less religious motives. The Papacy's first formal response was to create the 'Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith' (*Propaganda Fide*) in 1622. But this congregation lacked funds and personnel and was attached to a papacy that was still understandably hesitant to enter into any ventures that might be seen as adversarial by the Catholic monarchs of Iberia. Alongside the Society of Jesus, the MEP was one of the proposed solutions to the problem.

For these reasons, the MEP was favorably viewed by the Papacy and received the sometimes explicit and sometimes tacit support of successive French governments. Based on this, the MEP became the principal (until 1900 the only) male Catholic missionary society in Japan. It also became one of the main Catholic missionary societies in the Chinese empire. In this field they were the successors to the Society of Jesus who had run into major difficulties over the issue of the Chinese Rites controversy<sup>3</sup>. During the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the MEP was to some extent marginalized by the influx of other Catholic missionary societies initially from Europe but increasingly from North America. However, while they never had the hegemonic status they achieved in Japan, in some areas, such as Manchuria, they remained the dominant Catholic missionary society well into the twentieth century.

The MEP was then, from its inception, linked to conceptions of French and, perhaps more importantly, Papal diplomacy. In fact, as the difficulties between the French Third Republic and the Papacy became more troubling during the nineteenth century culminating in the Papacy of Pius X (1903-1914), the MEP became more and more a concern of Vatican diplomacy and less important to France at least outside the French colonies in Southeast Asia. This was to become particularly clear with the Papacies of Pius XI (1922-1939) and Pius XII (1939-1958), which embodied some important changes, or at least shifts of emphasis, from what went before. In turn,

<sup>2</sup> On the *Padroado* system see: Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, 1933) and Frédéric Mantiene, 'Etats et Eglises au temps de l'expansion européenne en Asie (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)' in Patrice Morlat (ed) *La question religieuse dans l'empire colonial français* (Paris, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> See: George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola, 1985)

what came afterwards is often seen as representing another change in Papal diplomacy.

Papal diplomacy virtually since its inception has had as its cornerstone a system of concordats. The “Accord of Sutri” in 1111 between Pope Paschal II and the Emperor Henry V, which occurred as part of the ongoing “Investiture Controversy” has been claimed to be the first of the concordats. However, probably that honor belongs to the Concordat of Worms some eleven years later that finally (more or less) resolved the investiture issue<sup>4</sup>. The system of concordats was not really put into place however for another 500 years after the Reformation and the following Religious Wars had shaken Europe and the Catholic Church to the core. Concordats, in essence, guarantee the rights of the Catholic Church in any given society or national entity. Prior to the seventeenth century, this mainly meant establishing the division between the rights of the Church and the rights of the ruler. Manifestly this was not an easy task, however the emergence of non-Catholic forms of Christianity in Western Europe complicated this situation markedly. The following emergence of acceptable “irreligion”, then (often conflicting) nationalisms complicated it still further. In terms of Papal (and concordat) diplomacy, the major milestone in this process was the Concordat between the Emperor Napoleon and Pope Pius VII in 1801.

This concordat was both hard-fought and reluctantly conceded by either side<sup>5</sup>. While the Emperor conceded that Catholicism was the “religion of the majority of French citizens”, that was one of the reasons he wanted the concordat in the first place, it was not all French citizens and the key term was citizens. This concordat conceded rights to the Catholic Church, but they were “conceded” and not automatic; moreover, they were conceded despite those who might not be inclined to make such a concession. In other words, though both parties perceived benefit from the signing of the concordat, it represented both a passage to a new world in European religious terms and the triumph of *realpolitik* rather than either idealism or nostalgia. It took the Papacy some while to adjust to this new situation. The signature of Pius VII to the Concordat was made against the backdrop of the death, viewed by some as a martyrdom, of his predecessor Pius VI at the hands of French revolutionary forces and the Emperor Napoleon. Its acceptance was reluctant and clearly the hope - however unrealistic it now appears - was that things would return to “normal” (the *status quo ante*) with the effective end of the Napoleonic Empire and (by extension) the French Revolution. An additional realism had also appeared, namely that concordats could be (sometimes had to be) signed with governments that were in some respects hostile. In 1818 and 1821 respectively concordats were signed with Russia and Prussia, neither of which were “Catholic” powers though both of which contained substantial Catholic minorities – sharing one in Poland. It had been an unpleasant lesson to learn and to digest and the Papacy signed very few concordats in the following years. Other, and more salutary, lessons were to come which put the emphasis back on concordats once again.

Though it felt seismic to many at the time, the easiest to digest (partly because it was not entirely unwelcome) was the break-up to a large extent of the Iberian

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<sup>4</sup> Among the available studies, some of the best are: Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1991); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church 1050-1250* (Oxford: OUP, 1989); and Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the 10th to the early 12th Centuries* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> See: Bernard Ardura, *Le concordat entre Pie VII et Bonaparte* (Paris: Editions du cerf, 2001) and William Roberts ‘Napoleon, the Concordat of 1801, and its Consequences’ in Frank J. Coppa [ed] *Controversial Concordats* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University, 1999).

overseas empires, especially that of Spain. The Papal Response was the negotiation of new concordats with Spain (1851 and 1874) and a rash of concordats in Latin America. Though negotiated in the new environment, they were still largely negotiated in the traditional way: all parties were “Catholic” in theory so it was largely a question of the distribution (or re-distribution) of power and resources. The next lesson was far more shocking and its effect was far more profound. Whatever the religion of the “majority” of Italians, the logic of Italian unification meant the destruction of the Papal States. The Papacy was powerless to prevent this. The various interventions of the Emperor Napoleon III, though exceptionally divisive in France, were unable to prevent it as well. In the end, by 1871, both the Papal States and the Empire of Napoleon III had passed into history. The relationship of the Catholic Church and the French state had changed once again, with decidedly negative consequences for the MEP and perhaps for the French church as a whole. More significantly, the Papacy was now no longer in any real sense a territorial power or state on a par with other states. It was something different. The Papacy had to adjust to the fact that it was not a state like any other in addition to being a supra-national entity. Now it had only the latter, but that was a very big ‘only’. It would, however, take the Papacy a number of years to adjust to this and there were many who were reluctant to do so. With the advent of the twentieth century, the decision had to be made. It was a decision that was to affect the Catholic Church throughout the world, including the MEP and the Catholic Church in Japan and China and (perhaps most especially) in Manchuria.

### The Evolution of Papal Diplomacy 1870-1940<sup>6</sup>

The First Vatican Council was held in Rome literally under the guns of the armies of Italian Unification<sup>7</sup>. The Pope felt himself to be (and literally was) under siege. The French defense force provided by the Emperor Napoleon III had been withdrawn and the Emperor himself had lost his power. There was no one left to defend the temporal powers of the Pope except for the ineffective army of volunteers who had gathered for that purpose. The Pope (Pius IX) in the end avoided any substantial loss of life by surrendering<sup>8</sup>. The Papal States were no more, un-mourned by most of their former citizens and the rest of Europe. The Vatican continued to exist, but what was it in legal and political terms? Papal diplomacy for the next fifty years was shaped by both its “traditional” concerns about establishing Church-State relations in any given place and by the need to define the Papacy/Vatican itself in “real” terms. These twin concerns give a particular flavor to this period of Papal/Vatican diplomacy not just with respect to Italy and to the continued existence of the Vatican as a territorial entity but to Papal diplomacy as whole.

<sup>6</sup> Strangely, the available studies of Papal diplomacy are rather limited, especially for this period. A very good general study is: Michael Feldkamp, *La diplomazia pontificia* (Ascoli Piceno: Jack, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> See: Paul Christophe, *Le concile Vatican I* (Paris: Cerf, 2000) for a brief overview. On some of the controversies that swirled around it see: *Varieties of Ultramontanism* [J. von Arx ed.] (Washington: Catholic University, 1998), Austin Gough, *Paris and Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), and Margaret O’Gara, *Triumph in Defeat* (Washington: Catholic University, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> Pope Pius IX is a controversial figure still and there are many, often polemical studies, of his character and reign. Among the better recent studies is: Yvan Gobry, *Pie IX Le Pape des tempêtes* (Paris: Picollec, 1999).

Pope Pius IX had been a zealous promoter of the concordat concept and was responsible for signing a number of important ones including those with Spain in 1851, Austria in 1855 and with a variety of Latin American republics in the 1850s and 1860s. Clearly he felt that concordats would best guarantee the status of the Catholic Church, but also he seems to have looked at them as a possible insurance device against the corrosive pressures of Italian unification on the Papal States. In other words, they were not intended only to protect the Catholic Church in the signatory country but they were also intended to validate the international status of the papacy and thus serve to consolidate the Papal States. The Latin American concordats added to this by giving the process an extra-European dimension that had largely been lacking, if one excludes the concordat with Russia of 1847, which was largely directed at Polish Russia rather than the Czarist Empire as a whole. His successor, Leo XIII (1878-1903), in the aftermath of the *fait accompli* of Italian unification, was faced with a very different world.

Pius IX had been much interested in regularizing the position of the Catholic Church in Latin America as the Iberian empires disappeared there, hence the series of concordats with “successor states” in the region. Naturally enough, however, he had been preoccupied exclusively in the last years of his pontificate with Europe. While by no means neglecting Europe, Leo XIII was far more interested in establishing the global claims of the Catholic Church than his predecessor. He established regular hierarchies in North Africa and India. In 1891 he did the same in Japan as will be examined in more detail later.

A key to his strategy was not so much promoting concordats as establishing a system of Apostolic Delegates in various countries, largely those in which concordats did not exist or which did not have Catholic minorities, as vehicles for direct contact between the Vatican and any given national government. The relationship between these Apostolic Delegates and the indigenous Catholic hierarchy could be difficult, as was sometimes the case in the United States after the first Apostolic Delegate was appointed to that country in 1892. In the United States, though the clergy and their congregations still had strong links with the countries of emigration, there was a strong sense of national unity. Such a strong sense that Pope Leo felt that he should condemn ‘Americanism’ in 1899 as a movement which overly subjugated Catholic truths to national, American practices and sensibilities<sup>9</sup>. In Europe, especially in France, he promoted not so much the re-establishment of the concordat system, but an attempt to get Catholics and non-Catholics to function together in practical and political terms. For this he was both praised and condemned and so remains a somewhat controversial figure<sup>10</sup>. In other areas, the clergy and the faithful were culturally separated in many cases, as in Japan where much of the clergy was still attached to missionary societies (like the MEP). This made the role of Apostolic Delegates in such countries even more ambiguous.

The next Pope was Pius X (1903-1914) who rejected Pope Leo XIII’s policies of trying to deal softly with secular governments as well as his emphasis on establishing both more independent Catholic hierarchies outside of Europe and such an elaborate system of Apostolic Delegates. He stressed the spiritual rather than the political and acted often as if the two were inherently in conflict. The biggest initial casualty of this stance was the concordat with France. The government of the Third

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<sup>9</sup> There is an extensive literature on this subject. The original text can be found at: H. Denziger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* [35th Edition], (Barcelona: Herder, 1973) p.656ff.

<sup>10</sup> See: Philippe Prévost, *L’église et le ralliement* (Paris: CEC, 2001) for a somewhat partial view and J. MacManners, *Church and State in France 1870-1914* (London: SPCK, 1972) for a more distanced and balanced one.

French Republic was aggressively anti-clerical and Pope Pius X was very far from conciliatory towards it<sup>11</sup>. A collision course was decided on by both sides, the result was the abolition of the 1801 concordat, the financial impoverishment of the Catholic Church in France, and many decades of antagonism between Church and State<sup>12</sup>. In all these things his chief advisor was Cardinal Merry del Val who acted as his Secretary of State. He was to lose this position under Pius X's successor Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922) who assumed office just as the First World War began. It, and its results, was to dominate his papacy and to start to change papal diplomacy.

Pope Benedict XV's choice of Secretary of State was Pietro Cardinal Gasparri who served in this position until 1930, when he was succeeded by Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli (who in turn became Pope Pius XII in 1939). So, from 1914 until the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958 there was a remarkable period of continuity in terms of the policies of the Catholic Church with respect to dealing with issues of relationships with sovereign states. This was most obviously clear in the period from the end of the First World War until 1940. Before looking more closely at the history of Catholic diplomacy with respect to Japan and Manchuria and at the role of the MEP in those often difficult relationships, it would be good to briefly summarize the key events of Catholic diplomacy in these decades and the backdrop this created for Catholic history in both Japan and Manchuria which can serve to underline both the differences and similarities between the two.

The diplomacy of the Vatican from 1914 to 1958 was dominated by certain key concepts: some were of more urgency at any given time while others (sometimes temporarily) lost their urgency. However, the key lines of continuity were clear.

Firstly, the object of Catholic Church diplomacy was to secure the legal position of the Catholic Church (as linked to the Vatican) and its right to operate at the given national level without undue pressure or harassment. In essence it was a bilateral arrangement between a nation state and the Vatican in which the "national" church was a useful accessory but not an essential signatory. The system of Apostolic Delegates underlined this with obviously ambiguous consequences. On the one hand, national representatives of the Catholic Church were in some ways "exempt" from praise or blame as they were the executors of the will of the universal church rather than independent actors. On the other hand, this very lack of effective (or at least accountable) moral agency allowed given bodies of Catholic clergy the opportunity to "unambiguously" support national governments without being required to question fully their morality. It also raised the issue of the responsibility of the national hierarchies to their faithful and, in the end, to Christianity and the Gospel. For the Catholic Church in many countries (such as Japan) taking responsibility is difficult, it was hard in the 1930s and has remained hard in many ways until the present.

A second bedrock of Papal Diplomacy was a visceral antipathy towards Communism and all of its associates and supporters. This was far from an irrational policy basis, founded as it was on the equally visceral hostility of most Communists towards the Catholic Church. Cardinal Gasparri had worked in Estonia and Lithuania (securing concordats in both) and supporting the work of the Papal

<sup>11</sup> The classic study of anti-clericalism in France in this period remains René Rémond *L'anticléricalisme en France de 1815 à nos jours* Paris: Fayard, 1976. See also: *Histoire religieuse de la France 1880-1914* Gérard Cholvy & Yves-Marie Hilaire (Eds.) Toulouse: Privat, 2000 esp. P.15-32.

<sup>12</sup> For a study of the fundamental texts see: 1905 *La séparation des églises et de l'état* (Paris: Perrin, 2004). For further consequences see: Jean Sévillia *Quand les catholiques étaient hors la loi* (Paris: Perrin, 2006).

Nuncio Achille Ratti (the future Pope Pius XI) in Poland. He also supported the Papal Nuncio Eugenio Pacelli (the future Pope Pius XII) in Berlin. In both these cases, and in many others, it became obvious that Communism viewed itself as the deadly enemy of Catholicism. It was a compliment that was to be returned. The threat to Catholic Poland receded and a concordat was signed with the Vatican in 1925 guaranteeing the Catholic Church a prominent place in Polish society, albeit one that was entirely commensurate with the one it currently exercised.

Cardinal Gasparri's major achievement, and one which is well worth considering with attention, is the Lateran Treaty and Concordat of 1929 between the Vatican and Italy, then under the control of Mussolini<sup>13</sup>. It has to be put into context in order to appreciate both what it was and what it was not and, more importantly for the current study, what precedents (if any) it might set for relations with other states especially those without a Catholic majority and those outside of Europe. Despite the popularity of Italian Unification - Pope Pius IX himself was a noticeable partisan at least as a younger cleric - the end result had been a disruption between the new state of Italy and the Papacy. This was in spite of the overwhelmingly Catholic population of the new state. Clearly, to all concerned, the situation was anomalous and a resolution was needed. However, such a resolution was not easy. The new state would brook no masters and could not do so without denying the somewhat tenuous concept of unity on which it was based. The Papacy was both wounded over its loss of direct territorial authority (the Papal States) and quietly confident over its religious authority over the majority of the inhabitants of Italy. A solution was difficult to reach for an obvious reason. The Catholic Church had never accepted the separation of Church and State or even the full autonomy of moral and religious choice for individuals. A concordat meant that neither of these things had to be accepted in Italy. The State would endorse the role of the Church in education etc; and its virtual control of many aspects of medical and social services. In return the antagonism between Church and State would be over and the State would no longer have to "watch its back" - in fact, the Church would perform that function for it. The Catholic Church would be the state approved moral arbitrator and so the state would be excused that function. The Catholic Church, in return, would agree to this role in education and social services and withdraw from direct political involvement. Catholic political parties would lose the support of the Catholic Church (if they ever had it) and either be abolished or retreat into being an organ supporting the state. For Don Luigi Sturzo and his political party (Partito Popolare Italiano - PPI) it was to prove "the Devil's Bargain" and he was to accept only reluctantly that all of his hard work and that of his supporters could be so "easily" discounted. Throughout Europe, similar problems would recur and continue to haunt the Catholic Church for years to come even though both Don Sturzo and his ideas were to be largely rehabilitated after 1945 with the formation of the various Christian Democrat parties in Western Europe<sup>14</sup>.

The essence of papal concordat style diplomacy in some ways reached its height under the papacy of Pope Pius XI, ably assisted by his secretaries of state Cardinals Gasparri and Pacelli. This coincided with the rise of extreme nationalism

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<sup>13</sup> One of the best of the recent studies is: Frank Coppa 'Mussolini and the Concordat of 1929' in *Controversial Concordats* Frank Coppa [Ed] (Washington D.C.: Catholic University, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> On Don Sturzo and the origins of Christian Democracy in Italy see: 'Italy' John Pollard in *Political Catholicism in Europe 1918-1965* Tom Buchanan & Martin Conway [eds] (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996). For a more general survey of Europe see: Martin Conway *Catholic Politics in Europe 1918-1945* (Routledge: London, 1997).

in Europe and around the world. In Italy in 1929 and in Germany in 1933, the Holy See attempted to deal with the situation through concordats which theoretically safeguarded the position of the Catholic Church and its relative autonomy albeit at the expense of national Catholic organizations<sup>15</sup>. It was against this background of the evolution of Papal diplomacy that the MEP and the Catholic Church in Manchuria developed their mission.

### Manchuria and the Catholic Church 1870-1930

Beginning in the seventh century, the earliest Christian missionaries in the Chinese empire were from the Church of the East (sometimes incorrectly labeled as Nestorian). While all trace of their missions has disappeared, the influence (especially under the Mongols) was quite important. The Mongols themselves were also the targets of Dominican and especially Franciscan missions in the Thirteenth Century when their power (and their threat to Europe) was probably at its highest. Again these missions have left nothing behind in terms of Christian communities, though they are relatively well documented. Modern Catholic missions to China (and to Japan) begin with the Catholic Reformation and specifically with the rise to prominence of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, though largely Iberian initially, became an instrument on the Papal side in the protracted infighting with Portugal and Spain over the *Padroado*. Matters began to come to a head in the 1550s when the Portuguese established their port of Macao (in 1557) just five years after the death of Saint Francis Xavier on his way to establish a Jesuit mission in China. The Jesuits were assisted by the distrust of the territorial ambitions of Portugal on the part of the Chinese government. In the 1590s the Jesuits targeted the Chinese capital of Beijing and met with initial success<sup>16</sup>. The initial stages were indeed promising but this early promise was not to last.

The Jesuit missions and those of their Iberian compatriots were at odds for political reasons initially. However, while the Franciscans and Dominicans were active at the fringes of the Empire in Macao and Taiwan, the Jesuits exercised a monopoly in the Empire proper. It was a monopoly approved by both the Holy See and the Chinese Emperors. This was to change beginning in the 1640s. The Ming dynasty was replaced by the Manchus in 1644 at the same time as the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans secured the first of many condemnations of the Jesuit's "accommodationist" approach to the missions in China. This was the beginning of the Chinese Rites Controversy, which was to roll on for, in the end, hundreds of years and has still not entirely lost its power to arouse emotions<sup>17</sup>. The Catholic 'infighting' and the general suspicion of foreigners in the Chinese empire naturally took its toll on the Catholic missions in China. By the beginning of the 19th century there were only about 290,000 Catholics left in the Chinese empire divided among three *Padroado* dioceses and three Apostolic Vicariates<sup>18</sup>. While the MEP had tried to

<sup>15</sup> On the Reich Concordat see: Joseph A. Biesinger 'The Reich Concordat of 1933' in *Controversial Concordats* Frank Coppa [Ed] (Washington D.C.: Catholic University, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> While there are numerous studies on the Jesuit missions in China, an enjoyable place to start is still: Jonathan D. Spence *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin, 1985).

<sup>17</sup> The best study of this issue is: *The Chinese Rites Controversy* D.E. Mungello [ed] (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> The three Portuguese *Padroado* dioceses were Beijing, Nanjing, and Macao which had a total of 130,000 Catholics. The Apostolic Vicariates (i.e. missions answering directly to the Holy See through the Office of *Propaganda Fidei*) were: Shansi (Franciscans) 60,000; Fukien (Dominicans) with 40,000; and the MEP Vicariate of Szechwan with 60,000. In addition

establish itself in China as early as the 1690s, they had only gained one of these Apostolic Vicariates in the early eighteenth century not entirely disconnected from the beginnings of French interest in adjacent Indo-China<sup>19</sup>. If the *Padroado* dioceses held the balance of Catholic missions in East Asia in 1800, this was rapidly to change and largely in the direction of France.

In 1827, the mission to Korea was entrusted to the MEP<sup>20</sup>. Again this extension of the mission territories of the MEP reflected the increasing centrality of France in Catholic Europe and its rising power, only equaled by officially Protestant Britain, in Asia. In 1838, the MEP was assigned the mission in Manchuria and in 1840 that in Mongolia. The new mission in Manchuria was explicitly given on the basis of the pre-existing mission in Korea. Though perhaps Manchuria could in some ways be seen as close to its heart, both of these new missions were at the edges of the Chinese Empire and were largely nominal assignments. The linkage of Manchuria and Korea, the latter of which had fallen out of the ambit of Chinese suzerainty, can hardly have been reassuring to many in China. However, the new French king Louis-Philippe (king from 1830 to 1848) was enthusiastic to expand the global role of France and equally enthusiastic about the value of the linkage between the Catholic Church and France in so doing. The Opium Wars and the resulting Treaties were used by France to gain an Edict of Toleration for Catholicism and foreign missionaries in China in 1845, which laid the basis for turning the nominal missions of the MEP in the north into concrete realities. The explicit link between foreign influence/coercive power and Christianity was perhaps unwise. By 1890, the MEP had a substantial mission in Manchuria with a French Bishop and 27 MEP missionaries assisted by five local priests. In addition, 32 French sisters and more than 240 local sisters ran a variety of schools, hospitals, etc<sup>21</sup>.

In 1898, the success of the Manchurian mission and the commitment of the MEP to it had become so apparent that it was divided into two dioceses (an Apostolic Vicariate in the north) with Laurent Guillon<sup>22</sup> becoming Bishop in the south (centered on Mukden) and Pierre Lalouyer<sup>23</sup> as the Apostolic Vicar in the north (based in Kirin/Jilin). While the French directed Catholic mission in Manchuria went from strength to strength, both French and papal diplomacy had taken some unusual turns. As previously noted, the French government had become increasingly anti-clerical culminating in the unilateral rejection of the Concordat of 1801 between France and the Holy See. However, despite all of this, successive French governments saw the value of French Catholic missions in promoting the overseas ambitions of France and, while the concept of a *ralliement* was ultimately

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see: Josef Metzler *Die synoden in China, Japan und Korea 1570-1931* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> Launay (1894) I: 546.

<sup>20</sup> Launay (1894) II: 575.

<sup>21</sup> Launay (1894) III: 546 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Laurent Guillon was born in the Archdiocese of Chambéry in 1854. He joined the MEP in 1873 and left for Manchuria in 1878. He became Vicar Apostolic of Manchuria in 1889 and was well known for his ability to convert the indigenous people to Catholicism (10,000 between 1894 and 1898). With the division of Manchuria in 1898, he became Bishop of Mukden. He was murdered there in 1900.

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Lalouyer was born in the Archdiocese of Rennes in 1850. He joined the MEP in 1871 and left for Manchuria in 1873. After various positions, he became Apostolic Vicar for southern Manchuria in 1898. He left the country during the fighting of 1900-1901 from Japan. On his return he continued his missionary work in Manchuria until his death in 1923.

largely rejected by both rightwing French Catholics and Pope Pius X, in the final years of Pope Leo XIII it was seen as perhaps the best way out of the impasse. Despite these disputes, it was generally accepted that the MEP missions reflected well on both France and the Catholic Church and thus should be supported by both. A further twist, of particular relevance for Manchuria, was the agreement between France and Russia (the Franco-Russian Alliance), which came into force in 1894. It not only linked the two countries together, it also established a “working relationship” between anti-clerical, Republican France and zealously Orthodox and monarchist Russia. If this was disturbing to many on the Left in France, it was understandably less worrisome to the MEP. In Manchuria, so far from a French military presence and so close to a Russian one, and which was still embedded in a state that had little time for foreigners and their ideas, this could obviously be potentially tested at any time.

In 1900 the test came. The “Boxer Rebellion” was directed against foreigners and foreign influence in China, including the “foreign religion” of Christianity. While a complex and still debated subject, it was clear that, in Manchuria in any case, government officials felt that the movement against foreigners was one that had been given full, official support from the Chinese imperial government<sup>24</sup>. The Boxer Rebellion led to the death of forty-five missionaries throughout China, a quarter of these were MEP missionaries in Manchuria<sup>25</sup>. Most of the other MEP missionaries in Manchuria had to go into hiding as best they could and a further ten fled as refugees to Russia, and then often on to Japan. Of these refugees, at least one died while working for the Russians as a translator<sup>26</sup>. Clearly, the MEP in some measure looked to the Russians as the nearest power to protect them and as the power most closely linked to France in the area. However, it was not quite that simple for many of the MEP missionaries. Russia was emphatically not a “Catholic Nation” and its alliance with anti-clerical France was not exactly reassuring either. As schismatics and somewhat marginal Europeans, many MEP missionaries appear to have welcomed Russian help in the short term but to have been definitely quizzical over the longer term. They were definitely not sure that Russia would, in the end be a positive force for the Catholic missions, and they were understandably unconvinced by the endorsement of the French Third Republic. What they wanted was an environment in which their mission could prosper without being visibly dependent on (non-French) Europeans and yet somehow be protected from the contrived wrath of the Mandarin bureaucracy of China and their easily incited followers. In the Boxer Rebellion, the Russians were the only force at hand to help the MEP but their help was of limited (though positive) effectiveness. In particular, many of the MEP missionaries believed that the Russians were inclined to “massacre” any one in their path, which could include Manchurian Catholics<sup>27</sup>. Of

<sup>24</sup> For a still useful older summary see: Victor Purcell *The Boxer Uprising* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960). For a more analytical approach see: Paul Cohen *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia, 1997). See also: Diana Preston *The Boxer Rebellion* (New York: Berkley, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> The ten deceased MEP missionaries in Manchuria were: Edouard Agnius (1874-1900), Jules Bayart (1877-1900), Louis Bourgeois (1863-1900), Noel Emonet (1849-1900), Jean Georjon (1869-1900), Laurent Guillon (1854-1900), Auguste Le Guevel (1875-1900), Louis Leray (1872-1900), Régis Souvignet (1854-1900), and Jean Viaud (1864-1900).

<sup>26</sup> Frédéric Flandin (1860-1900).

<sup>27</sup> See the letters of Fr. Alfred Caubrière in August and September 1900 on the siege of his mission at Santaitse, its rescue by the Russians (and, he claims, the direct intervention of the Virgin) and the massacres conducted by the Russians afterwards.

course, the MEP missionaries were not at all ungrateful to the Russians for helping them and in some cases saving their lives<sup>28</sup>. This was especially the case for the nine MEP missionaries who were forced to flee Manchuria by boat to Khabarovsk (under periodic attack throughout the voyage) and then to Vladivostok<sup>29</sup>. However, it would seem that only a minority of MEP missionaries were truly positive about the Russians<sup>30</sup>. A restraint on the full exercise of Russian power was the fact that Japan was also interested in controlling Manchuria. While Japan had taken part in the Eight-Nation Alliance forces and their attack against Beijing, and it had taken control of Taiwan in 1895 after a brief war with China, it was not entirely sure what Japan's future role would be. Would Japan be, albeit geographically displaced, a quasi-European power and in which case, with what other countries would it be linked? Was Japan to be a 'Champion of Asia' against the Europeans?

In 1904, the Japanese issued a Declaration of War against Russia. The Russians had not only failed to withdraw from their advance positions in Manchuria but had actually strengthened them. If the Japanese were not to lose their claim to Manchuria completely, then they would have to fight for it and they would have to fight the Russians. In keeping with this decision, the Japanese attacked the Russian Far East Fleet in Port Arthur (Manchuria) three hours prior to their declaration of war. In fact, Port Arthur was to remain the principal focus of military activity for much of the war. As for the other Europeans (and the Americans), what would they do? Would France defend its ally and what would be the position of the Holy See and therefore of the MEP which was in some way suspended between the two<sup>31</sup>. The general lack of affection for the Russians among the MEP, even among those who had been constrained to be rescued by them, helped in the decision making process. More importantly, practical developments during the Russo-Japanese War helped in shaping MEP opinion (and therefore that of Catholic Europe) in favor of Japan. This in turn was to interact with the diplomacy of the Holy See.

The Russians lost the war in a vacillating yet in the end decisive manner. The Tsarist government had few supporters outside of Russia and, as future events would quickly prove, not too many in Russia itself. In Manchuria, the MEP were in a position to evaluate the two sides and, in fact, were practically constrained to do so. Their verdict was not in favor of the Russians. Initially, this was not a position shared by the officially sponsored French community in China as represented by their newspaper "L'echo de Chine". This newspaper (published in Shanghai) was enthusiastically pro-Russian and, as such, was largely rejected by the MEP in

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<sup>28</sup> It needs to be remembered that many of these "Russians" were in fact Polish Catholic subjects of the Tsar.

<sup>29</sup> The nine MEP missionaries who can be identified as exiting Manchuria with Russian assistance for Vladivostok were: Edmond Gérard (1874-1951); Joseph Cubizolles (1863-1933); Jules Samoy (1861-1913); Camille Sandrin (1862-1938); Jean Monnier (1856-1910); André Roubin (1871-1935); Élie Delpal (1872-1911); Joseph Vuillemot (1865-1912); and Paul Lamasse (1869-1952).

<sup>30</sup> Prominent among these were Fr. Lamasse, Aristide Letort (1844-1904), and Jean Corbel (1865-1920). The latter even went so far as to open a school to teach Russian to the Manchurians, though it would seem his own knowledge of the language was somewhat limited (letter of Fr. Caubrière 11/01/01).

<sup>31</sup> In the end, only the Kingdom of Montenegro supported Russia. Strangely, as a peace treaty was never signed between Japan and Montenegro prior to the latter losing its identity as part of Yugoslavia in 1918, the eventual formal end of hostilities between Japan and Montenegro only happened in 2006, one hundred years after the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

Manchuria<sup>32</sup>. It became clear exactly why the MEP might object to the “pro-Russian” stance of the *L’echo de Chine*, the (perceived) support of the French government for the Russians was unfair to the Japanese and incited their hatred towards Japan<sup>33</sup>. This was both an intrusion of French (domestic) politics where it was not relevant and damaging to the MEP mission in Manchuria<sup>34</sup>. Obviously, this was a reflection in part of the estrangement between the Catholic Church and the Third Republic following the revocation of the Concordat. In turn, this had freed the MEP in Manchuria from any need to support the Russians merely because they were in alliance with France. This was perhaps just as well, as the experience of the MEP with the Russians in Manchuria was not often a positive one. In essence, the MEP missionaries in Manchuria found the Russians to be uncommitted, disorganized, ineffectual, badly led, more interested in alcohol than fighting the enemy, and (perhaps above all) out of sympathy with the local population<sup>35</sup>. This contrasted strongly with the Japanese: “The Japanese ask if there are Russians in the village, the Russians ask if there is any alcohol”. In addition, their officers were largely absent. Both of these added to the general unwillingness of the Russians to fight and their apparent inability to do so. The MEP missionaries valued order and the ability to act, the Japanese seemed to have these qualities and the Russians did not. The Russians were also the allies of the anti-clerical and dissolute Third Republic and schismatics to boot. It was perhaps highly understandable that the MEP favored the Japanese. This was reinforced by the fact that most of the MEP missionaries who had fled Manchuria via Russia had headed for Japan where the seemingly flourishing MEP mission had welcomed them. Of course, the preference of the Manchurians for the (Asian) Japanese as against the (European) Russians was also a factor. The MEP, foreign and European though they were, wished to be on the side of Asia not Russia. It was, at least in the short term, a wise decision.

If Japan was seen as the principal bastion of order in 1905, it was to be an even more important question as China (and especially Manchuria) plunged deeper into disorder in the years that followed and there seemed to be no other countries to which to turn. The overthrow of the Manchu (Qing) dynasty in 1911 left China (and Manchuria) in turmoil. The ideas of Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) were somewhat less alarming to the MEP in Manchuria. He was, or seemed to be, both a moderate and closely linked to Japan as well as to (Protestant) Christianity. His death left the situation of Manchuria open again. Of course, coterminously with these changes in China, Russia had experienced its own revolution beginning in 1917. The resulting militantly atheistic régime had certainly obviated any sentiment of sympathy for Russia among the MEP. As Manchuria (and China) spiraled into further crises, it seemed that the Japanese were the only effective power to which the MEP could turn with any degree of confidence in Manchuria. In 1931 the Japanese definitively intervened in Manchuria and provided the muscle to create the new state of Manchukuo with the last Manchu Emperor of China as its leader, which at the same time dismembered China<sup>36</sup>. In this situation, what were the MEP and the Holy See to

<sup>32</sup> See, most notably, the Letter of Fr. Letort (Manchourie: correspondance: 566: 1701-1704. 09/07/04) which condemned the newspaper as being more Russian than French. Of equal note is the fact that he had been previously considered as one of the more “Pro-Russian” of the MEP missionaries in Manchuria.

<sup>33</sup> Manchourie: correspondance: 566: 1716-1719. 02/08/04.

<sup>34</sup> Manchourie: correspondance: 566: 1720-1723. 10/08/04

<sup>35</sup> This is especially made clear in the correspondence of Fr. Caubrière during 1904 and 1905.

do? Their experience in Japan was to provide some interesting guidelines and contrasts.

## **Reflections on the MEP experience in Japan and Papal Diplomacy 1900-1930**

The MEP had been the first Catholic missionary society to enter Japan in the 1850s after the long Tokugawa ban on Christianity started to be lifted and contact and trade with Western powers became established. The Catholic Church had been reestablished by the MEP in 1859 and had been able to build on the hitherto forgotten survivals of the sixteenth and seventeenth Portuguese and Spanish missionaries. The situation of the Church in Japan had been regularized into two Vicariates (northern and Southern Japan) in 1876 and then still further into four Arch/Dioceses in 1889. The numbers of faithful rose slowly but steadily through the 19th century, though by 1900 60% of the total were still to be found in the Archdiocese of Nagasaki in Kyushu where the legacy of the Iberian missionaries was concentrated. The MEP, largely because of its own inability to adequately staff the Church in Japan, had begun to progressively cede some of its territories to other religious orders, beginning with the cession of Shikoku to the Spanish Dominicans. The process of cession continued with further areas in Hokkaido, Honshu, and Kyushu being reassigned to German and Italian Catholic missionary societies. In 1926 the MEP still retained their control of the Catholic Church in Japan with the two Archdioceses (Nagasaki and Tokyo) and the two Dioceses of Osaka and Hakodate in their hands. The other religious orders had to be content with Prefectures Apostolic (Shikoku, Niigata, Nagoya, and Sapporo).

The control of the MEP had been much contested at least since the anti-clerical legislation of the French Third Republic and, furthermore, the cataclysm of the First World War in Europe had undermined much of the society's claim to authority. This had coincided with a massive drop in clerical recruitment to the MEP and in a corresponding loss in financial contributions to the *Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi*, which since the 1830's had provided most of the funding for French Catholic missionary ventures. These had affected the missions of the MEP (and other French missionary societies) around the world. Specifically in Japan, the role taken by France with respect to the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, and especially the alliance of the French Third Republic with Czarist Russia prior to the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, had placed France, and with it the MEP and (perhaps) Catholicism in general, in a negative light. While this overt hostility quickly abated, Catholicism and especially the MEP remained to some degree suspect. The First World War, on the other hand, had seen France and Japan as allies.

In the aftermath of the war, and the economic and social problems which followed on from it in the 1920s, it was obvious to the Japanese authorities that there was a need, not just to repress unwelcome social tendencies, but also to establish (and enforce) positive ones, particularly nationalism. An increasingly important aspect of this was religion. Buddhism could be relied upon to support the nationalist agenda; in particular, since the 1890s - especially since the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 - it had regularly done so; nevertheless more support was needed. The hostility towards Buddhism in some areas and its virtual absence in others made it a useful

<sup>36</sup> While there is as yet not a great deal of scholarship on Manchukuo in English, two outstanding recent works are: Louise Young *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998) and Yamamuro Shin'ichi [Translated by Joshua Fogel] *Manchuria under Japanese Dominion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

adjunct, but not a perfect instrument. That instrument could only be found in State Shinto and, since that same war, Japanese governments had increasingly honed it and put it to this use.

This was a major problem for some, especially Catholics, who viewed Shinto as not just a demonstration of non-religious patriotism, but as an alternative religion to their own. This potential for conflict had nearly come to a head during the First World War. In 1915 the Governor of Nagasaki had initiated a formal conversation with Bishop Combaz<sup>37</sup> about this issue. Despite the contentions of the Governor that the State Shinto shrines and rites were solely civil and not religious, Bishop Combaz reiterated the ban on Catholic participation in a pastoral letter of 1916. The Vatican's Office of *Propaganda Fide* dispatched Monsignor Petrelli<sup>38</sup> to Tokyo to smooth things over bearing an official letter of felicitations to the Emperor. However, Bishop Combaz was unconvinced, declaring in 1918: 'We regret exceedingly that as Catholics we cannot accept the interpretation of shrine worship given by the government nor can we visit the shrines and engage in the services for the dead nor can we ever pay respect to the so-called gods'<sup>39</sup>. There the matter rested: the government adamant that shrine observance should be mandatory for all loyal Japanese, though insisting that it was non-religious; the MEP adamant that it was religious and therefore not possible for Catholics, though insisting on the loyalty of the Catholic Church in Japan to the state.

The visit of Monsignor Petrelli indicated change and was a sign of things to come with the establishment of direct relations between the Vatican and Japan and the residence of Monsignor Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi<sup>40</sup> as Apostolic Delegate from 1919 to 1921. This Apostolic Delegation was also to include the Japanese Imperial territories of Korea and Taiwan, thus pragmatically accepting the realities of Japanese Imperialism. From his elevation to Cardinal in 1933 to his death in 1960, Fumasoni-Biondi was the Prefect of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* and so a key influence on Japanese-Vatican relations throughout this period. The inauguration of direct diplomatic links meant, though the MEP in Japan only slowly incorporated this fact, that issues to do with State Shinto were now to be handled through the Apostolic Delegate (and thus the Vatican) rather than through the diocesan bishops (and thus the MEP). It was, in part at least, a realistic recognition of the centrality of the Vatican to Catholicism and equally a recognition of the loss of French claims to represent the Catholic Church in Asia. Though a barely noticed change, it was to prove an important one.

The first move of Bishop Fumasoni-Biondi's successor as Apostolic Delegate (Monsignor Mario Giardini<sup>41</sup>), which impacted on this issue, was the calling of the second provincial synod in 1924 (the first had been held in 1895). It was not to offer much in the way of a solution to the impasse concerning State Shinto in which the Catholic Church in Japan now found itself. Clearly, the desires of the Apostolic

<sup>37</sup> Jean Combaz was born in the Archdiocese of Chambéry in December 1856. He died in Nagasaki in 1926.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Petrelli was born in the Marche in 1873. He was a curial official from 1915 until his death in 1962.

<sup>39</sup> George Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago, 1985) 130.

<sup>40</sup> Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi was born in Rome in 1872. He was elevated to Cardinal and became Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1933. He died in office in 1960.

<sup>41</sup> Mario Giardini was born in Milan in December 1877. He became Archbishop of Ancona in 1931. He resigned in 1940 and died in 1947.

Delegate and the Japanese clergy were not entirely commensurate with those of the MEP. A compromise between these two positions was sought and the resulting documents reflect this<sup>42</sup>. Basically, certain acts of 'passive' or solely 'material' participation in certain shrine rites could be tolerated (*tolerari potest* in accordance with Canon 1258), in particular for soldiers or government workers, but 'signs of reverence' could not. The acts of reverence for the war dead were prohibited (despite some disagreement) because of their continuing religious nature. Catholic students in state schools were not allowed 'material' participation in any form. While hope was held out for the future when all State Shinto rites would lose their religious or quasi-religious character, the synod could not reach agreement and they could not see their way to deciding upon a common guideline (*Communis autem regula nulla ratione statui posse videtur*)<sup>43</sup>. Even this limited compromise, inadequate from both the Japanese and the Apostolic Delegate's perspective, was not well received in certain quarters. The section of the synod documents dealing with State Shinto, because they involved questions of faith, were separated from the other documents and forwarded to the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office for consideration.

In 1926, the die was cast and it was made clear that the Apostolic Delegate (Bishop Mario Giardini) with the authority of *Propaganda Fide* was intent on implementing the transition to a Japanese controlled diocese in Nagasaki as soon as possible. Despite the spirited opposition of some MEP missionaries, they were soon made aware of its futility. In December 1926, a letter was received from Bishop Giardini 'in the name of the Pope' (*sub sigillo pontificio*) that the decision had been made and that a Japanese Bishop for the whole Diocese of Nagasaki would be appointed. All that was required of the MEP missionaries were nominations for the episcopate<sup>44</sup>. The MEP in Japan nominated Fr. Moriyama and Fr. Urakawa, both of whom were rejected in favor of the choice of *Propaganda Fide*. In July 1927, Fr. Hayasaki Kyunosuke<sup>45</sup> became the first Japanese Bishop of Nagasaki.

The reasons for over-riding the objections of the MEP in Japan and for swiftly executing the policy of indigenizing the 'flagship' Diocese of Nagasaki are not difficult to discern. Pope Pius XI was acutely aware of the dangers of modern nationalism to the Catholic Church in Europe and throughout the world. He was seconded in this by his Secretaries of State. The Vatican believed that the best way to secure the best position for the Church was through direct negotiations with national governments with the aim of achieving detailed written agreements (preferably Concordats) with them, which would provide guarantees for the Catholic Church at the national level. From 1916, and especially from 1919, the Vatican had been working towards this end in Japan with increasing urgency, as nationalism appeared to increase in strength. To achieve this goal, in Japan as elsewhere, would mean some concessions to 'give a mark of respect and show confidence in the government'<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> The documents of this synod were never published, this account of the documents relies on the summary found in George Minamiki *The Chinese Rites Controversy* Chicago: Loyola University, 1985 and on Josef Metzler, *Die Synoden in China, Japan und Korea: 1570-1931* (Paderborn, 1980) 268-292.

<sup>43</sup> Metzler (1980) 283-284.

<sup>44</sup> 23/12/1926 MC 571a (1926).

<sup>45</sup> Bishop Hayasaka was born in Sendai in 1883. He was appointed Bishop of Nagasaki in 1927 at the age of 43. He resigned in 1937 and died in 1959.

<sup>46</sup> *Comptes Rendus* (1927).

The Manchurian Incident of 1931 was the active beginning of the Greater East Asia War. The army (and the navy) increasingly influenced all of the decisions of the government. With the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi in May 1932, civilian government virtually ended in Japan. The Japanese nation was put on a permanent war footing and all sectors of the economy were directed towards the war effort. To mobilize a nation and to keep it mobilized is not an easy task since an accessible set of beliefs and practices, which are inclusive of all the people of the nation need to be put into place and maintained. In Japan, this set of beliefs and practices was to be found in State Shinto. The military-based governments were intent on imposing State Shinto throughout Japan and, in fact, throughout the Japanese Empire, and so the Catholic Church had to deal with this. It was a matter of urgency and it would no longer be possible to let the decision disappear into the files of the Holy Office. The transfer of Nagasaki Diocese had proved the willingness on the part of the Pope to make reasonable compromises for a greater good, now was the time to consider State Shinto.

Matters came to a head in May 1932, just before the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai. A group of sixty Sophia University students had been led on a march as part of the compulsory military training program. When they reached Yasukuni Shrine they were required to present arms as a show of homage to the war dead, but two or three Catholic students refused to do so<sup>47</sup>. In response, the Army Ministry threatened to cancel the position of military training officer at the school, which would have effectively meant its closure. Bishop Ross, the new German Jesuit Bishop of Hiroshima, intervened with a more liberal interpretation of the rules (Canon 1258) governing these matters<sup>48</sup>. Archbishop Chambon<sup>49</sup> of Tokyo agreed to go along with this and permission was granted 'by word of mouth and for this instance' (*mündlich und pro casu*) for Sophia students to perform homage at shrines pending a decision of all of the ordinaries. As the next synod was not scheduled until 1934, Archbishop Chambon wrote directly to the Ministry of Education requesting clarification of the purpose and meaning to be attached to shrine visits. They replied that the 'bow that is required of the group of students of the higher schools and the students of the middle and primary schools has no other purpose than that of manifesting the sentiments of patriotism and loyalty'<sup>50</sup>. This was sufficient for the Apostolic Delegate (Monsignor Edward Mooney) to issue his approval, which the synod of 1934 then approved in its turn. In 1935, the then Apostolic Delegate (Monsignor Paolo Marella<sup>51</sup>) requested revisions of the previous guidelines governing shrine visits from *Propaganda Fide*. The reply, in the form of an instruction (*Pluries instanterque*), was issued by the Prefect of *Propaganda Fide* (Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, a previous Apostolic Delegate to Japan). It was declared lawful for Catholics to attend and participate in shrine ceremonies since they were solely of a 'civil nature'. Catholics could also take part in other private rites (funerals, weddings, etc), which had also lost their religious nature. The norms given

<sup>47</sup> This account is based on Minamiki (1985) who in turn used an unpublished account of the affair written by Fr. von Küenburg the Rector of Sophia University.

<sup>48</sup> *Codex iuris canonici* (Rome, 1909).

<sup>49</sup> Jean-Baptiste Chambon was born in March 1875. He became Archbishop of Tokyo in 1927. Following the division of the diocese in 1937 he became Bishop of Yokohama. He surrendered his diocese in 1940 and retired. He died in Japan in 1948.

<sup>50</sup> Minamiki (1985) 145.

<sup>51</sup> Paolo Marella was born in Rome in 1895. He was appointed to the Roman Curia and elevated to be a Cardinal in 1959. He retired in 1983 and died in the following year.

in these instructions were not just recommendations; Bishops were required (deberere) to observe them. The final seal was placed on this in February 1937 when Monsignor Marella and the new Archbishop Designate of Tokyo (Archbishop Takeo Doi<sup>52</sup>) visited the Yasukuni Shrine along with a number of Catholic clergy and laity. The nature of Shinto rites, the separation of Religion and the State, and the relationship of the Catholic Church to them remains a debate to the present day<sup>53</sup>.

### **The MEP, Japan, and Manchuria: Experiences and Results: 1930-1940**

The Holy See had succeeded in establishing a working *modus vivendi* with the Japanese government based on direct contacts between the Holy See and that government. The progressive creation of an indigenous hierarchy in Japan, beginning in 1927, despite the objections of many of the MEP in Japan (and other missionaries), had demonstrated the willingness and ability of the Holy See to act directly and to exact (or at least unconditionally expect) compliance. The newly minted indigenous hierarchy saw no contradiction between their roles as Catholic bishops and supporters of Japanese nationalism. The Shrine issue, and the extended questions related to the meaning and purpose of Shinto rites, which had exercised both the civil and religious authorities in Japan for some time, was resolved or effectively circumvented in a seemingly largely effortless manner. It was also resolved in a very expeditious one. Those in the MEP who objected to these compromises which favored *real politik* over other concerns continued to fight a somewhat covert rearguard action until the enforced indigenization of the Japanese Catholic hierarchy in 1940. The final holdout was the MEP Bishop of Osaka, Jean-Baptiste Castanier<sup>54</sup> who caused some concerns among the Japanese hierarchy and at the Vatican right until the end of the process<sup>55</sup>. In these years, Japan had moved to become master of Manchuria and thus the temporal power to which the Catholic missionaries must answer. Their experiences in Japan and in Manchuria itself, coupled with the policies of the Holy See, made it obvious what this answer was likely to be. What separates Japan and Manchuria for the MEP was not the nature of the response, but the willingness with which it was made.

The MEP experience in Manchuria between the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and the Manchurian Incident in 1931, which led to the extension of Japanese power throughout Manchuria and the creation of the new state of Manchukuo, underlined its prior experiences and especially its perceptions of the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian roles in the area. The Russians were no longer a viable presence for the MEP in Manchuria in the 1930s, at least until the Japanese invasion of 1931 when once again they appeared to be ready to launch an attack<sup>56</sup>. They had been soundly beaten by Japan in the Russo-Japanese War and, in the opinion of most of the missionaries, had richly merited their defeat. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the consequent

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<sup>52</sup> Archbishop Peter Doi was born in 1892 and ordained in 1921. In 1937 he was appointed Archbishop of Tokyo. He was elevated to Cardinal in 1960 and died in 1970.

<sup>53</sup> Matsumoto Saburo 'The Roman Catholic Church in Japan' in Kumazawa Yoshinobu and David Swain [eds] *Christianity in Japan, 1971-1990* (Tokyo, 1990).

<sup>54</sup> He was born in the Diocese of Saint Flour in 1877, joined the MEP in 1894, and was ordained a priest and left for Japan in 1899. After mobilization in the First World War, he became Bishop of Osaka in 1917. His demission took effect in 1941 at which time retired. He died in Japan in 1943.

<sup>55</sup> Letter of Bishop Castanier to Bishop Doi 06/11/1940 in papers of Bishop Castanier.

<sup>56</sup> Correspondence of Fr. Caubrière 10/30/1931.

Russian championing of Communism had finally written them off. The assumption was that their earlier traits of drunkenness and indiscipline had remained to be augmented by Atheism. In turn, China had undergone its own revolution beginning in 1911, which had destabilized civic and economic life in Manchuria for twenty years. The two major threats in Manchuria were “brigandage” and the spill over of civil war from the rest of China. Throughout the period from 1905 to 1931, Manchuria and the MEP suffered from periodic attacks from “Brigands”. Some of these were, perhaps, ideologically motivated, if a hatred of foreigners and of Christians can be called an ideology, though most were merely opportunistic. The Chinese government was manifestly unable to restore order, and perhaps local officials may have even been complicit in this brigandage as they had been during the Boxer Rebellion. The First World War, though there had been some noticeable “tensions”, had left Manchuria and the Manchurians largely alone<sup>57</sup>.

The Civil Wars of the 1920s could easily have been another story. Marshal Zhang Zuolin (Chang Tso-Lin) had moved from being a mercenary in the pay of the Japanese in 1905 to being the Governor-General of Manchuria (on behalf of the Republic of China) in 1920<sup>58</sup>. In that year he launched an attack on northern China, which failed, and then subsequently announced the independence of Manchuria in 1922. For the next six years he was involved in the bloody civil war in northern China. Only the presence of the Japanese troops in Manchuria prevented the war from spilling over into that area, though the possibility was always present. The general feeling among the MEP was that Zhang Zuolin was worthy of their support because he represented the principle of order; Manchuria was a comparatively well run province under his rule; and he was an implacable enemy of Bolshevism<sup>59</sup>. They were, however, increasingly aware of his reliance on the Japanese. When Zhang Zuolin started to defy them, the Japanese army engineered his assassination in June 1928. The Japanese continued to control the railways and their own mandated areas but tension increased. The son of Zhang Zuolin (Marshal Zhang Xueliang) was responsible for the official Chinese military presence in the area. In September 1931, sections of the Japanese army launched a fake attack on their own railway, blamed the Chinese, and moved to take full control of Manchuria. In March 1932, they created the state of Manchukuo, which was to be ruled by the former Emperor of China.

Manchuria again descended into “brigandage” which, once more, targeted foreigners and Christians. The MEP Bishop of Southern Manchuria (Bishop Jean-Marie Blois) was attacked in his palace by brigands but rescued by the Japanese<sup>60</sup>. Within three months of the Manchurian Incident, the Chinese army had retreated from Manchuria and the Japanese had commenced operations against the brigands. The Japanese were intent on restoring “order” in Manchuria and eliminating brigandage and they were willing to commit substantial numbers of troops to achieve these goals. While many brigands resisted, others were willing to negotiate surrender. At least one MEP missionary acted as an intermediary in these

<sup>57</sup> Correspondence of Fr. Caubrière ?/04/1915.

<sup>58</sup> See: Gavan McCormack *Chang Tso-Lin in Northeast China 1911-1928* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1977).

<sup>59</sup> Comptes-rendus 1925.

<sup>60</sup> Jean-Marie Blois was born in the Diocese of Nantes in 1881. He joined the MEP in 1904, was ordained in the following year and left for Manchuria. Apart from two years in Paris (1919-1921) he stayed in Manchuria throughout his career and died there in 1946.

negotiations (Fr. Pierre Cambon)<sup>61</sup>. The Japanese acted as the “policeman of the Orient” and “the barrier against Bolshevism” and, as such, deserved the support of the MEP according to many of their missionaries<sup>62</sup>. While the Shrine Issue had not quite been resolved in Japan, it was clear that it would be soon and that there was no inherent obstacle in the way of cooperation between the Catholic Church in Manchuria and the Japanese (and Manchukuo) authorities. There was also a great deal to be said in its favor. The Chinese appeared to be either brigands or Communists, or even both, while the Japanese offered peace and protection. The choice was clear but the price was high. What the Japanese wanted was recognition for the new state of Manchukuo. The League of Nations in the end denied this, despite the support for it of the French general Henri Claudel who was part of the commission sent by the League of Nations (the Lytton Commission)<sup>63</sup> to investigate the matter. The Japanese left the League of Nations, but they still wanted recognition for Manchukuo, which would also bring validation for their own actions in its train. If not the League, then maybe the Holy See could provide this recognition. After all, the protection of the Catholic Church in Manchuria (and in Japan) relied on the goodwill of the Japanese government. Vatican diplomats, negotiating the Concordat with the German Reich (signed in July 1933), were to be given another delicate task.

Despite the lack of international recognition, Manchukuo gradually began to establish the offices of state and assert itself in the region. The strength of the Japanese (and the weakness of China) strengthened Manchukuo in a variety of ways from the Chinese decision to withdraw not only their army but even their postal service from Manchuria to the murder by Chinese troops of the Catholic Prefect Apostolic of Yenki<sup>64</sup>. The MEP (and the Catholic Church) were faced with an increasingly strong state, which was both positively inclined towards the Church and anxious for international recognition. In addition, both Germany and Italy (concordats of 1929 and 1933) were positive towards Manchukuo, though the final “Axis” Tripartite Alliance with Japan was not to be signed until September 1940, and certain elements in France (such as General Claudel) were positive too. In early 1934, Pu-Yi was officially enthroned as Emperor of Manchukuo and the pressure for recognition by the Catholic Church increased. On the ground, the Catholic churches displayed the flag of Manchukuo (alongside that of the Vatican) and prayers for the Emperor were authorised<sup>65</sup>. Though a full concordat was not possible at this stage (if ever) the next stage would have to be recognition of Manchukuo by the Holy See. This is what happened, or did it?<sup>66</sup>.

In February 1934, Auguste Gaspais MEP (Vicar Apostolic/Bishop of Kirin) was appointed as the representative of the Holy See to the government of

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<sup>61</sup> Pierre Cambon was born in the Diocese of Rodez in 1902. He joined the MEP in 1920 and was ordained and left for Manchuria in 1926. He remained there until his death in Mukden in 1949.

<sup>62</sup> For example: see the correspondence of Fr. Marie Sagard. He was born in the Diocese of Saint Dié in 1894, was ordained in 1922, joined the MEP in 1923, and left for Manchuria in the following year. He stayed there until his death from typhus in 1946.

<sup>63</sup> Francis Walters *A History of the League of Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1960) and Thomas Burkman *Japan and the League of Nations* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2007).

<sup>64</sup> Correspondence of Fr. Caubrière 30/06/32 and 31/07/32.

<sup>65</sup> Correspondence of Fr. Caubrière 12/02/1934.

<sup>66</sup> For an excellent selection of documents and a thorough, though perhaps unconvincing, discussion of the question see: Giovanni Coco *Santa Sede e Manchiukuo* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2006).

Manchukuo<sup>67</sup>. But what did this mean? For his fellow MEP Bishop of Mukden (Jean-Marie Blois) it meant *de facto* recognition of Manchukuo by the Holy See and he said so in a circular letter to the clergy<sup>68</sup>. Supporters of Manchukuo, like Fr. Caubrière, were equally convinced that this was what it meant and expressed their gratitude to the Holy See for its actions<sup>69</sup>. The Japanese government believed that this was what it meant<sup>70</sup> and so clearly did the Communists in China, it is still the generally accepted view<sup>71</sup>. The MEP and the Holy See did nothing at the time to correct this interpretation, though with the end of the war and the Communist takeover of China and Manchuria they tried to do so<sup>72</sup>. In January 19387, Bishop Gaspais received (and accepted) a decoration from the government of Manchukuo<sup>73</sup>. Clearly, the Holy See acted as if Manchukuo was a state and that it had a legitimate government with which it was willing to deal. It seemed that, once again, in the persons of Cardinals Gasperi and Fumasoni-Biondi<sup>74</sup> (*Propaganda fidei*) the Holy See had made a pragmatic choice among the long spoons on offer and reached a diplomatic solution which was advantageous in the short term, though perhaps of more dubious long term value.

## Conclusion

The experiences of the Catholic Church, and consequently of the diplomats of the Holy See, during the period after the French Revolution had necessitated the reinforcement of a degree of pragmatism and *real politik* which had led in turn to the reinforcement of the centrality of the Vatican and a consequent downgrading of the local and national hierarchies. In most cases, these hierarchies along with missionary societies like the MEP were equally ultramontanist and accepted this centrality of the Holy See not just in ecclesiastical but also in ecclesiological terms. The Holy See, operating through both *Propaganda Fide* and the Secretaries of State, was seen to be safeguarding the interests of the church in the area as best it could. If there were casualties, such as the Catholic political parties in Germany or Italy, this was a price that regrettably had to be paid. Even the effective acquiescence of Don Sturzo underlines this. The attachment of any régime to Catholicism could no longer be accepted without question, in fact it was obvious that they were more and more hostile to the Church. The pragmatism of the diplomacy of the Holy See was dictated by the antagonism of European secular régimes. The explicit rejection of an existing concordat by the government of the Third French Republic, underlined both the fragility of such agreements and (for Vatican diplomats at least) their necessity as the best available option for the Church. The successive Popes and their Secretaries

<sup>67</sup> Auguste Gaspais was born in 1884 in the Diocese of Vannes, joined the MEP in 1903 and left in 1907 for Manchuria. He stayed there until he was expelled by the Communists in 1951. He died in the following year in France.

<sup>68</sup> Letter of Jean-Marie Blois 22/09/1934.

<sup>69</sup> Correspondence of Fr. Caubrière 22/09/1934.

<sup>70</sup> Letter of Morizumi Yoshiura 31/10/1952 on the occasion of the death of Bishop Gaspais.

<sup>71</sup> Yamamuro [2006], 237.

<sup>72</sup> *Rapport annuel* 1947 the latest presentation of this view is Coco [2006].

<sup>73</sup> Letter of Gaspais 02/02/1938.

<sup>74</sup> Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi was born in Rome in 1872 became a priest in 1897. He had a long and distinguished career at the Vatican, becoming a Cardinal in 1933. He died in Rome in 1960. The office of *Propaganda fidei* is directly responsible for all mission territories/dioceses of the Catholic Church until they become established as national hierarchies.

of State dealt with these situations as best they could in Europe, outside of Europe the office of *Propaganda Fide* was also involved. However, with the tightening up of the bureaucracy of the Holy See, this made little difference in the end result as the examples of Japan and Manchukuo demonstrate.

Japan had never been at the center of French foreign policy, even in Asia, and as such the French claim to protect Catholic missions overseas was always a moot one. With the advent of the Third Republic, this was underlined. The MEP, though intensely French, was always directly linked to the Holy See and, in Japan as opposed to Southeast Asia, there were no intermediaries to be considered. The Holy See recognized the increasing importance of Japan in Asia and the need to accommodate, as far as possible, the rising nationalism of Japan. This meant cutting the Gordian Knot of the Chinese Rites issue, accepting the allegedly non-religious nature of Shinto shrine attendance, and establishing an indigenous Catholic hierarchy as soon as possible. The reward for this would be a favorable image of the Catholic Church in Japan and throughout the Japanese Empire, some measure of protection for Catholics in this empire, and the possibility of a concordat in the future. The actions and flexibility of the Holy See were very positively perceived in Japan, the actions of the Holy See in Manchukuo only added to this. If not exactly the friend of the Japanese Empire and of Manchukuo, the Holy See was certainly not among the ranks of their enemies and even more certainly it did not wish to be perceived as such. The actions of the Holy See were seen as an important endorsement of Manchukuo and so of the role of the Japanese in Asia. For the MEP in Manchukuo, this was undoubtedly true and was viewed in a positive light. By contrast, in Japan, the over-ruling of MEP opposition was a bitter pill to swallow for some. But swallowed it was. Arguably, at the time, it was a price that was worth paying.

The aftermath of the Second World War, and in Papal terms especially the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958, was the beginning of a new perspective for the Catholic Church in Asia and around the world. The triumphant Chinese Communists accused the Holy See of complicity with Japanese imperialism in China and Japan and it was a charge that was very difficult to refute. Manchukuo disappeared from the map and the MEP disappeared from Manchukuo. At least it did so without loss of life. All of the MEP missionaries were expelled from Manchukuo. This was in stark contrast to Korea, where nine of the MEP missionaries were murdered by Chinese and Korean Communists. The negative aspects of Japanese imperialism were increasingly highlighted and complicity became less and less forgivable. However, it was not until the 1980s or even the 1990s that the Japanese Catholic Church began to disassociate itself from the events of the 1930s. To date, their efforts are not always convincing in a fundamental sense, perhaps because the current missionaries in Japan and the church they support often seem to have a greater devotion to enculturation into Japan rather than an enculturation of Catholicism.

Other things have changed, however, both in the light of the Second Vatican Council and a changing world situation. Firstly, national hierarchies and their views have achieved precedence or at least equality with those of the Holy See in terms of bilateral relations with national governments. The situation in which the Holy See could effectively override the majority of experienced church personnel in favor of a more pragmatic approach, as in Japan in the late 1920s, is no longer acceptable. Given the indigenization of national hierarchies, this may be a difference without a distinction in practical terms at least in Japan. Secondly, the concept of collegiality has tempered not only the willingness of the Holy See to act without adequate

consultation but has also hopefully modified the opposing tendency of national hierarchies to act as if they only had a vertical relationship to the Holy See rather than a series of horizontal relationships to other hierarchies. In the case of the Japanese Catholic Church this may be crucial not only to its self-perception but also to its future in the wider dimensions of Asia and global Catholicism.

## The Adventures of Magenta M: "Read, Read, Read."<sup>1</sup>

By Stephen J. Davies

Magenta stopped in front of the sign that said: "Trans-Galactic Language Empowerment Agency," took a deep breath, and knocked on the door.

"Good morning, Magenta," Dexter said, smiling and looking up from his computer screen. "Have a seat."

"Thanks," she replied.

"I've just had some news from Talut 9, the misty planet. The head teacher out there, Chet Divine, has emailed me about an extensive reading program that he's set up. He says he's pretty excited about the results, but there are a few puzzling anomalies with regard to L2 reading proficiencies. 'Weirdnesses,' as he calls them. I think it might be a good idea if you went to Talut 9 to investigate."

"What kind of anomalies?"

"He says there are significant gender variations in terms of reading proficiency."

"Really? In which direction?"

"Overall, the women are more proficient than the men."

"There could be a number of explanations for that –"

"Wait. Before you tell me about the female genetic pre-disposition to comprehend longer passages of text, I should point out that Chet says the *boys* on Talut 9 are significantly better readers than the men. So, in other words, there are both inter-gender and intra-gender proficiency asymmetries."

"Do you have more specific details?"

"Yes. The boys can read book titles and chapter headings, but they struggle with the actual texts."

"What about the men?"

"They can't read anything."

"Nothing at all?"

"That's right. The men are still pre-literate in the L2."

Magenta thought for a moment. "Do you think this could have anything to do with in-class reading activities? Perhaps the men haven't been given the appropriate materials?"

Dexter shook his head. "Nobody reads during class time."

"No one?"

"That's right."

"So what happens?"

"Not much, it seems. Chet hands out free food and textbooks and then the students go back to the village."

"Has he seen them doing *any* reading?"

"No. He says the village is very damp and going down there might..." Dexter studied the computer screen... 'mess with his chest.' He's asthmatic, apparently."

"So, you're telling me that Chet doesn't teach reading and that he hasn't seen his students doing any reading, either?"

"That's right."

"But how is he assessing reading proficiency?"

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<sup>1</sup> This story was first published in Learning, Learning: JALT Learner Development SIG Newsletter, 15 (1), 32-37.

"He uses book reports. The students are required to submit a written report after they finish reading a book. A minimum of one sentence is required."

Dexter glanced at his watch. "So, would you like to go to Talut 9, or do I have to find someone else?"

"Just a moment. How much do we know about the students?"

Dexter shrugged. "Not a lot. They're a secretive people. In fact, it's been quite difficult to convince them of the value of L2 literacy. Basically, we've had to drag them out of the Stone Age. We do know they have a lot of taboos. For example, the men and women live in separate long houses. There is gendered division of labor. And another thing: the Talutians believe strongly in the principle of utility. They have a saying, *Use what you can, but take only what you need*. They hunt birds, but they only kill them for food."

"But you just told me that Chet gives them free food."

"That's right. They like tinned fruit. But they have an aversion to mechanically reclaimed meat products. That's why they hunt for the migratory ducks that fly past their settlement. When the ducks appear, the students don't come to class."

"So you mean the men and women hunt together? But what about the gendered division of labor?"

"The men do the hunting, while the women –"

"Open tins?"

"Very funny," Dexter laughed, running his fingers through his hair. But then he spoke more firmly: "Magenta, we need to sort out this reading proficiency issue. We're sending a lot of books to the planet. The Talutians really should be making better progress. I don't believe I've ever seen such inconsistent results before. That's why I want you to go out there. Start by interviewing Chet. See if he knows anything more than he's told me. Now, are you willing to accept this mission or not?"

"Yes, I'll go. I could do with another off-planet adventure," Magenta said smiling.

Dexter beamed. "That's great. The Clothing Department will supply you with the right equipment. They don't call it the 'misty planet' for nothing. It can get pretty cold out there."

But Magenta wasn't worrying about the climate. "Talut 9 is in Deep Space. That's light-years from here. I'll need to take a sleeper."

"I've already thought of that," Dexter replied. He handed Magenta a small, beige envelope. "Here are your e-tickets. Business Class. You can sleep all you want."

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On Chet's desk in the Empowerment Center there were two things: a paperback novel and a mug of coffee.

Chet grabbed the mug, took a swig, and asked, "Want some?"

Magenta shook her head. "No thanks."

"You've come a long way," Chet offered. "I hope I can be of help."

"I hope so too."

"Cool. You're here to learn about our extensive reading program, right?"

"Yes, I am."

Chet leaned forward. "I'm gonna cut to the chase. Let's start with the three Rs: reading, reading, and READING. The neat thing is, the cool thing is, we learn to read by reading. I mean, reading is reading, right? It's a non-negotiable issue. The

bottom line is reading, the root of which is to read. That's the message. Read, read, and read. Just read."

He took another swig of coffee and swallowed hard.

"So, all the students can read English?" Magenta asked.

"Not exactly," Chet said, in a puzzled voice. "I emailed Dexter the details. Some weird shit is going on. I figured he'd told you."

"He told me that you don't actually *teach* reading."

Chet shrugged. "Like I said, you just gotta let 'em read."

Magenta thought for a moment. "There's something I don't understand. Why do the students come to the Learning Center? What's their motivation?"

"This planet is frickin' freezin'," Chet said, "but we got this real neat uranium heater keeps the Center nice and toasty. And there's the free food. Tinned peaches and stuff. The Taluts love that shit. And there's the games."

"Games?"

"Yeah, you know, computer games. Armageddon, Dark Destroyer, Revenge of the Zombies, whatever."

"They like to play computer games?"

"Yeah. The guys love 'em."

"What about the women?"

"Nah. They're, like, more into word games. Crosswords. Scrabble. Stuff like that."

Magenta considered this. She knew that hunter-gatherer communities enjoyed more leisure time than was generally assumed and, since the Talutians were the inhabitants of a terribly cold planet, that fact that they could spend their free time in the warm Empowerment Center would obviously be very appealing. And, of course, there was the added attraction of the free food. As for any language proficiency gains, if Chet's account of what was happening was accurate, then the women *would* be making progress by playing lexical games. And the men? Well, they wouldn't learn much English playing those awful computer games. But that still didn't explain why that the boys were making L2 reading progress... "Do *all* the boys play computer games?" she asked Chet.

"Sure. They love 'em."

"How long do they play for?"

"Until it's time to leave."

"Then what happens?"

"They just get their bags, fill 'em up with free books, and hit the trail back to the village."

"You don't think that's strange?"

"What?"

"The fact that they don't do any reading in the Center, but they're willing to carry heavy books all the way back to the village?"

"I guess," Chet said, stifling a yawn.

Magenta pushed her chair back, stood up, and said: "I think I'd like to interview some of the students myself. Will they be here tomorrow?"

Chet shook his head. He made a pantomime gesture of using a bow and arrow. "It's hunting time."

"How far is it to the village?" Magenta asked, looking at a map on the wall.

"About five miles, I guess."

"Is that a lake I can see on the map?"

"Yeah. It's right by the village. I've heard it's real damp down there."

"You've not been there?"

“No way. Not with my asthma an’ all.”

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Early the next morning, when the sun was bright and red in the eastern sky, Magenta walked along a narrow pathway that twisted between several strange, grassy knolls that reminded her of ancient burial mounds.

She felt cold. Very cold. It was a sharp, bright, frosty coldness that had transformed the tussocks of grass into silver shards that crunched and popped under her feet like broken glass.

As she marched onwards, she thrust her gloved hands deeper into her pockets, and tried not to let her fears take over. Really, it made no sense to worry. Even if some of the villagers were pre-literate and unfriendly, she had to remember that they had been willing to accept books, that they had started to read English. They were moving in the right direction... But why was their progress so uneven? Most likely, given the gendered division of labor that Dexter had talked about, the women were able to spend more time reading while the men were away hunting for ducks. That made sense. But why were the boys more proficient than the men? That seemed to be counter-intuitive... Magenta smiled. There was something funny about the situation. What had the poet William Wordsworth written? “The Child is father of the Man”?

Unless...Were the women teaching the boys to read? Had they set up their own village school? Was Vygotskian other-regulation taking place?

Magenta kept walking until she crested a low hill. Feeling thirsty, she took off her backpack and rummaged inside for her coffee flask.

From somewhere nearby a child cried out – a strange, feral sound – and Magenta crouched down and stared ahead through the tall grass.

There, in the distance, was a long house. It was a wooden building with a sinuous column of smoke rising from a hole in the thatched roof.

But there was no sign of a child...or of anyone else...or...

“Looking for someone, is it?”

Magenta turned around. Standing in front of her was a woman with eyes that were dark and bright, but not unfriendly.

The woman laughed, showing her small uneven teeth. “Are you scared?” she asked. “You think I kill you?”

“I – ” Magenta managed to stammer.

“Come,” the woman said, clasping her hands together. “We go to house. Is warm.”

After a few minutes of brisk walking, they arrived at the entrance to the long house.

Magenta bent low and followed the woman through the doorway.

Inside, the air was thickly warm with a rich aroma of oily meat that was simmering in a large, soot-stained pot hanging over the fire. There was another smell, too: the coarse stink of tallow smoke, rising in dark coils from many thick-stemmed candles that cast strange shadows on the walls.

Several women were curled around the fire. All of them had been reading when Magenta entered, but now they scrambled to their feet, whispering and staring.

One of them stepped forward. Her dark, thick, braided hair was tied in an elaborate topknot, decorated with bird feathers. A vivid tattoo stretched across her forehead, and a shiny necklace of animal bones gleamed at her throat.

"My name is Aruli," the woman said. "Welcome to our village. We've been waiting for you. You've come a long way. Please have something to eat. We must strengthen you for your work."

While Magenta ate the broth, greedily gulping down mouthfuls of duck meat and pungent herbs, Aruli explained that a young boy had fallen ill and so the messenger had been sent to find a doctor. She was pleased and grateful that Magenta had come so quickly, as the boy had a strong fever and needed attention.

There was an expectant hush when Magenta pushed aside her bowl, stood up and searched in her backpack for her medical kit. From Aruli's description of the symptoms, it sounded as though the boy had influenza. She knew that aspirin would help to lower his temperature, and treating him would give her an ideal opportunity to look around the men's long house...

A little while later, Aruli, carrying a goatskin water bottle, led Magenta across a narrow strip of muddy grass that led to a second building. Reaching the entrance, she stopped and handed the bottle to Magenta.

"Is this the men's long house?"

Aruli nodded. "Go in. I must wait here."

Inside the house, a boy – about 14 years old – was wrapped in a blanket of animal fur. He was asleep and softly breathing, but when Magenta drew near, his eyes flashed open and he struggled to sit up.

Magenta cupped two pills of aspirin in her hand and offered them to him. Saying nothing, he scooped them into his mouth, swilling them down with water from the bottle that Magenta held for him.

Soon the boy stretched out again, already half-asleep.

Magenta gazed around the room. It was bare except for the boy's clothes, neatly folded beside the bed. She could see no reading materials of any kind...

Stepping outside, she whispered, "Where are all the men?"

"Hunting. At the lake," Aruli answered, yawning and walking towards the women's long house.

Magenta glanced at the buildings. It seemed that all the villagers lived in just these two dwellings. What was the total population? Fifty? Sixty?

She was about to follow Aruli when a gust of wind blew a piece of paper towards her.

She bent down and picked it up.

It was a page from a book. She turned it over. The back was stained with something sticky...

"What are you doing?" Aruli asked her.

"Nothing," Magenta replied, stuffing the paper inside a pocket and hurrying across the muddy grass.

Inside the long house, most of the women were now enjoying an afternoon nap. Aruli, too, stretched out on the floor, gesturing to Magenta to do the same. "Have a rest," she urged. "You've done well, and you have a long journey back to the Center."

Magenta waited until she was quite sure all of the women were asleep. Then, as quietly as she could, she got to her feet and tiptoed outside.

She remembered the map on the wall of Chet's office. The lake wasn't far away. Had the piece of paper come from there?

She took it from her pocket and looked at it for a second time. Although it had yellowed with age, she could see that it was from a beginner-level text.

I'll try to find the lake, she thought. It can't be far away.

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As Magenta drew nearer to the water, wraiths of mist rose up and swirled around her feet, soaking her boots with damp dew. Determined, though, to find the lake, she kept walking forwards, treading as quietly as she could through the clumps of wet grass, following a thin, meandering pathway, until, a little way ahead, she noticed something lying on the ground.

It was a second piece of paper, wetly crumpled in the grass.

Was it from a textbook?

As she stepped closer, bending down to get a better look, a twig snapped under her foot and she heard the sound of a bird breaking cover.

Startled, she looked up and saw a duck fly directly overhead, its wings a blur of frenzied energy.

Then, seconds later, an arrow scorched upwards and the bird crashed to the ground.

Magenta crouched and stared in the direction that the arrow had come from until she located the well-camouflaged hide. She heard a deep, satisfied grunt, and then a young boy charged out and raced through the wet grass towards the dead bird.

Returning, he left the hide door slightly ajar – and Magenta was able to glimpse inside.

She gasped. The walls of the hide were thickly plastered with pages from reading texts. From where she was standing, Magenta could even identify one of the titles: "Zargon Zoo". She remembered that it was a beginner text, for students with a passive reading vocabulary of 500 words or less.

Magenta watched the boy as he showed the dead bird to the archer – a bearded, swarthy man of around 50 – who simply grunted again.

The boy passed the man a fresh arrow. He carefully set the bow, pulled the string taut, and squinted skywards through a slit in the roof.

The boy, waiting for the next kill, began staring at the words on the walls...

As Magenta walked back towards the village, stepping softly through the wet grass, she thought about what she'd seen. *Gosh! The air around here is awfully damp, so I'm not surprised the men tear up the textbooks and use the paper for insulation. It's perfectly understandable, especially given the utilitarian ethos of the culture... And the boys are s.l.o.w.l.y learning to read by studying the language-rich wallpaper... As for the women – lucky things – they can enjoy their autonomous L2 reading in a nice, dry long house...*

Read, read, read, Magenta hummed softly to herself. All you need is to read. This is one of the most interesting cases of autonomous learning that I've ever encountered. I wonder what Dexter will say when I tell him about it?

She walked quietly past the two long houses and then hurried onwards towards the trail that led back to the Empowerment Center.

A cold wind was beginning to blow, and the sun was already sinking towards the bare mountains in the west.

# COMPARATIVE CULTURE

The Journal of Miyazaki International College

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