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In comparison to the grand edifices of thought constructed by major thinkers, painstaking textual research of scholars may seem dry and peripheral. Yet it can be basic to an understanding of the thinkers. In the case of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) this is particularly so, for his writings prior to 1871 were virtually all translations from English-language texts. Only when we contrast the original texts with his Japanese versions can we fully grasp what translation entailed, and observe in its most concrete and minute aspects the creative process by which his early thought came into being. The discovery of new texts hitherto unknown to scholars is, consequently, of vital importance.

The Problem

Apart from the three volumes of *Conditions in the West* (Seiyō Jijō), which were published in 1866, 1867, and 1870, perhaps the most important of Fukuzawa's early translations is his 1869
geography, *All the Countries of the World* (Sekai kunizukushi). It was by far the best text on the subject available in Japan at the time; it was immensely popular, and contained ideas that went beyond geography and were central to the formation of Fukuzawa's thought during the 1870s.

Fukuzawa began his Preface to the work as follows:

A proverb states that 'disaster arises from below.' If this is so, then, good fortune also must arise from below. Advancing this argument a step further, this means that whether disaster or good fortune befalls a country depends on nothing other than the level of knowledge of the common people. This work, *All of the Countries of the World*, is intended solely to acquaint children and women with conditions in the wider world, to start them on the road to knowledge, and, by so doing, to lay the foundation for the future good fortune of Japan.\(^{(1)}\)

For the remainder of the Preface, Fukuzawa then wrote, he would translate the words of a certain Warupuranku, a gentleman from the state of New York in the United States. The passage dealt with the role of teachers in the life of a nation and with educational conditions in New York State.

Almost three decades later, in 1898, the first edition of his *Collected Works* (Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū) was published. For this edition Fukuzawa wrote short commentaries on the more important works in the collection. In these “Introductory Remarks (shogen)” he made three comments on *All the Countries of the World*. He wrote of the importance of geography to the people of Japan; he noted that he had deliberately imitated the easy-to-memorize versified prose of Edo-period geographies; and he explained why
I wrote *All the Countries of the World* in an extremely popular or even vulgar style (*zokuchū no zokubun*). Even I had to admit the style was slightly ludicrous, and I was certain that the community of Western scholars, to say nothing of Confucianists, would jeer at it. I could have adopted a pose of indifference and simply ignored their criticisms, and that would have been the end of it, but if possible, I wanted to forestall them. What I came up with was the idea of adding a measure of gravity to the book by including a translation of a very difficult English-language text — something rather unsuited to the book itself. I translated the words of the American scholar Warupuranku and placed them at the beginning of the work in lieu of a preface [of my own]. For Japanese scholars of the West today, translating such a text would be an easy matter, but for me, thirty years ago, it was extremely difficult. [Including it] was just a passing fancy on my part.\(^{(2)}\)

Fukuzawa’s explanation is after-the-fact, slightly tongue-in cheek, and probably should not be taken seriously. He had to write something, and he doubtless thought that this bit of whimsy would appeal to his readers. In fact, the Warupuranku text he translated for his Preface was no more difficult than the texts he translated for the body of the work, and much easier than some of the texts he earlier had translated for *Conditions in the West*.

Despite Fukuzawa’s use of the Warupuranku passage, the identity of the author, remained a mystery. The noted Fukuzawa scholar Dr. Tomita Masafumi wrote in 1992: “Even today, it is not clear what kind of person Waruburanku was, or which English-language work contained his views on education.”\(^{(3)}\) Earlier I had made several unsuccessful attempts to solve the mystery, but
on reading Tomita's words in 1995, I decided to give it another try.

**Deciphering Romaji**

The first step was to figure out what the name Warupuranku might be in English. This was not easy. There is a large gap between the sounds of the English and Japanese languages. For a foreigner, the sounds of Japanese, like Spanish, are fairly easy to enunciate. A few complications apart, the language by and large consists of vowels and of syllables composed of a consonant and a vowel. English, in contrast, has a more complex sound system, and is more difficult to pronounce. As a consequence, when English names or words are transcribed into kana (the Japanese syllabic script), or into romaji (kana transcribed into “Roman” letters), the transcriptions do not always approximate the original words. Occasionally the fit is close:

- *mekanizumu* = mechanism
- *raisu* = rice
- *posutomodan* = postmodern

But often the *romaji* version is so different as to be almost unintelligible:

- *raberu* = label
- *patokaa* = patrol car
- *boranteia* = volunteer
sabaibaru  =  survival
ramu shichū  =  lamb stew

English words containing the consonants "v" and "l," are especially difficult since these sounds do not exist in Japanese. The "l" is rendered in kana by various "r" syllables ra, ri, ru, re, or ro, and "v," often, as ba, bi, bu, be, or bo.

In contrast to many of his contemporaries who even during the early Meiji era still wrote in dense Japanese-style Chinese, Fukuzawa's writing style was a model of lucidity. Though the difficulties he encountered were immense, his solutions were mostly elegant. But even Fukuzawa could not entirely escape the inherent difficulty of using kana to render Western names. In translating passages on early French history for the third volume of Conditions in the West, for example, he came across the names Charles the Simple and John the Fearless. He must have asked himself whether to translate the epithets "simple" and "fearless" into Japanese, or simply to render them in kana. He chose the latter option: the result was Chaaresu ze shinpuru and Jon ze fushiiruresu.¹⁴ One wonders what his early Meiji readers made of these renditions. Even more baffling, one imagines, were his renderings of Charles the Bald, a grandson of Charlemagne who became the king of France and died in 877, and Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy who died six hundred years later in 1477. Both became Chaaresu ze baruto.¹⁵ Fukuzawa worked quickly, and, during the months in 1869 in which he wrote the chapters on France, he also was reading other English and American works, teaching students, managing his school,
and carrying on a publishing enterprise. By the time he encountered Charles the Bold, he had probably forgotten about Charles the Bald.

The Search

As for Warupuranku, the "ru" and "ra," sound obviously raise the "l" and "r" problem. "Waru," could be "War" or "Wahr," but it could equally well be "Wall," "Wal," "Wahl," "Wohl," "Woll," or "Wol," and even "Ahl," "Ohl," "Var," "Ver," or "Val" were not out of the question. "Puranku" could be "plank" or "planck" or "prank," but, since the distinction between "pu" and "bu" is small in Japanese and since many typographical errors are found in Fukuzawa's early works, it could also be "brank," "blank," "branck," or "blanck." Combining these several readings creates a gamut of possibilities, of which Wallbank, Wohlbank, Wolbank, Warbank, and Wahrplanck are only a few of the most plausible.

More than a decade ago, I looked up many of these possibilities in the card catalog at Harvard's Widener Library, but to no avail. Again, four or five years later, while investigating another matter in the research collection of the New York Public Library, I spent half an hour looking through its card catalog. What better place to locate "a gentleman from New York State!" But I had no more luck there than at Harvard. Warupuranku remained an enigma.

Then, three years ago, my wife read an article in the May, 1992 issue of Natural History about a surveyor from New York State named Colvin Verplanck, and asked whether this could be the
Warupuranku I had once mentioned. “Ver” was some distance from “Waru,” but since Japanese in 1869 had no standard kana for the transcription of “v” sounds, it seemed like a promising lead. I had assumed all along that Warupuranku was either a geographer or an educator. It turned out, however, that Colvin Verplanck was born in 1847. That was too late. The possibility that he had, while still in his late teens, written the passage cited by Fukuzawa in 1869 seemed too slight to pursue. While gathering the information on Colvin, I also checked other Verplancks — a Dutch name — in the Widener Library card catalog. I found multiple entries for a Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, but most of his writings dated from the 1830s and 1840s. That was too early. My “iron rule,” arrived at over a period of years by trial and error, was that it was useless to search for Fukuzawa’s English sources in books published before 1850. Fukuzawa was keenly aware that knowledge was constantly advancing, and displayed an absolute disdain for books that were not up-to-date. Again, I dropped my search.

In early 1995, after reading Tomita and rereading a section of All the Countries of the World, I decided to give the puzzle a final try. Since I had not had much luck in deciphering the name of the author, I wondered if it might not be possible to track him down by using the educational data contained in the translated passage. I translated the Warupuranku passage from the Preface back into English, made a list of possible renderings of Warupuranku, and showed them to Marylene Altieri, the Special Collections Librarian at the Gutman Library of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. I am pleased to acknowledge her help. A few days
later, she sent me copies of the *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the State of New York*, dated January 8, 1834 and January 7, 1835. These were the earliest official reports on education in New York State in the library collection. Ms. Altieri noted that there were already 522,618 children attending school and 9690 school districts in 1834. She also ran the name Verplanck through the computerized catalog of Harvard's library, and printed out a listing of the works of Gulian C. Verplanck. None of the titles dealt with education in New York State.

**Identification of the Author and Text**

The number of school districts in 1834, however, gave me a new clue. While Warupuranku might have rendered the figure of 522,618 school children as "no fewer than 500,000," he most certainly would have rounded out the figure of 9690 school districts to 10,000, and not the "9000" figure given in the Preface to *All the Countries of the World*. This strongly suggested that Fukuzawa's translation of Warupuranku was from a work based on data taken earlier than 1834, from a time when the number of school districts was smaller. Perhaps the passage came from a work written by Verplanck during the 1820s or the early 1830s. Might this be an exception to my "iron rule?"

I went once again to the card catalog in Widener, since many older and little used books had yet to be entered in the computer. There were many listings for Gulian C. Verplanck: books, orations,
and addresses. One was a volume published in New York in 1833 by J. and J. Harper. The title on the spine of the book was *Literary and Historical Discourses*; the full title given on the title page was *Discourses and Addresses on Subjects of American History, Arts, and Literature*. The book contained seven pieces by Verplanck, including two eulogies. One eulogy was titled "The Schoolmaster — Tribute to the Memory of Daniel H. Barnes." It had been delivered in November, 1829, at the annual meeting of the High School Society of New York City.

Daniel Barnes was born in 1785. He graduated from Union College in Schenectady, New York, and after holding several jobs, become associate principal of the High School of New York and the chairman of its Classics Department. He was an avid naturalist with a special interest in conchology. In 1828, while on his way to attend the annual examination of the Rensselaer School in Troy, New York, "he was thrown from a stage-coach, and expired a few hours afterwards." He was then 43 years old. It is not surprising that Verplanck was asked to write the "tribute" since he was the Vice-President and one of twenty-five "managers" (trustees) of the High School Society, the board that superintended the finances and instruction at Barnes’ school.

The first two-thirds of Verplanck’s eulogy treats the life and achievements of the hapless schoolmaster. The last third, the section more relevant to the study of Fukuzawa, is a general discussion of the role of education in the life of a people; by stressing its importance, Verplanck had placed the life of Barnes in a larger and more meaningful context. The last third of the eulogy
strongly resembled the Preface of *All of the Countries of the World*. I compared the two texts, keeping in mind that Fukuzawa’s style of translation often ranged from the literal to the free.

1. Verplanck began his discussion of education by comparing schoolmasters to statesmen, warriors, and orators. The latter group, he argued, “may be more splendid topics for ambitious eloquence,” but “in public advantage,” no subject can be “more fruitful” than that of the schoolmaster. In his translation, Fukuzawa uses the same terms and presents the same argument.

2. Verplanck next spoke of “the enlightened liberality of many of our state governments,” which, “by extending the common-school system over their whole population, has brought elementary education to the door of every family.” In Fukuzawa’s translation, “enlightened liberality” becomes *bunmei kandai no shushi*, “common-school system” becomes *minkan ni shōgakkō no hō*, and the translation ends with *maiko maijin, kyoiku o kōmurazaru mono nashi*. The correspondence is point to point.

3. Verplanck followed numerical data on education in New York State: fifty academies and numerous private schools, approximately nine thousand school districts, half a million students, and nine or ten thousand more in the seminaries of higher learning. Fukuzawa presents exactly the same figures, though he alters slightly the order of presentation.

4. Since education is so widespread, Verplanck wrote, “Of what incalculable influence, then, for good or for bad, upon the dearest interests of society,” must be the character of the teacher.” Fukuzawa’s translation of this line is as close to the English
original as Japanese can be.

5. Verplanck next spoke of the three hundred thousand persons who voted in the recent state elections, and suggested that in thirty years’ time, most would be dead and succeeded by the children now being taught by the ten thousand schoolmasters in New York State. Again, Fukuzawa’s Preface corresponds almost exactly to that of The Schoolmaster.

6. Verplanck then digressed slightly from his eulogy of Barnes and posed a rhetorical question: “What else is there in the whole of our social system of such extensive and powerful operation on the national character?” His answer was: “There is one other influence more powerful, and but one. It is that of the MOTHER.” He developed this theme at some length, and then returned to the subject of the schoolmaster for his final paragraphs. In his own Preface Fukuzawa follows the Verplanck text and shifts his focus from schoolmasters to mothers, and then back to schoolmasters. His version of the last paragraphs is condensed but replicates the same argument.

The ideas are identical, the figures agree, the sequence of information is the same, and even many of the English expressions are translated literally into Japanese. There can be no doubt that The Schoolmaster is the text that Fukuzawa translated for his Preface to All the Countries of the World. Warupuranku, then, is none other than Gulian Crommelin Verplanck.

The Author
Verplanck was born on Wall Street in New York City in 1786, just twenty years after the American Revolution. Wall Street was then a fashionable residential quarter of “dwelling houses, with here and there a church.” He was the descendant of a Dutch settler who had come to New Amsterdam (the original name of what is today New York City) in 1635. His father was a judge and congressman. Verplanck graduated from Columbia in 1801, a year after his maternal grandfather retired from the presidency of that college. At age fourteen, Verplanck was the youngest person ever to receive a Columbia BA. He then read law and was admitted to the bar in 1807.

Like his maternal grandfather and father, Verplanck was a Federalist and active in politics. Between 1820 and 1822, he was a member of the New York Assembly, where he devoted himself chiefly to questions of education. Between 1821 and 1824, he taught at the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York. In 1825, he was elected to Congress and served until 1833, eventually becoming chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, a most influential position. In 1834, he ran as the Whig candidate for the mayor of New York City, losing by two hundred votes. He later served for four years in the New York Senate, the highest judicial body of the state. The Dictionary of American Biography, from which most of this information is taken, also notes that, “He belonged to many societies and was a member of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York, 1826–1870, and president of the Board of the Commissioners of Emigration, 1848–70.” He died
Verplanck was not only a politician and educator, but also an author and orator as well. During his three years at the General Theological Seminary he wrote *Essays on the Nature and Uses of the Various Evidences of Revealed Religion* (1824). The range and variety of his book-length writings were also considerable: *The Influence of Moral Causes upon Opinion, Science, and Literature* (1840), *Shakespeare’s Plays: with his Life* (1847), and *The Educational Labors and Publications of Francis Wayland* (1865). Verplanck was also much in demand as a speaker: In 1818, he gave an anniversary speech before the New York Historical Society, and in 1824, he spoke before the American Academy of Fine Arts. He gave commencement addresses at Columbia University in 1830, at Geneva College in 1833, at Amherst College in 1834, and at Union College in 1836. The title of the last address was, “On the Advantages and Dangers of the American Scholar.” He also wrote political satires.

**Fukuzawa and The Schoolmaster**

As so often happens in the study of history, solving one mystery gives rise to another. I now wondered how this tribute to an obscure teacher came into Fukuzawa’s hands.

It was unlikely that Fukuzawa bought Verplanck’s *Literary and Historical Discourses* during his stay in New York in 1867. By then the book was no doubt out of print, and even if it were not,
Fukuzawa probably would not have purchased a book published in 1833. To this extent, my "iron rule" still holds. The full title on the title page, *Discourses and Addresses on Subjects of American History, Arts, and Literature* would also have discouraged him, since he had already dealt with American history in the first volume of *Conditions in the West*. He finished the second, more general, volume of the work in the summer of 1867. By the autumn of 1867, he was probably thinking ahead to the chapters he would write on European history for the third volume. While in the United States, Fukuzawa bought many books to use as texts at his school, but it is hardly likely that he would have considered using the Verplanck's *Discourses* as a school text.

Another possibility was that he had been given the book by someone who owned it, or was in possession of a separate printing of the eulogy and knew that Fukuzawa was a schoolmaster. If this was the case, Fukuzawa probably received the book in the United States in 1867, since, as far as we know, most of his contacts with Americans in Japan came later. But how many of the Americans he met in the United States in 1867 would have known that the young interpreter accompanying the bakufu mission was also a schoolmaster? One would guess very few.

Still another possibility was a series of small books titled The Family Library, which were published in New York in 1855. I came across this series in the Aoi Bunko at the Shizuoka Prefectural Central Library. All fifteen or so volumes in the Aoi Bunko bore the stamp of the Gaikokugata, the bakufu foreign office in which Fukuzawa worked for almost eight years as a
Warupuranku on the Death of a Schoolmaster

translator. One volume, contained two essays by Verplanck, though neither was "The Schoolmaster." It was conceivable that a volume missing from the Aoi Bunko had it; we know some books owned by the Gaikokugata did not find their way into the Aoi Bunko collection. But it seemed unlikely, since "the Schoolmaster" is short and the essays in the volumes of The Family Library are all quite long.

A fourth possibility was that while in the United States in 1867 Fukuzawa bought a reader with an excerpted version of the Verplanck eulogy. Readers, generally, are textbooks containing poems and short excerpts from the prose of famous authors, scholars, and political figures. Two such readers are in the collection of books once owned by Fukuzawa at the Fukuzawa Memorial Center for Modern Japanese Studies at Keio University.\(^{(11)}\) Though neither contains essays by Verplanck, they do indicate Fukuzawa's interest in the genre.

On returning from Japan in the autumn of 1996, I went through the collection of readers in the Gutman Library once again. Working back from books published in 1867, I found several containing excerpts from Verplanck. Sanders' New Series: The School Reader, Fifth Book (1867) contained pages from his "American History," as did Town and Holbrook's Progressive Series: The Progressive Fifth (1866). The Select Academic Speaker (1860) by Henry Coppee had portions of two of his essays, "Penn and Lycurgus" and "The Dutch Republic." The American Common-School Reader and Speaker (1857) had his "Impressions from History," an address given before the New York Historical Society. Clearly, Verplanck was
sufficiently well regarded to be chosen for such texts.

Finally, looking through the readers published in 1852, I found Cobb's *New North American Reader*. The author was Lyman Cobb; the book was published in New York City by J. C. Riker. Lesson Two of the reader was "The Schoolmaster." What was significant was that it contained only the last third of Verplanck's eulogy. That is to say, it began at exactly the point that Fukuzawa began his translation of it in *All the Countries of the World*. If this was the source, Fukuzawa may not even have known that the essay was a eulogy, since the portion in Cobb makes no mention of Daniel Barnes.\(^{(12)}\)

Of course, it is still possible that Fukuzawa found the Verplanck essay in some other text. I cannot state categorically that Cobb was his source. But I now feel almost certain that he bought Cobb's reader in New York, read Verplanck's essay, liked everything it said about education, schoolmasters, and mothers, and translated it for his Preface. We know he bought books in New York City in 1867. The dates of Cobb's reader, published in 1852, fit my "iron law" quite nicely.

**The Texts**

Verplanck's "Schoolmaster" and Fukuzawa's Preface, follow below:

**The Schoolmaster**(pp.173~175)
Nor were the peculiar obligations of the minister of a holy religion, forgotten by him in those of the teacher of human learning. He omitted none of those opportunities which the course of discipline and instruction constantly presented, to impress on those under his care notions of sound morals, to correct those of false honour and pride, to awaken rational piety, or to quicken those moral sensibilities, which, though they may be dormant in youth, are rarely dead.

It has been to me a source of pleasure, though a melancholy one, that in rendering this public tribute to the worth of our departed friend, the respectable members of two bodies, one of them the most devoted and efficient in its scientific inquiries, the other comprising so many names eminent for philanthropy and learning, have met to do honour to the memory of a Schoolmaster.

There are prouder themes for the eulogist than this. The praise of the statesman, the warrior, or the orator, furnish more splendid topics for ambitious eloquence; but no theme can be more rich in dessert, or more fruitful in public advantage.

The enlightened liberality of many of our state governments (amongst which we may claim a proud distinction for our own) by extending the common-school system over their whole population, has brought elementary education to the door of every family. In this State, it appears from the Annual Reports of the Secretary of the State, there are besides the fifty incorporated academies and numerous private schools, about nine thousand school districts, in each of which instruction is regularly given. These contain at present half a million of children taught in the single State of New-York. To these may
be added nine or ten thousand more youth in the higher seminaries of learning, exclusive of the colleges.

Of what incalculable influence, then, for good or for evil, upon the dearest interests of society, must be the estimate entertained for the character of this great body of teachers, and the consequent respectability of the individuals who compose it!

At the recent general election in this State, the votes of above three hundred thousand persons were taken. In thirty years the great majority of these will have passed away; their rights will be exercised, and their duties assumed by those very children, whose minds are now open to receive their earliest and most durable impressions from the ten thousand schoolmasters of this State.

What else is there in the whole of our social system of such extensive and powerful operation on the national character? There is one other influence more powerful, and but one. It is that of the Mother. The forms of a free government, the provisions of wise legislation, the schemes of the statesman, the sacrifices of the patriot, are as nothing compared with these. If the future citizens of our republic are to be worthy of their rich inheritance, they must be made so principally through the virtue and intelligence of their Mothers. It is in the school of maternal tenderness that the kind affections must be first roused and made habitual—the early sentiment of piety awakened and rightly directed—the sense of duty and moral responsibility unfolded and enlightened. But next in rank and in efficacy to that pure and holy source of moral influence is that of the Schoolmaster. It is powerful already. What would it be if in every one of those school districts which we now count by annually increasing thousands, there were to be found one teacher well-
informed without pedantry, religious without bigotry or fanaticism, proud and fond of his profession, and honoured in the discharge of its duties? How wide would be the intellectual, the moral influence of such a body of men? Many such we have already amongst us—men humbly wise and obscurely useful, whom poverty cannot depress, nor neglect degrade. But to raise up a body of such men, as numerous as the wants and the dignity of the country demand, their labours must be fitly remunerated and themselves and their calling cherished and honoured.

The schoolmaster's occupation is laborious and ungrateful; its rewards are scanty and precarious. He may indeed be, and he ought to be, animated by the consciousness of doing good, that best of all consolations, that noblest of all motives. But that too must be often clouded by doubt and uncertainty. Obscure and inglorious as his daily occupation may appear to learned pride or worldly ambition, yet to be truly successful and happy, he must be animated by the spirit of the same great principles which inspired the most illustrious benefactors of mankind. If he bring to his task high talent and rich acquirement, he must be content to look into distant years for the proof that his labours have not been wasted—that the good seed which he daily scatters abroad does not fall on stony ground and wither away, or among thorns, to be choked by the cares, the delusions or the vices of the world. He must solace his toils with the same prophetic faith that enabled the greatest of modern philosophers,* amidst the neglect or contempt of his own times to regard himself as sowing the seeds of truth for posterity and the care of Heaven. He must arm himself

* Bacon, "Serere posteris ac Deo immortalii."
世 界 國 盡 序

戦に云く、災は下より起ると、抑も災害下より起こるときは、幸福も亦階下より生ず可し。然れ則ち天下の福
福は、其源蓋し他にあらず、国民一般の知恵に係ること推して知るべきみ。今且つ世界国盡の著あるも、専ら
児童婦女子の望をして世界の形勢を解せしめ、其知識の端緒を開き、以て天下幸福の基を立たとするの微意の
書成るに及ぶ、合衆国ニューヨーク州の士人「カルランク」氏の文章を翻譯して、序文に代る此事の如し。
世の文人、筆を下して人の功業を表するもの、常に其文の趣工を盛に、或は故事秀英、文章華麗、自から人をして功名青雲の趣を想像せしむる
をの詰からず、然りと難とも、事實天下の裨益を謀り、世の為めに功を成すの大小何如何を論ずるときは、誰か
学校教授の右に出るものあらん。何物か人民教育の重大なるに若かん。

我合衆国の諸州、文明最大の趣旨に基づき、民間に小学校の法を設け、每戸毎人、其教育を被らざるもなし。
例へばニューヨーク州に於ては、闇州を九千区に分ち、每一区必ず一所の学校を開て数を授けり。但し五十
所の大学校、及び多くの私塾は、此数の外なり。此学校に出入する児童の数、五十万人に下らず。此外上級の学校
に於て数を受ける少年も、九千乃至一万人の
数あり。これに由て考えば、人間交際の大事に関し、或はは益を為し、或は害を為し、其禍福の源なる可きこと
は、教授先生の風俗と、其人品の高下に在ること知る可し。豊これを至重の任と云す可けんや。
Notes

(1) *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū* (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1958), Vol. 2, p. 581. This is the standard edition of his collected works, to which I will refer in footnotes hereafter.

(2) *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū*, Vol. 1, pp. 36-38. The 1898, five-volume edition of his *Collected Works* was published by Jiji Shinpōsha. It should be noted that the name of the “American scholar” in these “Introductory Remarks” is given as Waruburanku, whereas in *All the Countries of the World*, it had been given as Warupuranku. In Japanese the distinction between “pu” and “bu” is small—just a matter of different diacritical marks.


(6) At this point, I was almost ready to accept Professor Kiyooka Eiichi’s humorous suggestion that Warupuranku might a “warui prank” that Fukuzawa played on later generations of scholars.

(7) These were written for presentation to the state legislature and printed in Albany, New York by Croswell, Van Benthuysen, and Burt.

(8) William Cullen Bryant, “A Discourse on the Life, Character, and Writings of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, LL. D.” This eulogy was delivered before the New York Historical Society, May 17, 1870.


(10) I am indebted to Mr. Tsukamoto, the librarian of the Aoi Bunko, for access to the collection.

(11) Professor Nishikawa Shunsaku, the director of the Fukuzawa Memorial Center until 1996, generously gave me both intellectual and practical help during my 1996 stay in Japan. I am pleased to
Warupuranku on the Death of a Schoolmaster

acknowledge this. The Center’s collection of books once owned by Fukuzawa consists mainly of volumes dating from the 1870s and 1880s. Most of the books used by Fukuzawa during the 1860s have disappeared. A few remain here and there on shelves in the main Keio Library.

(12) Cobb called the first edition of his reader, published in 1835, Cobb’s *North American Reader*. Lesson One was “The Schoolmaster”. Cobb revised the reader in 1845 and called the new edition *Cobb’s New North American Reader*. The full title of the new edition was *Cobb’s New North American Reader; or, Fifth Reading Book; Containing a Great Variety of Interesting, Historical, Moral, and Instructive Reading Lessons in Prose and Poetry from Highly Esteemed American and English Writers*. In the new edition, which contained additional lessons, Lesson One was a disquisition on “The Elevated Character of Women” and Lesson Two, “The Schoolmaster.” Other lessons give some idea of the nature of the book: “The Moral Effects of Intemperance,” “Danger of Bad Habits,” “The Idle School-boy,” “Change is not Reform,” “Melancholy Decay of the Indians,” “Mont Blanc in the Gleam of Sunset,” and one, by Francis Wayland, “Intellectual and Moral Education of the People, the only Means of Safety to the Government.” This kind of reader furnished the materials for the *shūshin* textbooks of the early Meiji era.