東海學報第三十六卷(一)

（文學院）

Tunghai Journal Vol. 36(1) 1995

(College of Arts)

人文科學

目　錄

論亂中有序的〈雜言詩〉

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摘　要

　　在我國的古典詩歌當中，有所謂的〈雜言詩〉。許多人以為，既然是「雜」言，當然就是亂七八糟、毫無條理的。李白最擅長雜言，他是一位天才作家，意到筆隨，不為格律所拘，所謂雜言詩當然是隨心所欲的極度放縱，那有什麼規律可循？

　　既然爭論的是「格律」的問題，所以本文就從「格律」的角度切入，去全面觀察雜言詩的「格律」。其實所謂〈雜言詩〉並不是一個正式的名稱，在歷代分體選本中，從來沒有出現過〈雜言詩〉這個名稱，它的正式名稱是〈七言古詩〉。為什麼〈雜言詩〉的正式名稱是〈七言古詩〉呢？本文有詳細的說明。此外雜言詩是有一定的基調的，絕大部分的雜言詩，都以「七言」為其基本句子，只不過在七言句中，偶爾加入一些非七言句，使它變成不是齊言的詩；而這些非七言句的出現位置，似乎頗為規律，並非全然雜亂無章。再者，前人所作的〈雜言詩〉絕大部分具有強烈的「樂府性」，它顯然是隨著音樂的旋律而為長短，因此，它是我國詩歌中，和音樂合得最為緊密的一種。本文大致分為以下幾方面去討論：

一　緒言
二　雜言本為七言中之一體
三　雜言詩的基調
四　雜言詩與樂府之關係
五　雜言句出現之位置
六　結論

一、緒　言

　　所謂雜言詩，是對齊言而說的。我國詩歌絕大部分是齊言，近體的絕句、律詩，當然都是齊言的。唐代雖有少數作家嘗試寫作五七雜律，但並未獲得詩人的普遍認同[1]。排律則更是非齊言不可，否則中間就難以對仗了；至於古體，固然偶見雜言，但齊言的古體也遠較雜言古體的數量為多。以唐人而言，李白集中，雜言約佔古體（含樂府）中之百分之廿六；杜甫集的古體詩中，雜言則只有百分之十而已[2]。杜甫的百分之十，在一般唐人的雜言比例而言，已略偏高，李白的百分之廿六，則更是罕見。

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[1] 請參閱李立信〈律詩試釋〉一文，見《六朝隋唐文學學術討論會》論文集，八十二年四月；國立中正大學，中文研究所出版。

[2] 據偉豐書局《李白詩集校注》統計得雜言九十三首，佔古體六百四十九首中之百分之廿六。另據仇著《杜詩詳註》統計，杜甫古風四百二十餘首，雜言得四十三首，約佔百分之十。

我們必須更進一步說明的是，在我國古典詩歌當中，齊言才是常態，雜言實係變態。正常的人都有一雙手、一雙腳，如果榮總今天接生了兩雙手、一雙腳的嬰兒，我們仍然得承認他是「人」，只不過和雙手雙腳的正常人稍有不同罷了，這個變態的嬰兒長大之後，也許會成一位傑出的醫生或科學家，對人類做出極大的貢獻。所以變態未必就不如常態。我們說雜言是「變態」並無任何褒貶之意，而純粹是從外在形式上來著眼。

《詩經》當中，四言句佔了百分之九十二，四言除外的一到九言，只佔了百分之八，這兩個數字完全不成比例。百分之九十二是絕對多數，而百分之八則顯得份量十分單薄。所以《詩經》裏的詩，四言才是常態，非四言無疑就是變態了。在我古典詩當中，有百分之九十以上是齊言，只有不到百分之十是雜言，所以我們說雜言是我國詩歌中的「變態」，這是理由之一。

我國古典詩歌中的古體，主要分爲五言古詩和七言古詩兩大類。五言古詩清一色是齊言的；七言古詩則可分爲純七言和雜言兩種，又以純七言爲多。五言詩詩句的旋律基本上是二三結構，七言詩詩句的旋律則多爲四三結構，非七言之旋律勢必出現一二或二一結構（三言），二二或一三、三一結構（四言），三三或四二、二四結構（六言），至於八、九言則更是變化多端。原來單純的四三結構，可是在雜言詩裏，就必然要攙入一些「異調」，使得原有的詩歌旋律因而改觀。這是它不同於常態的理由之二。有關這一點曾永義先生〈中國詩歌的語言旋律〉一文有極詳細的闡述[3]，本文不再贅論。

再者，自《詩經》始，我國詩歌即以偶數句句腳押韻爲常，無論一韻到底或換韻，亦不論隔句押韻或逐句押韻（此種形式詩經中極少見），我國詩歌總以偶數句句腳入韻爲不變之鐵則。但雜言詩，尤其是本文中所提到最後的一種雜言詩，卻往往竄出於繩墨之外，或奇數句入韻而偶數句不入韻等，嚴重違背我國詩歌用韻之規律，此一現象，似可說明雜言詩之所以被視爲變態的理由之三。

由於我國詩歌絕大多數爲偶數句句腳押韻，所以偶句組合的形式就成爲我國詩歌與其他文體最大的分別所在。因此近體詩固然必定以兩句爲一聯，兩聯爲一篇而組成[4]；即古體基本上也是以兩句爲一單位。我們列舉詩例，必然以兩句爲一列舉單位。以單句例舉，基本上是斷章取意，並不可取。在此一觀念下，我國詩歌幾乎都是以偶數句成篇的，全篇詩歌由奇數句組成是頗爲罕見的，這當然是詩歌中的變態。而雜言詩即有相當

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[3]見曾永義教授《詩歌與戲曲》，聯經出版社。
[4]近體詩組成的主要觀念之一即是強調「偶」。平仄之組合，必是偶平偶仄，兩句一聯，兩聯一篇，組成近體最小的單位——絕句；由兩個單位組成一篇律詩。所以在近體詩裏最小的單位不是句子，而是「聯」。聯不可能是奇數句的組合，它一定是由偶數句組成。

部分是由奇數句組成的[5]。我們視雜言爲變態，這是理由之四。

綜合以上幾點來看，雜言詩似乎集變態之大成，成爲我國詩歌中最怪異的一種；前面提到的幾點，都與詩的格律有關，所以本文擬從「格律」的角度，來細加觀察。它既是亂中有序，以下試就其「有序」的部分，略抒所見。

二、雜言本爲七言中之一體

其實在我國的古典詩歌當中，並沒有〈雜言〉這一體，「雜言」只不過是個非正式的名稱而已。試翻開歷來的分體選本，如元代的《唐詩鼓吹》、《唐詩品彙》及清代的《唐詩三百首》、民初的《唐宋詩舉要》等選本，都是分體的，從來沒有一本詩歌選集上出現過〈雜言〉這一體。以上幾種選本，都蒐錄了部分唐人的雜言詩，不論這些雜言詩句子長短如何複雜，也不論這首雜言詩裏有沒有七言的句子，一律收入〈七言古詩〉中。如陳子昂〈登幽州臺歌〉：「前不見古人，後不見來者，念天地之悠悠，獨愴然而淚下。」一、二句是五言，三、四句是六言，全詩沒有一個七言句，但是在分體選本中，它只能收在〈七言古詩〉中[6]，否則即無所歸屬。從表面看來，這是極不合理的事，但是如果瞭解七言詩早期發展的背景，或許比較能認同這種現象[7]。

談到雜言和七言的關係，可從兩個方面來看。其一是從早期七言詩的發展來看：通篇之中，偶入一二非七言句，本屬早期七言之一體。其二是從唐人雜言加以歸納統計，可以發現絕大部分唐人之雜言詩皆以七言句爲其基調。本節先論第一點，第二點留待下節細論。七言原本是楚歌中之一體，所以早期七言全是騷體，甚至包括部分非七言句式在內，而其中七言猶多。試比較《楚辭·山鬼》與《宋書·樂志》〈今有人〉，或可從中探出一些訊息：

《楚辭·山鬼》	《宋書·樂志》〈今有人〉
若有人兮山之阿	若有人，山之阿
被薜荔兮帶女蘿	被服薜荔帶女蘿
既含睇兮又宜笑	既含睇，又宜笑
子慕予兮善窈窕	子戀慕予善窈窕
乘赤豹兮從文貍	乘赤豹，從文貍
辛夷車兮結桂旗	辛夷車駕結桂旗
被石蘭兮帶杜衡	被石蘭，帶杜衡
折芳馨兮遺所思	折芳拔荃遺所思
余處幽篁兮終不見	處幽室，終不見
天路險艱兮獨後來	天路險艱獨後來
（中略十一句）	
表獨立兮山之上	表獨立，山之上
雲容容兮而在下	雲何容容而在下
杳冥冥兮羌晝晦	杳冥冥，羌晝晦
東風飄飄兮神靈雨	東風飄飄神靈雨
風颯颯兮木蕭蕭	風颯颯，木蕭蕭
思公子兮徒離憂	思念公子徒以憂

　　比較這兩首詩歌的形式，可以明顯看出〈今有人〉的三三七句型，是由《楚辭·山鬼》的騷體七言變化而來。全詩奇數句全化爲兩個三言句，而偶數句則皆爲七言，這類雜言，很明顯是由七言詩變化而來。漢代此類詩歌頗不在少，如《漢書·馮奉世傳》中所收的〈上郡吏民美馮野王兄弟之歌〉：

　　大馮君，小馮君，

　　兄弟繼踵相因循。

　　聰明賢志惠吏民，

　　漫如魯術德化鈞，

　　周公康叔猶之君。

　　此詩一開頭就是用三、三、七的句型，自然是襲〈今有人〉一類的作法。其他如〈桓帝初天下童謠〉、〈平陵東〉、〈獻帝初童謠〉、都是用三、三、七句型寫作。這些詩，基本上都是七言句，間或雜入了一些非七言句，就成了所謂的〈雜言詩〉，可見歷來分體選本，都將〈雜言詩〉歸屬於〈七言古詩〉之下，原是有它的歷史背景的。

三、雜言詩的基調

　　唐宋諸人的雜言詩，除了少數的例外，基本上都是以七言句爲主。一篇之中，七言的句子至少佔一半以上，組成以七言爲主要句式的詩篇。試以各體咸工的杜詩爲例。杜甫古詩凡四百餘首，雜言有四十三首，約佔十分之一左右。茲列表如后：

詩　　題	總句數	一言	二言	三言	四言	五言	六言	七言	八言	九言	十言	十一言
今夕行	10							9			1	
兵車行	35			2		8	1	23			1	
麗人行	26					2		24				
投簡咸華兩縣諸子	14							13	1			
貧交行	4							3	1			
白絲行	16							15	1			
醉時歌贈廣文博士鄭虔	28					4		24				
天育驃騎歌	20							17		3		
沙苑行	24							23			1	
奉先劉少府新畫山水障歌	36			2		12		22				

偪側行贈畢曜	26				2	2	22				
去矣行	8				2	2	4				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之一	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之二	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之三	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之四	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之五	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之六	9		1			1	7				
乾元中寓居同谷縣作歌七首之七	9		1			1	7				
戲題王宰畫山水圖歌	15				2		13				
丈人山	8				4		4				
茅屋爲秋風所破歌	24		1				19		4		
石行	16						15	1			
石犀行	18						17	1			
徐卿二子歌	12						10				2
戲作花卿歌	12				1		10		1		
觀打魚歌	16						15	1			
入奏行贈西山檢察使竇侍御	29			3	1		22		3		
相從行贈嚴二別駕	22				2		20				
嚴氏溪放歌行	17		1		1		15				
冬狩行	28		1		1		24	1		1	
桃竹杖引贈章留後	21	1		2			13	1	2	1	1
韋諷錄事宅觀曹將軍畫馬圖歌	34						33			1	
莫相疑行	12						11		1		
君不見簡蘇徯	9						7	2			
李潮八分小篆歌	28			5			23				
醉爲馬墜諸公攜酒相看	28						27		1		
寄狄明府博濟	34				4		29			1	
復陰	8						7			1	
短歌行贈王郎司直	10						8				2

詩　題	總句數	一言	二言	三言	四言	五言	六言	七言	八言	九言	十言	十一言	十三言
醉歌行贈公安顏十少府請顧八題壁	13							11	2				
白絲行	8							7				1	
朱鳳行	8							7				1	
合　　計	740	1	10	12	2	46	12	614	12	16	12		3
百　分　比	100%			1.7%		6%		83%					

　　由上表的統計可知，杜甫四十三首雜言詩，共七百四十句。其中七言句有六百一十四句，佔全部句數的百分之八十三，係杜甫雜言詩中，使用得最爲頻繁的句式。其他一至十一言，全部合起來只佔百分之十七，七言句顯然是佔了絕對的優勢。其次是五言的四十六句，只佔了百分之六左右，三言則只有十二句，約佔百分之一點七左右。七、五、三言三種句式之和，超過了百分之九十，其餘句式則不到百分之十。

　　若再就單篇觀察，七言句佔全篇句數百分之九十以上者有十三篇；百分之八十至百分之九十者有十五篇；百分之七十至百分之八十者有十篇；百分之六十至百分之七十者有四篇；百分之五十至百分之六者有兩篇；但七言句佔全篇句數百分之五十以下者，卻連一篇都沒有，這是很值得重視的現象。

　　根據這樣的統計數字，我們可以明確的看出，杜甫的雜言詩，是以七言爲其基調，絕非雜亂無章，這和前節所談到的雜言特色，如出一轍，正可印證前說。其實除杜甫外，其他詩人所寫的雜言詩，大抵也是以七言爲基調，七言句所佔的比例也都在百分之五十以上。茲再以李白雜言爲例：

詩　題	總句數	一言	二言	三言	四言	五言	六言	七言	八言	九言	十言	十一言	十三言
遠別離	24			2	1	2	2	15	1			1	
公無渡河	22		2	4	2	5		8	1				
蜀道難	52	1	3		9	14	1	20	1	3			
梁甫吟	45			4		4		37					
戰城南	18					7	2	7	2				
將進酒	30			8		1		21					
行行遊且獵篇	13			1				12					
飛龍引其一	12			3		3		6					

飛龍引其二	15			4				11				
天馬歌	40			6		14		20				
行路難三首之一	14			4				10				
行路難三首之二	17			3		2		12				
行路難三首之三	17			1				16				
長相思	13			4				9				
上留田行	31			4	5	11		11				
春日行	21			4		2		15				
前有樽酒行二首之一	10			2				8				
前有樽酒行二首之二	9			2		2		5				
夜坐吟	14			8		1		5				
野田黃雀行	6						2	4				
箜篌謠	18					16		2				
雉朝飛	14			2		1		11				
上雲樂	59			8	10	32		6	2	1		
夷則格上白鳩拂舞辭	22			10	2	4		5		1		
日出入行	19				6	3	1	8	1			
胡無人	20			4		2		13	1			
北風行	19			1		5		11		2		
獨漉篇	26				18	6		2				
登高丘而望遠海	17			3		8		6				
楊叛兒	8					6		2				
雙燕離	12					10		2				
山人勸酒	20				2	12		6				
于闐採花	10					4		6				
鞠歌行	20					14		6				
王昭君二首之一	10					4		6				
中山孺子妾歌	12					9	1	2				
設辟邪伎鼓吹雉子班曲辭	15			2		8		5				
古有所思	7					1		5			1	

久別離	13				4		8	1			
白頭吟其一	30				14		16				
白頭吟其二	42				22		20				
臨江王節士歌	12			4	3		5				
司馬將軍歌	20				2		18				
君道曲	8				5		2	1			
白紵辭三首之一	8			2			6				
白紵辭三首之二	10			2			8				
鳴雁行	11			2	1		8				
君馬黃	14			2			12				
少年行	31			1			30				
長相思	11				3		8				
猛虎行	44				6		38				
襄陽歌	32			5			26	1			
玉壺吟	16				2		14				
元丹丘歌	10			4			6				
扶風豪士歌	28			4			24				
同族弟金城尉叔卿燭山水壁畫歌	14						12	2			
白毫子歌	16			2	4		10				
梁園吟	34			2			32				
鳴皋歌送岑徵君	53			10	4	22	11	3	1	1	1
橫江詞六首之一	4				2		2				
東山吟	11				2	2	6	1			
僧伽歌	18			4			14				
白雲歌送劉十六歸山	8			3	1		4				
笑歌行	38			15	4		17	2			
悲歌行	37			10	4		23				
江夏行	34				28		6				
和盧侍御通塘曲	28				7		21				
贈裴十四	8				2		6				

詩題	合計												
江夏贈韋南陵冰	34					2		28	4				
寄王屋山人孟大融	12					10		2					
寄韋南陵冰余江上乘興訪之遇尋顏尚書笑有此贈	20					14		6					
廬山謠寄盧侍御虛舟	29					6		23					
自漢陽病酒歸寄王明府	12					2		10					
夢遊天姥吟留別	45				4	8	6	25		2			
留別于十一兄逖裴十三遊塞垣	24					10		14					
魯郡堯祠送竇明府薄華還西京	49		1			2		45		1			
單父東樓秋夜送族弟沈之秦	26					8		18					
灞陵行送別	10					2		8					
送別	8					1		7					
宣州謝朓樓餞別校書叔雲	14					2		12					
早秋單父南樓酬竇公衡	14					4		10					
酬張司馬贈墨	8					4		4					
酬中都小吏攜斗酒雙魚于逆旅見贈	12					2		10					
答杜秀才五松山見贈	41					2		39					
答王十二寒夜獨酌有懷	53				4	6	1	40		1	1		
攜妓登梁王棲霞山孟氏桃園中	14					6		8					
三五七言	6			2		2		2					
對酒	7			2				5					
代寄情楚詞體	19						9	8	1				1
自溧水道哭王炎三首之二	8					6		2					
合　　計	1936	1	5	169	72	451	50	1140	14	26	12	3	1
百　分　比	100%			0.9%	0.4%	23%	0.3%	59%	15%				

　　李白的雜言詩比杜甫多了一倍以上，共九十三首，總計一千九百三十六句，七言有一千一百四十句，佔百分之五十九；五言有四百五十一句，佔百分之二十三；三言則有一百六十九句，只佔百分之零點九。七、五、三言加起來有一千七百六十句，佔百分之八十二點九。也就是說其一至十三言只佔百分之十七左右。由上表可知李白雜言中，亦

以七言句爲最多，五言其次，三言又其次，這種情形，和杜詩幾乎完全相同的。但李、杜的雜言，也有不同的所在，如杜詩雜言中的七言句，佔了百分之八十三，而李白雜言中的七言卻只有百分之五十九。杜詩雜言中的五言句只佔百分之六居次，李白雜言中的五言句亦居次，但卻佔了百分之二十三。杜甫雜言中之三、五、七言合計佔百分之九十點七，李白雜言中之三、五、七言合計只佔百分之八十二點九，可見李白雜言中三、五、七言外的句子比杜甫多出了百分之八，足見杜甫雜言較能遵循傳統的規範，而李白的雜言則往往竄出於繩墨之外。但不論如何變化，七言句仍居絕對多數，此不變之通例也。

唐人雜言之作，雖約只佔古風的十分之一，至少也有幾百首，無法一一細舉。可見七言句爲雜言詩之基調殊無可疑。王力《漢語詩律學》將古風分爲1.四言、2.五言、3.七言、4.五七雜言、5.三七雜言、6.三五七雜言、7.錯綜雜言等七種[8]。在全部古風當中，雜言所佔比例最多不超過百分之十，但在七類古風之中，雜言竟佔了四類。而且將雜言分爲三七、五七、三五七及錯綜雜言詩四種，最是令人不可理解。倒不如像古人將它放在七言古詩裏來得理想，也更能凸顯雜言詩的七言屬性。

四、雜言詩與樂府之關係

唐人雜言，李、杜最稱名家，但不論太白或少陵，其雜言詩皆具極明顯之樂府屬性。

先看李白詩，據《李白集校著》卷一爲古賦、卷二爲古詩、卷三至卷六爲樂府，計一百四十九首，其中雜言詩計五十四首（含詞兩首，如不含詞則爲五十二首）。卷七至卷二十五爲古近體詩七百餘首，其中半數爲古體計算，在四百首古體中，有四十一首雜言。合樂府中五十二首計之，李白集中之雜言合計爲九十三首。以古體樂府合併計算，雜言所佔約爲百分之二十六左右。比例極高。爲古今詩人所罕見。

李白集在樂府卷中之雜言，自係樂府無疑，其中在古近體中的四十一首雜言，題目上有「歌」、「行」、「吟」、「曲」或「歌行」者有十五首，這些詩，自然也應歸入樂府。加上本在樂府中的五十二首，共計六十七首。九十三首中，有六十七首是樂府，佔百分之八十，這個比例是極有正面意義的。

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[8]見王氏《漢語詩律學》第二章，第二十三節〈古風每句的字數〉，頁三〇四。

　　至於杜甫的雜言總計四十三首，在四十三首之中，題名爲「歌行」者有三首；題名爲「引」者一首，題名爲「歌」者十七首；題名爲「行」者十六首；合計爲三十七首。然「歌」、「行」、「引」、「歌行」等均屬樂府，四十三首中竟有三十七首爲樂府，佔百分之八十五。此一數字，與李白雜言中之樂府佔百分之八十，性質甚爲類似．白居易新樂府五十首，皆以雜言出之，則雜言之樂府屬性已無可疑。

　　孔廣森於《詩聲分例》云：

> 今之詩主於文，古之詩主於歌。歌有徐疾之節，清濁之和；或長言
> 之，或詠歎之，累數句而無以韻爲；或繁音促奏，至於句句有韻，字
> 字有歌，而不厭其多。

　　可見「主於歌」之樂府，有「徐疾之節，有清濁之和」、「或長言之，或詠歎之」。那麼樂府詩每以長短參差之雜言句出之，就是理所當然的事了。可見雜言詩之樂府屬性就不辯而自明了。

五、雜言句出現之位置

　　我國詩歌絕大部分是齊言，雜言中之參差句式，實爲詩歌中的偏鋒，專走奇險一路，且似無一定之規律可尋，全憑作者個人之揮灑運用，或頓或挫，或抑或揚，意到筆隨，長短其句，初無定式。但細察唐宋諸人的雜言似又頗有規律，不盡雜亂無章。蓋天下事物，絕無雜亂無章而能有所樹立，茲將唐宋諸人之雜言，歸納爲以下幾類：

一、雜言句僅出現在篇首，餘皆爲整齊之七言

　　這一類的雜言，非七言句均集中在篇首，除篇首數句爲非七言外，餘均七言到底，如：

　　　　鳴雁行　　　　　　　　李白

胡雁鳴，辭燕山。昨發委羽朝度關。

一度銜蘆枝，南飛散落天地間。

連行接翼往復還。

客居煙波寄湘吳，淩霜觸雪毛體枯。

畏逢繒繳驚相呼，聞弦虛墜良可吁。

君更彈射何為乎？

此詩共十一句，一二句三言，第四句五言，餘均七言，非七言句全集中在篇首。又如：

沙苑行　　　　　　　　　　杜甫

君不見左輔白沙如白水，繚以周牆百餘里。

龍媒昔是渥洼生，汗血今稱獻於此。

苑中騋牝三千匹，豐草青青寒不死。

食之豪健西域無，每歲攻駒冠邊鄙。

王有虎臣司苑門，入門天廄皆雲屯。

驌驦一骨獨當御，春秋二時歸至尊。

至尊內外馬盈億，伏櫪在坰空大存。

逸群絕足信殊傑，倜儻權奇難具論。

景景逸阜藏奔突，往往坡陀縱超越。

角壯翻騰麋鹿遊，浮深簸蕩黿鼉窟。

泉出巨魚長比人，丹砂作尾黃金鱗。

豈知異物同精氣，雖未成龍亦有神。

在一首完整的七言詩之前冠上君不見、君不聞等三字句，以造成雜言是頗為常見的雜言形式之一。

節婦吟寄東平李司空師道　　張籍

君知妾有夫，贈妾雙明珠。

感君纏綿意，繫在紅羅襦。

妾家高樓連苑起，良人執戟明光裏。

知君用心如日月，事夫誓擬同生死。

還君明珠雙淚垂，何不相逢未嫁時。

此詩前四句五言，後六句七言，非七言句全集中在篇首。

二、非七言句只出現在篇末，餘皆為七言句。

這種情形正和第一類相反，所有非七言句都集中在篇末，如：

前有一樽酒行　　　　　李白

春風東來忽相遇，金樽淥酒生微波。

護花紛紛稍覺多，美人欲醉朱顏酡。

青軒桃李能幾何，流光欺人忽蹉跎。

君起舞，日西夕。

當年意氣不肯平，白髮如絲歎何益。

此詩凡十句，前六句句句入韻，七、八句忽轉為三言，九十句又再用七言。又如：

桃竹杖引贈章留後　　　　杜甫

江心磻石生桃竹，蒼波噴浸尺度足。

斬根削皮如紫玉，江妃水仙惜不得。

梓橦使君開一束，滿堂賓客皆歎息。

憐我老病贈兩莖，出入爪甲鏗有聲。

老夫復欲東南征，乘濤鼓枻白帝城。

路幽必為鬼神奪，拔劍或與蛟龍爭。

重為告曰：杖兮杖兮，

爾之生也甚正直，慎勿見水蹋躍學變化為龍。

使我不得爾之扶持，滅跡於君山湖水之青峰。

噫！

風塵澒洞兮豺虎咬人，忽失雙杖兮吾將曷從。

此詩凡廿一句，前十二句為整齊之七言，自「重為告曰」以後，除「爾之生也甚正直」外，餘皆為非七言句，極盡錯綜變化之能事，但非七言句皆集中在篇末。

長安道　　　　　白居易

花枝缺處花樓開，觀歌一曲酒一盃。

美人勸我急行樂，自古朱顏不再來。

君不見，外州客。

長安道，一迴來。一迴老。

此詩共九句，前四句七言，後五句全為三言，非七言句皆集中於篇末。

三、篇中雜入非七言者。如：

僧伽歌　　　　　　　李白

眞僧法號號僧伽，有時與我論三車。

問言誦咒幾千遍，口道恆河沙復沙。

此僧本住南天竺，爲法頭陀來此國。

戒得長天秋月明，心如世上青蓮色。

意清淨，貌稜稜。亦不減，亦不增。

瓶裏千年舍利骨，手中萬歲胡孫藤。

嗟予落泊江淮久，罕遇眞僧說空有。

一言懺盡波羅夷，再禮渾除妃輕垢。

此詩凡十八句，自第九句至十二句，皆爲三言，餘均七言；非七言集中在篇中出現。又如：

醉時歌　　　　　　　杜甫

諸公袞袞登臺省，廣文先生官獨冷。

甲第紛紛厭梁肉，廣文先生飯不足。

先生有道出羲皇，先生有才過屈宋。

德尊一代常坎軻，名重萬古知何用。

杜陵野客人更嗤，被褐短窄鬢如絲。

日糴太倉五升米，時走鄭老同襟期。

得錢即相覓，沽酒不復疑。

忘形到爾汝，痛飲眞吾師。

清夜沉沉動春酌，燈前細雨簷花落。

但覺高歌有鬼神，焉知餓死填溝壑。

相如逸才親滌器，子雲識字終投閣。

先生早賦歸去來，石田茅屋荒蒼苔。

儒術於我何有哉？孔丘盜跖俱塵埃。

石須聞此意慘愴，生前相遇且銜杯。

此詩共二十八句，前十二句及後十二句皆七言，中間四句以五言出之，可謂此類作品之典型代表。又如：

　　　行路難　　　　　　　　張籍

湘東行人長歎息，十年離家歸未得。

弊裘羸馬苦難行，僮僕飢寒少筋力。

君不見床頭黃金盡，壯士無顏色。

龍蟠泥中未有雲，不能生彼升天翼。

此詩共八句，五六句皆五言，第五句且於五言上加「君不見」三字，其餘皆為七言，非七言集中於全篇中間。

四、非七言句有時亦出現於一篇之首尾。如：

　　　僧伽歌　　　　　　　　李白

長相思，在長安，絡緯秋啼金井闌。

微霜淒淒簟色寒。

孤燈不明思欲絕，卷帷望有空長歎。

美人如花隔雲端。

上有青冥之高天，下有淥水之波瀾。

天長路遠魂飛苦，夢魂不到關山難。

長相思，摧心肝。

此詩共十四句，除開頭及結尾各用兩個三言句外，其餘皆七言。首尾皆用雜言。又如：

　　　　天育驃圖歌　　　　　　　　杜甫

　吾聞天子之馬走千里，今之畫圖無乃是。

　是何意態雄且傑，駿尾蕭梢朔風起。

　毛為綠縹兩耳黃，眼有紫燄雙瞳方。

　矯然龍性合變化，卓立天骨森開張。

　伊昔太僕張景順，監牧攻駒閲清峻。

　遂令大奴字天育，別養驥子憐神駿。

　當時四十萬匹馬，張公歎其材盡下。

　故獨寫眞傳世人，見之座右久更新。

　年多物化空形影，鳴呼健步何由騁。

　如今豈無騕褭與驊騮，時無王良伯樂死即休。

此詩凡二十句，除第一句及十、九二十句皆為九言外，其餘十七句均為七言。又如：

　　　　眞娘墓　　　　　　　白居易

　眞娘墓，虎丘道。

　不識眞娘鏡中面，唯見眞娘墓頭草。

　霜摧桃李風折蓮，眞娘死時猶少年。

　脂膚蕢手不牢固，世間有物難留連。

　難留連，易銷歇，塞北花，江南雪。

　　此詩凡十二句，開頭一、二句及結尾第九、十、十一、十二句皆為三言，餘中間六句為七言。

　　如前所述則所謂雜言，並非全然雜亂無章。尤其非七言句出現之位置，似頗規律，作者並非意到筆隨，任意長短其句，而是受到某種不成文格律的限制；加上前面論到它的七言屬性及樂府屬性，在在都足以說明，所謂雜言詩，其實它是在亂中有序的。所以本節所論到非七言句出現一篇中或首、或中、或尾的位置，並非全然沒有意義，它顯然代表了一種規律的存在，否則非七言句應該可以在篇中的任何位置上出現，不一定要在首、中、尾，而且非七言句的數量，也絕不會受限在一定比例之下，凡此種種都足以說明它是亂中有序的。

　　但是也有部分作家，不受既有格律的束縛，往往竄出於繩墨之外，李白、杜甫、任華等人皆有此類作品。這類作品的最大特色是：非七言句往往神出鬼沒，到處流竄，因此，表面看來，果真雜亂無章，但細加咀嚼，似又音韻鏘然，自成節奏。試以任華詩[9]為例：

寄李白　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　任華

　古來文章，有能奔逸氣，聳高格，清人新神，驚人魂魄，我聞當今有李白。

　大獵賦，鴻猶文。

　嗤長卿，笑子雲。

　班張所作瑣細不入耳，未知卿雲得在嗤笑限。

　登廬山，觀瀑布，

　海風吹不斷，江月照還空，余愛此兩句。

　登天台，望渤海，

　雲垂大鵬翼，山壓巨鰲背，斯言亦好在。

　至於他作不拘常律，振擺超騰，既俊且逸。

　或醉中操紙，或興來走筆。

　手下忽然片雲飛，眼前劃見孤峰出。

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[9]任華，中唐詩人，與李白、杜甫同時而輩份稍晚；蓋狂狷之徒。全唐詩卷二百六十一收其詩三首，即本文所引之三首，極見功力。

而我有時白日忽欲睡，睡覺欻然起搔背。

任生知有君，君也知有任生未。

中間聞道在長安，及余戻止，君已江東訪元丹。

邂逅不得見君面，每常把酒，向東望良久。

見說往年在翰林，胸中矛戟何森森。

新詩傳在宮人口，佳句不離明主心。

身騎天馬多意氣，目送飛鴻對豪賓。

承恩召入凡幾迴，待詔歸來仍半醉。

權臣妒盛名，群犬多吠聲。

有敕放君卻歸隱淪處，高歌大笑出關去。

且向東山為外臣，諸侯交迓馳朱輪。

白璧一雙買交者，黃金百鎰相知人，平生傲岸其志不可測。

數十年為客，未嘗一日低顏色。

八詠樓中坦腹眠，五侯門下無心憶。

繁花越臺上，細柳吳宮側。

綠水青山知有君，白雲明月偏相識。

養高兼養閒，可望不可攀。

莊周萬物外，范蠡五湖間。

人傳訪到滄海上。丁令王喬每往還。

蓬萊徑是曾到來，方丈豈唯方一丈。

伊余每欲乘興往相尋，江湖擁隔勞寸心。

今朝忽過東飛翼，寄此一章表胸臆。

儻能報我一片言，但訪任華有人識。

此詩凡七十七句，其中三言九句，五言十九句，九言八句，四言六句，而七言三十五句。七言居各句式之冠，且其句式長短之組合，節奏鏘然，是將前詩每句字數標示如下：

1. 453447、3333
2. 99
3. 33555、33555
4. 97、5774、7745
5. 7777、7777
6. 559、7777、7957
7. 7755、7755、5577
8. 7797、7777

全詩大體約可分為八段，各段之間隱然自成音節，並非全然雜亂無章。又：

寄杜拾遺　　　　　　　　　　　　任華

杜拾遺，名甫第二才甚奇。

任生與君別，別來已多時，何嘗一日不相思。

杜拾遺，知不知，昨日有人頌得數篇黃絹詞。

吾怪異奇特借問。果然稱是杜二之所為。

勢攫虎豹，氣騰蛟螭。

滄海無風似鼓蕩，華嶽平地欲奔馳。

曹劉俯仰慚大敵，沈謝逡巡稱小兒。

昔在帝城中，盛名君一個。

諸人見所作，無不心膽破。

郎官叢裏作狂歌，丞相閣中常醉臥。

前年皇帝歸長安，承恩闊步青雲端。

積翠庵游花匼匝，披香寓直月團欒。

英才特達承天睠，公卿無不相欽羨。

只緣汲黯好直言，遂使安仁卻為掾。

如今避地錦城隅，幕下英僚，每日相隨提至壺。

半醉起舞捋髭鬚，乍低乍昂傍若無。

古人制禮但為防俗士，豈得為君設之乎。

而我不飛不鳴亦何以，只待朝廷有知己。

已曾讀卻無限書，拙詩一句兩句在人耳。

如今看之總無益，又不能崎嶇傍朝市。

且當事耕稼，豈得便徒爾。

南陽葛亮為友朋，東山謝安作鄰里。

閒常把琴弄，悶即攜樽起。

鶯啼二月三月時，花發千山萬山裏，此時幽曠無人知。

火急將書憑驛使，為報杜拾遺。

　　此詩凡五十五句，三言三句，五言十一句，九言四句，四言四句，八言僅只一句，但七言卻高居三十二句。約可分七段：

1. 3 7 5 5 7
2. 3 3 1 1 7 9
3. 4 4 7 7 7 7、5 5 5 5
4. 7 7 7 7、7 7 7 7
5. 7 7 7 4 7、7 7 9 7 9 7
6. 7 9 7 8
7. 5 5 7 7、5 5 7 7、7 7 5

　　全詩七段，各段音節疏密相間，但大體自有規律。又如：

懷素上人草書歌　　　　　　　　　　　　　任華

吾嘗好奇，古來草聖無不知。

豈不知右軍與獻之，雖有壯麗之骨，恨無狂逸之姿。

中閒張長史，獨放蕩而不羈，以顛為名傾蕩於當時。

張老顛，殊不顛於懷素。

懷素顛，乃是顛。

人謂爾從江南來，我謂爾從天上來。

負顛狂之墨妙，有墨狂之逸才。

狂僧前日動京華，朝騎王公大人馬。暮宿王公大人家。

誰不造素屏，誰不塗粉壁。

粉壁搖晴光，素屏凝曉霜，待君揮灑兮不可彌忘。

駿馬迎來坐堂中，金盆盛酒竹葉香。

十杯五杯不解意，百杯已後始顛狂。

一顛一狂多意氣，大叫一聲起攘臂，揮毫倏忽千萬字。

有時一字兩字長丈二，翕若長鯨潑剌動海島，歘若長蛇戍律透深草。

回環繚繞相拘連。千變萬化在眼前。

飄風驟雨相擊射，速祿颯拉動簷隙。

擲華山巨石以為點，掣衡山陣雲以為畫。

興不盡，勢轉雄。

恐天低而地窄，更有何處最可憐。

褭褭枯藤萬丈懸，萬丈懸，拂秋水。

映秋天，或如絲，或如髮。

風吹欲絕又不絕，鋒芒利如歐冶劍。

勁直渾是并州鐵，時復枯燥何飀颺。

忽覺陰山突兀橫翠微，中有枯松錯錯落一萬丈。

倒挂絕壁壓枯枝，千魑魅兮萬魍魎，欲出不可何閃屍。

又如翰海日暮愁陰濃，忽然躍出千黑龍。

夭矯偃蹇，入乎蒼穹。

飛沙走石滿窮塞，萬里颮颮西北風。

狂僧有絕藝，非數仞高牆不足以逞其筆勢。

或逢花箋與絹素，凝神執筆守恆度。

別來筋骨多情趣，霏霏微微點長露。

三秋月照丹鳳樓，二月花開上林樹。

終恐絆驦驥之足，不得展千里之步。

狂僧狂僧，爾雖有絕藝，猶當假良媒。

不因禮部張公將爾來，如何得聲名一旦譇九垓。

此詩凡八十八句，三言十句，四言四句，五言十一句，六言六句，八言三句，九言九句，七言則有三十九句。全詩約可分十段：

1. 478656
2. 93633、7766777
3. 5555、9777
4. 7777999、7777
5. 88336
6. 77333337777
7. 9977797
8. 44775577
9. 7777、7774
10. 55955

這十個段落都各自有其節奏。

　　這類的雜言，表面看來雖頗雜亂，且非七言出現的位置，不像前一類那麼有規律，但是萬變不離其衷，三首都仍以七言居多數。第一首七十七句，七言佔三十五句；第二首共五十五句七言佔三十二句；第三首凡八十八句，七言佔三十九句，雖然不一定全都在百分之五十以上，但在所有各種不同的句式中，三首都以七言句爲最多，它的七言屬性仍是十分明顯的。加上它的疏密相間，它的亂中有序，也別有一種韻緻。可以說在雜言詩中，開出另一種面目，十分值得注意。但任華今傳只得三首，俱見前，細察此類雜言，實出詩仙李白，詩能成仙，自出凡人遠甚。細讀李白〈白毫子歌〉、〈登高丘而望遠〉、〈上雲樂〉、〈蜀道難〉等詩，不難見出任華等作，其出於李白甚爲明顯。

　　　　　　白毫子歌　　　　　　　　李白

　　淮南小山白毫子，乃在淮南小山裏。

　　夜臥松下雲，朝餐石中髓。

　　小山連綿向山開，碧峰巉巖綠水迴。

　　余配白毫子，獨酌流霞杯。

　　拂花弄琴坐青苔，綠蘿樹下春風來。

　　南窗蕭颯松聲起，憑匡一聽清心耳。

　　可得見，未得親。

　　八公攜手五雲去，空餘桂樹愁殺人。

　　此詩凡十六句，三言兩句，五言四句，其餘十句皆爲七言，但三、五言出現之位置頗爲錯綜。此約可分爲二段：

1. 7755、7755
2. 7777、3377

　　非七言句雖不擇地而出，但亦自成節奏。又如：

上雲樂　　　　　　　　　李白

金天之西，白日所沒。

康老胡雛，生彼月窟。

巉巖容儀，戍削風骨。

碧玉炅炅雙目瞳，黃金拳拳兩鬢紅。

華蓋垂下睫，嵩嶽臨上脣。

不覩詭譎貌，豈知造化神。

大道是文康之嚴父，元氣乃文康之老親。

撫頂弄盤古，推車轉天輪。

云見日月初生時，鑄冶火精與水銀。

陽烏未出谷，顧兔半藏身。

女媧戲黃土，團作愚下人。

散在六合間，濛濛若沙塵。

生死了不盡，誰明此胡是仙眞。

西海栽若木，東溟植扶桑。

陛下應運起，龍飛入咸陽。

赤眉立盆子，白水興漢光。

叱咤四海動，洪濤為簸揚。

舉足蹋紫微，天關自開張。

老胡感至德，東來進仙倡。

五色師子，九苞鳳皇。

是老胡雞犬，鳴舞飛帝鄉。

淋漓颯沓，進退成行。

能胡歌，獻漢酒。

跪雙膝，立兩肘。

散花指天舉素手，拜龍顏，獻聖壽。

北斗庾，南山摧。

天子九九八十一，萬歲長傾萬歲杯。

　　詩凡五十九句，三言八句，四言十句，七言八句，八言兩句，五言卻高居三十一句。像這首雜言，七言句還佔不到全篇的七分之一，在唐人的雜言詩諸作中，實爲罕見，但亦自有其節奏。此詩大致分爲七段：

1. 444444
2. 7755、5588
3. 5577、5555
4. 5557、5555
5. 5555、5555
6. 5555、445544
7. 33337、333377

　　這一類的雜言詩，是第一類雜言中無法看到的。它竄出正常繩墨之外，但又並非全然雜亂無章，雖談不上條理井然，但至少亂中有序，且自成音節，這正是任華一類雜言之所自出。李白最優爲之，除前二例外，他如〈飛龍引二首之一〉、〈日出入行〉等皆屬此類。而杜甫詩中之〈奉先劉少府新畫山水障歌〉、〈茅屋爲秋風所破歌〉等，亦屬此類。數量雖然不多，但卻頗值得留意。

六、結　論

　　我國古典詩中之雜言，雖不乏佳作名篇，如陳子昂〈登幽州臺歌〉，李白〈將進酒〉、〈蜀道難〉，杜甫〈同谷七歌〉、〈桃竹杖引贈章留後〉等，然要皆歸本於七言。蓋雜言實係一非正式之名稱，其正式名稱爲七言古詩。所有雜言詩皆從七言化出，所以絕大部分之雜言詩，皆以七言爲其基調。可見雜言詩之七言屬性極強；又無論李、杜、元、白等唐人，所爲雜言，皆具極濃厚之樂府性，則雜言之與樂府，關係自非等閒。

　　又唐人所作之雜言詩，詩中七言外之其他句式出現位置往往頗爲固定，大抵不出現於篇首、篇尾，則必出現於篇中；至於竄出於繩墨之外者，偶亦可見，但亦往往自成音節，絕無雜亂無章而能成篇者，此我國雜言詩之大概也。

Even in Chaos There Is Order in An Analysis of Complex Verse

Li-shin Lee[*]

Abstract

In Chinese classical poetry, there is a style referred to as <Za Yan Shi> (complex verse and without order). Li Buo's fart'e was the <Za Yan Shi>. He was an ingenious poet whose words flowed freely form thoughts to paper(Yi Dao Bi Sui) without a care for form or order. True to its name, "Za Yan Shi" requires that the poet writes as his or her heart dictates. Then, what rules or forms are there left to follow?

Since it is the "prosody" of the <Za Yan Shi> style that is in question, it is this article's objective to use "prosody" as a base of analysis, and from this angle, fully observe the "prosody" of <Za Yan Shi>. Actually, <Za Yan Shi> is not the formal name. Its formal name is <Qi Yan Gu Shi> (a classical poetic style of seven words per line) . This type of poem was never referred to as <Za Yan Shi> in the categorized collected works of past generations. The following essay will provide a detailed explanation as to why this is so. I will continue to prove that <Za Yan Shi> does have a definite structure. The overwhelming majority of <Za Yan Shi> are composed of seven characters per line. Not all lines will necessarily contain exactly seven characters, and this way makes them seem without a structure. However, these non-seven character lines appear to be purposely positioned as if they were to follow a certain prosody, thus, making it not entirely disorganized. Furthermore, the majority of past <Za Yan Shi> poets wrote in the characteristic poetic genre of folk songs and ballads during the Han Dynasty[Yue Fu Xing]. It evidently follows the melody and length, therefore, amongst Chinese poems, <Za Yan Shi> is most closely related to music. This article mainly divides the argument into the following parts:

    I   Introduction
    II Za Yan is a form of the seven-charater per line genre
    III The main theme of Za Yan Shi
    IV The relationship between Za Yan Shi and ballads
    V   Za Yan sentences appear positioned
    VI Conclusion

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On the Carnivalistic Nature of Ben Jonson's Volpone -- A Bakhtinian Perspective

Steven Chen*

Abstract

This critical trial is designated as a literary experiment to explore Ben Jonsons Volpone with Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalistic as well as novelistic spectrum. Although much of Bakhtin's discussion seems to rest with the novel as a genre, many critics do find that what Bakhtin has termed as the novel is sometimes parallel to a set of carnivalistic characteristics that permeate other genres as well.

This paper thus aims to use Bakhtin's theory of the "novel" to examine Ben Jonson's play, Volpone, expecting to view it in its due light in the carnival tradition that is found so prevalent in the Renaissance according to Bakhtin. Emphasis will also be laid upon how Jonson has taken advantage of the mass psychology of a carnival frame of mind in the theater.

Among all the voices in literary criticism released by Bakhtin, there seems to be a silent consent in focusing upon the novel as the arena for dealing with most of the Bakhtinian aftermath. Indeed, Bakhtin is such a profound thinker that, after his tilling and plodding of the unnoticed part of the past, much unexpected fruition is found to have come out of the way. Although Bakhtin is sometimes accused for being too much novel/genre-centered, one finds that more justice could actually be done to him by taking his discussion of the novel as not so much the end, but--the means. It is ideology that lies in the homeland of Bakhtin's ultimate concern; he means to liberate the multi-voiced heteroglossia by disrupting the uni-vocal monologism and the political hierarchy it represents. Laughter and carnival thus play a very important part in Bakhtin's discussion and are regarded as the vital forces that disrupt the rigid political as well as ideological hierarchy. In the grand epic past, laughter, especially those from the plebeian mass was rarely heard. It was not until in the Renaissance that laughter together with its emancipating force in the carnival started to become comparatively conspicuous. As a matter of fact, besides certain prose works, many dramas in the Renaissance also deserve to be re-interpreted on a Bakhtinian level and under the carnivalistic spectrum. Using Ben Jonson's

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Volpone* as a specimen, I will examine the idea of carnival with special focus on the context in which I find it--the theater and its theatrical politics.

In Act one, scene three, Lady Politic, mistaking Peregrine for a harlot who dallies with her husband, demands: "Clear away your carnival concupiscence" (IV.iii.60). It is interesting to observe that Lady Politic's term--"carnival concupiscence"--is included in the OED to define "Carnival" as an entry (906). According to Ad de Vries in the Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery, carnival is "related to series of fertility rites and festivals held between the autumn and spring equinoxes; they have in common : a) dressing up... b)the giving of gifts... c)upsetting the normal order "(82).

We might say that Volpone is indeed a play deserving most adequately to be examined in the carnival tradition, considering the fact that Volpone abounds in the three characteristics of carnival defined in OED: a) "dressing up"--man-animal transformation (characters bearing animal names); b) the giving of gifts--the legacy hunters' sending presents to Volpone; and c) "upsetting the normal order"--perverted eating behavior and social order. By trying to undertake such an attempt, one inevitably has to encounter Mikhail Bakhtin's Rabelais and His World, which according to R.B. Joyce Kershner, "has been a major force in Renaissance studies" (15). To start with, it is vital to grasp first the spirit of carnivalized literature. Tony Bennet defines:

> Taken as a totality, these "carnival" forms constituted a "world turned
> upside down" in which the official, hierarchic representation of the world
> was inverted and, in some cases, "decentered"--as in the popular feast
> which "decentered" Christian ideology by placing the ass and not Jesus or
> Mary at its center (83).

The carnival spirit thus lies pulsating so close to the heart of Volpone. In Mikhail Bakhtin's spectrum, this carnival spirit enables people to "realize the relative nature of things" (43). By centering gold as Volpone's religion as well as depicting the characters' indiscriminate eating behavior, Jonson points out how relatively akin to animal man could be when given to utter blindness in the pursuit of gold. According to Bakhtin, carnival laughter is an "essential form of truth concerning the world as a whole" (66); and the sources of carnival laughter are often

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*Volpone was first acted in 1606 at the Globe by the King's Men; first published in 1607 in quarto by Thomas Thorpe; printer unknown. The adopted edition for this thesis is Bernard Beckerman's Five Plays of the English Renaissance.

rooted in the following elements: "animal epic" (27), "the image of human body with its food, drink, defection and sexual life ... in brimming over abundance" (19), and "mask" (39). All of these are expressed in a manner that "degrades and materializes" (20). Now corresponding to the elements of "abundance," "mask," and "sexuality" in carnival tradition, I will discuss the ideas of copia, impersonation, and the rape scene in Volpone.

Carnival is a time for the plebeian mass to bring all social reality down to the earth and place the body at the center of the social process. This is exactly what can be observed in Volpone. People eat and are urged by the desire to eat, which in a metaphorical sense also means to take in or get hold of. As a result, the twisted appetite to "eat" (take hold of) gold makes the characters eat everything. In Michael Bristol's term, "the bowels study the world and subjugate it" (23). The opulence is especially provocative in context of a carnival frame of mind in watching a drama performance than in reading a play. In terms of carnival, theater has a much stronger hold of immediacy. Bristols indicates: "Because of its capacity to create and sustain a briefly intensified social life, the theater is festive and political as well as literary"(3).

Jonson must have been aware of this all-engaging willingness of the carnival mass that has been carried into the theater as a public space. Within the scope of the carnival body, it is not difficult to understand why Jonson emphasizes so much the downward movement of the body from head to intestines and genitals. Michael Bristols personifies carnival as a monster of feeding that celebrates quantity (68). The quantity of abundance is equally reflected in the idea of copia in Volpone. John Enck indicates: "Throughout Volpone Jonson has mastered his poetry for swollen visions which are strikingly rich"(135). The "swollen visions," I suggest, is also what William Hazlitt has discovered as "extravagant tautologies" (qtd. in Barish 43), or more distinctively as Professor Knight indicates, "temptations ... heaped upon temptations with a rapidity which almost outstrips the imagination" (qtd. in Barish 80), all of which are actually paraphrases of the "abundance" in Volpone. Robert Adams pushes this further by pointing out that Jonson "choke[s] the poetic line, weighing down the syntax, making verbs do multiple duty, suspending assertions over long periods, with many surbodinate clauses and modifiers, and falling often enough into the paratactic structure of list"(485).

Thus the abundance in carnival is stylistically transformed into the idea of copia, which in noun reflects a variety of food items closely connected to animal imagery; in verb, a wide range of eating actions such as "devour", "swallow", (I.i.42) and "engross" (I.ii.83). All these are put

together in a heavy syntax as a weapon to overwhelm the audience into acceptance of Jonson's strategy -- a willful stuffing of the bowels in expectation of a sobriety to come to the head after the satiety.

Another corresponding idea to "mask" in carnival is "impersonation." According to Bakhtin a mask is closely related to "transition, metamorphosis, and violation of natural boundaries" (39). Indeed, identity is never constant. Through Jonson's naming scheme, men become a fox, a fly, birds of prey, and parrots. Sir Politic in the shell scene is even transformed from the alluded parrot to a tortoise. Besides the man-animal metamorphosis, there exist also gender switching and disguises that may also be approached by the idea of mask. In Act four, scene three, Lady Politic mistakes Peregrine for a harlot dallying with her husband. She says:

> Ay, you may carry't clear, with your state face!
>
> But for your carnival concupiscence ... . (IV.iii.59-60)

In Lady Politic's wanton jealousy, Peregrine's identity as a man is blurred. It is worth noticing that before Lady Politic hurries to look for her husband, she is trying to get herself into Volpone's bed in Act three, scene five. Inflaming libido thus blinds Lady Politic's vision. Mask and sexuality are here linked by indulgence. Impersonation in Volpone the protagonist is even more evident. In Act one, scene three, he says, "Give me my furs," hastening to put on his sick gown to get ready for the visitation from the birds of prey (I.iii.96). The fox-man has to mask himself with "fur" in order to become a man-fox. Another example of a similar nature happens in Act two, scene five where Volpone, being uncertain of his disguise as Scotto, thus asks Mosca: "[Will Celia take] with a belief that I was Scotto" (II.v.35)? Mosca replies: "Sir, Scotto himself could hardly have distinguished" (II.v.36-7)! Still another piece of evidence is in Act four, scene seven when Volpone disguises himself as a commendatores:

> VOLPONE: Am I like him?
>
> MOSCA: O, Sir, You are he. (IV.vii.1-2)

This kind of impersonation as a theatrical device has a therapeutic effect similar to that of the masquerade in carnival -- to satisfy the refusal of the folk mass to "take seriously any

discrimination of rank, status, or individuality" (Bristols 140). Jonson is a bit cunning here in catering to the mass psychology while at the same time trying to instruct the audience with a severe moral, of which the acceptance would be nearly impossible otherwise.

Now, to move from the intestine to the genital, I mean to explicate upon the rape scene. To cater to the theater mass as a carnival crowd, "sexuality" is certainly an indispensable element. In the previous discussion, my emphasis has been mainly laid upon "the image of human body with its food, [and] drink..." (Bakhtin 19). It is now proper to examine the "... sexual life ... in brimming abundance" (Bakhtin 19). Much like Volpone/Fox attracts the gold/food suitors in the play, Volpone himself is attracted by Celia on a sexual level all throughout. The play is thus palatal as well as sexual. Although the rape scene occurs as late as Act three, scene seven, it is indicated and planned as early as Mosca reveals that Corvino has a beautiful wife in Act one, scene five and henceforth runs as an undercurrent with the images of food and animals. Volpone's tantalization for Celia to yield in Act three, scene seven best combines the escalated beauty of sexual desire along with animal images and abundance of food:

> We will eat such at a meal.
>
> The heads of parrots, tongues of nightingales,
>
> The brains of peacocks, and of ostriches,
>
> Shall be our food; and, could we get the phoenix,
>
> Though nature lost her kind, she were our dish.
>
> (III.vii.201-205)

Another point worth mentioning is the location of Venice as the setting. According to the OED, carnival always has the largest celebration in Italy and other Roman Catholic countries (906). Venice thus has an advantage to facilitate the audience's acceptance of <u>Volpone</u> in a carnival frame of mind. At first impression, Venice with its notoriety as a place of luxury and vice seems to the English audience entirely foreign. In Richard Dutton's words, "it has nothing to do with us" (68). However, with the Would-be couple and Peregrine added to the city as English visitors, Ben Jonson seems to have intended a subtle prick to curb the audience's

indulgence. In a broader sense, Venice can also be regarded as the world's unconsciousness or as T. S. Eliot has put it, "the mother city of splendid vice" (54).

As a masterpiece nearly four centuries away, Volpone's greatness, I believe, cannot not be purely examined in relation to what effect the play has on the modern audience. The Elizabethan modes of belief influencing both Jonson's creation as well as the audience's appreciation, also have the legitimate demand to be taken into consideration. To understand the essence of laughter, we have to go back to its natural environment which is society; and for that purpose, theater fits as a perfect epitome. Michael Bristols argues: "For plebeian culture, theater is valued mainly as a social institution where the ethos of collective life may be sustained and experimentally renewed"(213).

Jonson must have been aware of the subtle relation between theater and carnival, and thus turned to use his audience as carnival mass. The audience's role, though remaining largely static and passive, was actually counted as one of the cast. As a result, the laughter aroused by Volpone is not an individual reaction to a certain comic event; it is directed at "women and men of every sex and age" in Jonson's own words (I.ii.77); and in Bakhtin's, "directed at all and every one" (11).

Lady Politic advises Volpone to "laugh and be lusty" (III.iv.115). If it is sustainable to extend Lady Politic's advice to an encouragement of theater going, then what Mosca says is significant: "All is yours, the devil and all" (IV.vi.94). Just as "All is yours" suggests overabundance of food that brings mirth, "the devil and all" embodies Jonson's severe moral that lies undercurrent. As Professor James English has indicated, whenever the reader reacts to humor in a text, he becomes the target of a fundamentally social tactic, for an "attempt is being made to coax certain feelings from us [him] into a particular emotional relation with the author and characters" (142). True, as far as Jonson's urgent teaching purpose is concerned, the humor of Volpone has to be approached from the perspective of how it has worked on the audience. Robert Adams observes: "The tone of punishment and correction runs through a lot of Jonson's dramatic work; there are passages which don't come far short of suggesting that he thought the work itself a form of correction, if not punishment, for the audience"(486).

Interestingly enough, Jonas Barish regards Jonson's work as a form of feast (5) whereas Robert Adams emphasizes it as "a form of correction." In fact, Jonson's work is both -- a feast to

instruct the would-be fool, if he does not perceive Jonson's moral vigor, as concealed in Lady Politic's speech:

> And as we find our passions do rebel,
>
> **Encounter them with reason, or divert them,**
>
> By giving scope unto some other humor
>
> Of lesser danger; as in politic bodies,
>
> There's nothing more doth overwhelm the judgment,
>
> And could the understanding, than too much
>
> Settling and fixing, and, 'twere, subsiding
>
> Upon one object. For the incorporating
>
> Of these same outward things, into that part,
>
> Which we call mental, leaves some certain faces
>
> That stops the organs, and, as Plato says,
>
> Assassinate our knowledge.

<div align="right">(III.iv.102-113, highlight mine)</div>

Lady Politic prescribes reason or diversion for Volpone's feigned illness. As a matter of fact, Jonson's prescription for the audience is epitomized in the above passage too, but with different proportion--not reason "or" diversion, but reason "and" diversion!

One last note to be added to my observation of Volpone is that Jonson is not altogether as "centrifugal" as Bakhtin is. As a poet of the court, Jonson starts out to seem "centrifugal" but ends up to prove that he is "centripetal." He means to delight as much of Bakhtin's perspective could fit in; however, behind his liberating force of laughter, the real purpose is to correct and teach, in another words--to give the plebeian mass a short break of mirth and then position them back to where they were in the austere social hierarchy. Douglas Duncan indicates that Volpone succeeds by "being **funny** and at the same time **serious**, so that to explain [its] success one must be able to connect the **laughter** and the **thought** [it] provoke[s]" (1, highlight mine). With its

genre indication of being "comic" and its thematic purpose of being "dark," I would say that Volpone is Bakhtinian, and most unique of all--typically Jonsonian.

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依據巴克定對小說的定義
重探班強生的劇本 -- 狐伯尼

陳　順　龍[*]

摘　　要

巴克定對於小說這項文類的定義及其源起，曾多所探討並且對於其間嘉年華會的宴飲狂歡傳統，多有所及。然綜其所述，不難發現巴克定所指的小說，與其說是一項文類，還不如說是一組文體上的特質，而這些特質在劇本、詩歌中一樣找得到，特別是在文藝復興時期的作品中。

因此，本文擬從巴克定的小說觀點，切入文藝復興時期作家班強生的劇作 ─ 狐伯尼，藉以檢視狐劇在嘉年華會的宴飲狂歡傳統裡的重要性。

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The Hard Earned Aloha: The Chinese in Hawaii in the late Nineteenth Century

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Abstract

The arrival of the Chinese in Hawaii can be traced back two hundred years ago. Nonetheless, few Chinese went to Hawaii in the eighteen the century. During the early 1800's, the sandalwood trade between Hawaii islands and China reached its peak. Many Chinese were attracted to Hawaii to garner the fragrant wood to fashion furniture. The Chinese then called Hawaii "Tan Hsiang Shan," meaning "Sandalwood Mountains." From 1852 to 1898, more than 46,000 Chinese arrived, many of whom were contract labourers. They were brought to Hawaii to work in the sugar cane or pineapple plantations. Once the contracts expired, many ambitious Chinese chose to stay in Hawaii. They opened tailor shops, shoe repair stores, bakeries, laundries and restaurants. Some become rice farmers while others become fishmen. The anti-Chinese agitations in the 1880's and the American Annexation of 1898 all posed grave treats to the rights and benefits of the Chinese in Hawaii as lucky ones. "Lucky come Hawaii" is a prevalent slang phrase among Chinese descendants in Honolulu. It is the intention of this paper to inquire into various activities of the Chinese community during the late nineteenth century in Hawaii to show that the rights and privileges of Hawaiian Chinese were hard-earned instead of a free gift from the local society.

Introduction

The arrival of the Chinese in Hawaii can be traced back two hundred years. Nonetheless, few Chinese went to Hawaii in the eighteenth century[1]. During the early 1800's, the sandalwood trade between Hawaii islands and China reached its peak. Many Chinese were attracted to Hawaii to garner the fragrant wood to fashion furniture. The Chinese then called Hawaii "Tan Hsiang Shan," meaning "Sandalwood Mountains." Although Hawaii's sandalwood forests have long been depleted, the name, Tan Hsiang Shan, remains in the Chinese language. And the flow

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[1]Tin-Yuke Char, ed., The Sandlewood Mountains (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1975), p.33

of Chinese migrants to Hawaii, particularly around Honolulu in the island of Oahu, continued for many years.

Today, many Chinese people regard Chinese migrants who came to Hawaii as lucky ones. "Lucky come Hawaii" is a prevalent slang phrase among Chinese descendants in Honolulu. In 1988, an international conference was held to celebrate the 200th Anniversary of the first Chinese arrivals to Hawaii. The conference theme was called "Lucky Come Hawaii" to indicate a popular expression implying an optimistic attitude on the part of the Chinese in Hawaii. In comparison with Chinese immigrants to North America and Latin America, the Chinese who went to Hawaii no doubt were lucky ones. Nonetheless, their civil rightds were earned not without hard struggle. The Chinese who came to Hawaii like those in North America were mainly labourers and were accepted only as second class people. Although many other ethinic groups, such as Jews, Irishi, Germans and Italians, were not regarded as equal partners of Anglo-Saxon people, they were soon to be accepted and mixed with local society. The Chinese immigrants, with different race and culture, were not easily assimilated in the United States.

Anti-Chinese sentiments and actions in the United States stimulated the growth of the anti-Chinese sentiments in Hawaii. The American Annexation of Hawaii in 1898 further put the Chinese immigrants in Hawaii under the direct jurisdiction of the Anti-Chinese laws of the United States. The anti-Chinese agitations in the 1880's and the American Annexation of 1898 all posed grave threats to the rights and benefits of the Chinese in Hawaii. It is the intention of this paper to inquire into various activities of the Chinese community during the last two decades of the nineteenth century in Hawaii to provide a clear understanding of the life of those early Chinese immigrants.

Background

From 1852 to 1898, more than 46,000 Chinese went to Hawaii, many of whom were contract labourers. They went there to work in the sugar cane or pineapple plantations.

The contracts usually bore a five-year term. The plantation owners provided the contract labourers with free food, clothing, housing and passage from China in addition to a salary of two to three dollars per month[2] . Once the contracts expired, many ambitious Chinese chose to

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[2]United Chinese Society of Hawaii, Centennial Celebration (Honolulu, 1984), p.12.

stay in Hawaii. They were dissatisfied with the rigorous sugar plantation life, its low pay, mistreatment by their employers and racial discrimination. Many started businesses of their own. They opened tailor shops, shoe repair stores, bakeries, laundries and restaurants. Some became rice farmers while other became fishmen. On September 22, 1883, Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported that the fish market in Hawaii was largely supplied by Chinese fishmen[3]. The majority of Chinese stayed in a large section of Honolulu which later became known as Chinatown. In the 1800's, Chinatown became a community of family stores. At the time, roughly 70 per cent of these immigrants came from Chungshan District and the dominant dialect they spoke was termed "Cantonese." The other Chinese migrants came from the Sam Yup, Sze Yup and Hakka districts[4].

Anti-Chinese Agitation in Hawaii

Chinese migrants who went to Hawaii in the nineteenth century, thought, like many other overseas Chinese, that they would only stay in this foreign land for a short period. Many of them returned to their hometowns after they had saved enough money, but many others settled down. It seems that from very early days, Chinese migrants had a close social relationship with native Hawaiians. Most Chinese residents during this period learned enough of the local language to communicate with Hawaiians, and some had Hawaiian wives and families. The Hawaiian legislature accepted King Kalakaua's proposal to send students to China[5]. On the other hands, although Caucasians tolerated, patronized, and made use of Chinese traders and artisans, there were few social relationships between the two groups[6].

As the Chinese migrants increased, anti-Chinese sentiments emerged and grew in Hawaii. Some denounced Chinese migrants for their "slave nature." The "coolie trade" was called the "slave trade." Others blamed Chinese migrants for their immoral activities, such as gambling and opium smoking[7]. Legislation aimed at restricting their businesses and the importation of

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[3]Pacific Commercial Advertiser, September 22, 1883.

[4]Tin-Yuke Char, op.cit., pp. 16, 28-30.

[5]Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[6]Charles E. Glick, Sojourners and Settlers, Chinese Migrants in Hawaii (Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p.12. For more detailed description on the life of the early Chinese migrants, see The Chinese of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1929), Vol.1.

[7]Many Caucasians blamed Chinese for bringing down the living standard in Hawaii. A minister of a leading Honolulu church said, " The Chinaman is a bachelor. More than that, he will herd like a beast, with his fellows, to save rent, and live on rice

Chinese migrants was the greatest threat to the Chinese community in those days, and the most violent anti-Chinese organization in the 1880s was the Workingmen's Party, a Caucasian labour organization. After the Caucasians gained control over Hawaiian politics in 1885, new regulations were issued to restrict the rights of Chinese to enter Hawaii. The Hawaiian authorities required the Chinese residents to obtain an outward passport if they wanted to return to Hawaii[8].

The Founding of the United Chinese Society in 1882

As the Chinese immigrants increased, it became necessary for them to organize themselves into "a united group for protection from discrimination, harassment and pangs of loneliness." The Wah Yun Lin Hop Hui (華人聯合會) was organized in 1880 and a temporary clubhouse was set up at the Chinese No.5 Fire House[9]. Ch'en Lan-pin, Chinese minister to the United States, stopped in Honolulu on his way back to China in 1881. He donated $1,000 as seed money for setting up a social organization in Chinatown. One year later, Ching Jow Ngee (Cheng Ch'ao-ju 鄭藻如), the new Chinese minister to the United States, arrived from San Francisco for a survey of the Chinese living in Hawaii. Cheng proposed to establish the Chung Wah Wui Goon (Chung-hua hui-kuan 中華會館) to promote mutual aid among Chinese residents in Hawaii. Ching Nee Yup (Ching Alee 程汝楫), a Cantonese, was named chairman with Goo Kim Fui (Ku Kim Fui 古今輝), a Hakka, as vice chairman[10]. The Chinese community leaders in Hawaii enthusiastically responded to Cheng's call to build a headquarters for Chinese community activities. They formed the Chung Wah Wui Goon, the "United Chinese Society." Ching Alee was elected as president and Goo Kim Fui as vice-president. Ching Alee and Goo Kim Fui then submitted a petition for a charter of incorporation for the United Chinese Society. The Hawaiian government granted the permission in August, 1884[11]. While waiting for the

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and refuse from the butcher's stall... We cannot afford to so reduce the earnings of this class of our white men that they can no longer afford to marry, or, being married, cannot properly support their families and educate their children." See Charles E. Glick, op.cit., pp.16-17.

[8]Ibid., p.211.

[9]United Chinese Society, op.cit., p.15.

[10]Ibid., p.16.

[11]For the details of the establishment of the United Chinese Society see the the United Chinese Society, ed., T'an-hsiang-shan Chung-hua hui-kuan wu shih chou nien chi-nien t'e-ka'u (the United Chinese Society Golen Jubilee Publication), (Honolulu, 1934). goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 92-93.

charter, the Society started to build the headquarters for the Society. On February 3, 1886, a formal opening ceremony was held. The guests included King Kalakaua, the attorney-general, justices of the Supreme Court of Hawaii, and Ministers of the Hawaiian government. Probably due to pratical considerations, the imperial government of China approved Cheng Ch'ao-ju's recommendation to appoint Ching Alee and Goo Kim Fui, the president and vice-president of the United Chinese Society, as commercial agents with official titles of Chinese consul and vice-consul to Hawaii[12].

Only three months after its opening, a fire broke out and destroyed a large section of Chinatown, including the newly-built United Chinese Society building. To house the United Chinese Society, a new building, similar to the first, was constructed in 1887. There were altogether 171 shops and individuals in the list of donors. The total subscription was $6,654, including donations from four Caucasians who contributed a total of $250. It should be noted that contributions came from big merchants as well as small shopkeepers. Table 1 indicates the number of subscriptions and the ranges of the contributions[13]. The newly established United Chinese Society seemed to signify development of a group-consciousness "that included all Chinese immigrants" in their defence against racial discrimination[14].

In 1887, a reform legislature controlled by Caucasians, created a constitutional monarchy which reduced King Kalakaua's power. Several unsuccessful countermovements occurred. These attempts led to the further reduction of the King's authority to that of a figurehead[15]. During these days, some Chinese merchants, including some committee members of the United Chinese Society gave financial help to native Hawaiians in their counter-revolutionary attempts[16]. In retaliation, the reform legislature proposed to bar Chinese immigration to Hawaii completely. The bill did not become a law, due to mediation and appeal by Ching Alee, Goo Kim Fui and other Chinese community leaders[17]. But the legislature passed new regulations to restrict outward passports to only those Chinese residents with property worth more than $1,000, and

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[12]Ibid., p.96.

[13]It seems that Goo was a leader for the small business circle. He collected $188 from 87 shops and individuals, though he contributed $550 himself. For the names of contributors, see Goo Kim Fui, T'an tao chih shih (Records on Hawaii),(Shanghai, Hua-mei Bookstore, 1907), pp. 98-106. According to the record of the United Chinese Society, Goo contributed $1,000 to the building fund. See the United Chinese Society, ed., op.cit., p.1.

[14]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p.205.

[15]Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.96.

[16]Both Li and Loo were influential members in the United Chinese Society. See Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 93, 96-98, 120.

[17]Ibid., p.95.

each passport would cost $20. The United Chinese Society, on behalf of the Chinese community, hired a Caucasian lawyer to dispute the law. In the end, the $20 charge was reduced to $5[18]. Anti-Chinese agitation made the Chinese immigration issue become a subject of heated controversy and politics. In 1892, the Hawaiian Legislature passed "An Act Restricting Chinese Immigration."[19]

To counter mounting anti-Chinese sentiments and activities, representatives of the Chinese community met at the United Chinese Society clubhouse in 1887 to discuss the threats posed to the Chinese community in Hawaii. Under the leadership of the United Chinese Society, a special organization, the Bow On Guk, "Self-Defence Society" or "Protection Bureau" was set up. The Chinese in Honolulu were urged to join the new organization to defend themselves. Members were requested to contribute at least one dollar. As a result of the campaign, several thousand dollars were collected and a house in Chinatown was bought to serve as its headquarters[20]. One of the purposes of setting up the Protection Bureau was to relieve the United Chinese Society of any direct responsibility in the conflicts between the Chinese migrants and the anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party. The Protection Bureau became the front-line defense organization against anti-Chinese threats[21].

After the death of Ching Alee, Goo Kim Fui succeeded him as the president of the United Chinese Society in July, 1892[22]. The anti-Chinese agitation in the 1880's had not died out, and the political conditions worsened. The United Chinese Society had to undertake various defensive measures against threats to the Chinese community. Mounting anti-Chinese activities finally led Goo to organize the Lein-wei-hui (Mutual Defense Association) in 1894[23]. Chinese

[18]In lieu of real estate, a person might get an outward passport through a guarantor. Ibid.pp.96,206. In 1887 the United Chinese Society and the Hawaiian government worked out an arangement by which a Chinese could obtain an official "certificate" from the United Chinese Society for two dollars to serve as proof of residence. See Charles E. Glick, op.cit.,pp.212-213. Goo, nevertheless, stated that the fee for the certificate was five dollars payable to the United Chinese Society. The fees collected from these certificates were used as part of the United Chinese Society building funds. See Goo Kim Fui, op.cit.,p.106.

[19]For the full text of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882,see Chinese Bureau, The Law and Regulations Restricting Chinese Immigration to the Hawaii Islands (Honolulu, Hawaiian Gazette co., 1896).

[20]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., pp.216-217.

[21]Lein-wei-hui and the Bon On Guk were not the Same organization. Lein-wei-hui sometimes adopted quite aggressive defense measures. It held mass demonstrations and sent out armed patrol aquads. See Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 117-119.

[22]Goo was notified about the death of C. Alee by a friend who met Goo in Hong Kong. Goo was reminded by his that the Chinese in Hawaii were facing anti-Chinese agitation without a leader. Goo thus decided to return to Honolulu. He also mentioned that his Hawaiian wife was very homesick. Ibid., pp.107-108, 258, 266-268.

[23]For the establishment of the Lien-wei-hui and its various activities, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp.112, 117-118.

merchants were once again urged to join the Association. It had more than 1,000 members. There was fear that anti-Chinese agitation would lead to physical attacks on Chinese residents and their property. Rifles were bought and Chinese firemen were ordered to patrol the Chinatown area. The Mutual Defense Association frequently held counter-demonstrations against anti-Chinese activities. Furthermore, it usually singled out the leaders of the anti-Chinese activities as targets of revenge. The Chinese were urged to cut off social and economic intercourse with these anti-Chinese leaders. As a result, several anti-Chinese leaders begged for peace after they were hard hit in their business[24].

Due to pressure from anti-Chinese groups, the Republic of Hawaii, which replaced the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, planned to pass new regulations to restrict the civil rights of Chinese residents in Hawaii[25]. The proposed new regulations required the Chinese to register their occupations. Once they registered, they would not be allowed to change their occupations. The United Chinese Society launched a general strike in Chinatown to protest against the proposed bills and presented Sanford B. Dole, the president of the newly established Republic, a statement with data concerning financial contributions made by Chinese migrants in Hawaii. It also warned the Republic that the plantations would be ruined without Chinese labourers[26].

As the Workingmen's Party was pressing the Hawaiian government for action and the Hawaiian government adopting various discriminatory steps against the Chinese residents, the United Chinese Society initiated offensive and defensive measures to protect the civil rights of Chinese migrants. It not only requested the newly established government to stop the passage of the anti-Chinese bills, it also asked the Advisory Council to grant Chinese residents the franchise and representation in the Council[27]. Although its efforts failed to change the basic anti-Chinese policy of the Hawaiian government, it did secure a firm promise from the Provisional President Sanford Dole to treat the Chinese fairly. The government did not grant the Chinese residents the franchise, but it did allow one Chinese representative in the Advisory Council, and the bill requiring registration of occupation did not become law[28].

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[24]Ibid., p.119.

[25]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., pp. 221-223, Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 109-112.

[26]Goo reminded President Dole that a newly established government should not create any political discontent among its people. Dole tried to persuade Goo that the proposed bill was for the protection of the Chinese merchants in Hawaii, for it would prevent new Chinese immigrants from engaging in business activities after their labor contracts expired. For details, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp.109-110.

[27]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p. 222. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 119-120.

[28]Ibid., p. 121.

Immediately after the fire of 1886, Chinatown grew rapidly again. Although the government attempted to enforce building regulations, it failed to do so. Chinatown became more and more congested. In August, 1895, a cholera epidemic broke out[29]. Health authorities carried out a plan for "cleaning" with a liberal use of detergents. As more people died, certain sections of Honolulu, including Chinatown, were isolated. A clinic was set up at the quarantine station to deal with the cholera. The United Chinese Society was asked by the Board of Health to provide Chinese doctors to assist the Caucasian doctors.

Because of complaints among the Chinese residents about the clinic at the quarantine station, the United Chinese Society decided to set up a Chinese hospital under Chinese management. A petition was sent to the Hawaiian government asking for a grant of land to establish a hospital with nursing home facilities near Chinatown in Honolulu. More than $10,000 was contributed by the Chinese as well as by Caucasian friends. In March, 1897, the Wai Wah Yee Yuen (Hui-hua yu-yen 惠華醫院)(literally means "a hospital to benefit the Chinese") was opened. The United Chinese Society, invited prominent Chinese, Hawaiians and Caucasians to the occasion. President Sanford Dole and many high-ranking officials of the Republic of Hawaii attended the ceremony[30].

The prospect of the American Annexation caused great alarm among the Chinese residents in Hawaii. The United Chinese Society tried its best to defend civil rights under the shadow of the Chinese Exclusion Acts of the United States. Although the Republic of Hawaii did not give up its anti-Chinese stand, it was more plantation-oriented than the monarchy had been. Anticipating that Annexation to the United States would stop Chinese immigration, it admitted more Chinese labourers to Hawaii before the Annexation. In 1895, some 1087 Chinese were admitted as workers on the rice and sugar plantations. More than 6,000 Chinese contract labourers were brought in during 1896 and 1897[31].

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[29]For a description of the epidemic, see The Friend, 54:9(Sept., 1895), p.72. According to the report of The Friend, a general cleaning of the city began on Aug. 23, Honolulu was divided into ten districts. Many foul places were cleaned out, especially in Chinatown and great quantities of disinfectants were used. The disease was termed as "Asiatic cholera" by the Board of Health of Honolulu.

[30]For the details on the establishment of the Wai Wah Yee Yuen, see Charles, E. Glick, op.cit., pp. 234-235. The Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. 1. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.271-274.

[31]The figures estimated by Professor Charles E. Glick are somewhat different from Goo's account. For a comparison fo the number of Chinese migrants coming to Hawaii during these years, see Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p.21, and Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp.60-63

As the annexation approached, the Chinese residents in Hawaii were worried that they would be legally discriminated against by American laws. They feared that they would be singled out for bad treatment. Their worries were not without grounds. Act after act was passed in the United States Congress to restrict the rights of Chinese immigrants in the United States[32]. Anti-Chinese sentiment continued to prevail in Hawaii due to the influence if not encouragement from the U.S. West Coast. As early as 1887, the "Reform Constitution" denied naturalized Chinese residents the right to vote. After the overthrow of the monarchy, Japanese, but not Chinese, were granted the franchise on the same basis as Caucasians and Hawaiians. When the Chinese requested to be granted the franchise in 1894, their request was again denied. An editorial in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser justified the denial: "the overwhelming majority of Chinese migrants are not...identified with Hawaii's interests, social as well as material."[33] Under these circumstances, the future of Chinese residents in Hawaii looked gloomy. In order to fight for their future political rights after annexation, the United Chinese Society employed a Caucasian lawyer to present their case to the American delegates when they came to Honolulu. The officers of the United Chinese Society met the delegates twice to discuss the future of the Chinese status in Hawaii. They demanded the United States government to recognize Chinese rights of residence in Hawaii by such concessions as the acceptance of naturalized Chinese migrants and Hawaiian-born Chinese as American citizens, free travel of Hawaiian Chinese to and from the American continent, no restrictions on the coming of Chinese students, merchants, teachers and professionals to Hawaii after the annexation, and the same protection and treatment of Chinese residents as other migrants[34].

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[32]For the various anti-chinese regulations, see Chinese Bureau, ed., The law and Regualtions Restricting Chinese Immigration.

[33]In the United States, anti-Chinese sentiments had run high since the establishment of the Workingmen's Party in california and other states in the late 1870's. In 1880, both major political parties in the United States favored the restriction of Chinese immigration in their national platforms. In 1880, a new treaty was concluded between China and the United States, permitting hte mutual exclusion of immigration. For details, see Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (1965), pp.476-477. For the full texts of the Chinese exclusion acts, see Chinese Bureau, ed., The law and Regualtions Restricting Chinese Immigration. By the end of 1880's, on the American continent, the application of the Scott Act was extended to its extreme limits. Many Chinese who went back China for a visit were not allowed to come back the United States. See B.L. Sung, The Story of the Chinese in America (New York, Collier Books, 1971), pp. 53-54.

[34]Goo had a detailed account on the petitions. According to Goo he went to see President dole and the cabinet members of the Provisional Government three times in May, 1894 asking ofr fair treatment of the Chinese. President Sanford B. Dole, a long-time Christian friend of Goo, promised to help Goo in seeking a better treatment of Chinese migrants in Hawaii. See Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 124-129.

In addition to the official visits, many Chinese community leaders also exercised their personal influence to get better treatment for the Chinese. For example, Goo Kim Fui, then the president of the United Chinese Society, went privately to visit the American delegation to Hawaii and the Hawaiian representatives to the United States, to express his concern over the future of the Chinese in Hawaii. He saw his long-time Christian friend, Sanford B. Dole, the President of the Republic of Hawaii and the chief negotiator in Hawaii with the United States over the annexation several times, and requested his assistance in helping the Chinese migrants fight for their rights. He also hired Caucasian columnists to defend the Chinese case in American newspapers[35]. Furthermore, through his personal friendship, he persuaded another Hawaiian delegate, Judge Frear, to present the Chinese case in the United States Senate. Judge Frear with the assistance of a Caucasian lawyer, submitted a proposal to the U.S. Senate to grant American citizenship to naturalized Chinese migrants and Hawaiian-born Chinese. The proposal was adopted without challenge in the U.S. Senate[36].

With the application of the Chinese Exclusion Act to Hawaii, the migration of Chinese to Hawaii was heavily restricted. With the exception of a small group of students, teachers and merchants, the Chinese were no longer allowed to come to Hawaii. Following annexation to the United States, the Chinese who had become naturalized subjects of Hawaii were granted American citizenship though American laws barred further naturalization of alien Chinese. However, Chinese children born in Hawaii prior to as well as after the annexation, qualified for American citizenship under the principle of jus soli[37].

Christian Activities among the Chinese in Hawaii

In 1875, the Y.M.C.A. in Honolulu hired a Chinese pastor, Sit Moon from San Fancisco, to work among the Chinese in Hawaii. Sit Moon met Goo Kim Fui and they read the Bible together for about one year[38]. They then initiated the founding of the Cheng-tao-hui, commonly

[35]Ibid., p. 131.

[36]The United States government appointed a five-man commission to settle the annexation process. Sanford Dole and judge Frear, both from hawaii and representing the people of Hawaii, were in teh Commission. According to Goo's remarks, both Dole and Frear were his longtime friends. For the details on GII's remarks and the pro and con discussions between Goo and the Hawaiian delegates, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 131-134.

[37]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p. 225. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p 134.

[38]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p.212. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.98.

known as the Chinese Christian Association (CCA) or Chinese Y.M.C.A. of Hawaii in 1877, though they continiued to attend the church service of Rev. Samuel C. Damon's Seamen's Bethel Church[39]. Sanford B. Dole assisted them in drawing up a constitution and by-laws. On November 13, 1877, King Kalakaua and his privy council granted the Chinese Christian Association a charter[40]. The first meeting house of the CCA was erected in 1877 in Nuuanu Street[41]. The original purpose of the organization was to expand Christian influence among the Chinese residents in Hawaii. The main objective of the CCA was to promote and inspire Chinese to become Christians[42]. In order to facilitate gospel preaching, non-believers were allowed to join the CCA as associate members. The requirements of associate membership were the denounciation of the habit of idol worship and the regular church attendance[43].

As the number of Chinese converts increased, the need to set up a separate Chinese Christian church grew. On May 21, 1879, a Chinese congregation was established on Nuuanu Street. At the first meeting, it was resolved to build a church building. They set up an eleven-member managment committee of six Caucasian and five Chinese Christians[44].

To erect the church building, a fund-raising campaign was launched among the Christians and non-Christians, Chinese as well as Caucasians. The Caucasians gave $4,848, while the Chinese contributed $4,776. Forty-four Caucasians, three Hawaiians and 131 Chinese companies and individuals made contributions. The largest sum came from J.T. Waterhouse who contributed a total of $1,200, and the smallest contribution was one dollar. Among the Chinese donors, the great majority of them were non-believers, including the notorious Chung Afong. Probably, the donations were collected through personal connections of the Christian converts. In addition to the regular subscriptions, a buffet party was held. The party raised another $1,800 or so for the church building fund[45].

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[39]The Chinese Christain Association of Hawaii, Centennial Yearbook, 1877-1977(Honolulu, Chinese Christain Association, 1977),

[40]Ibid., pp. 6, 12.

[41]The Chinese Christian Association of Hawaii, op.cit., p. 13.

[42]Ibid., p.12. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp.236-239.

[43]Ibid., p.238.

[44]Ibid.,p. 216.

[45]Ibid.,pp. 223-235.

With a separate Chinese congregation established, many more Chinese came and were converted to Christianity. In early 1880, a piece of land at Fort Street was bought. About one year later, the new church building was completed. On January 2, 1881, a Saturday, an opening ceremony was held to dedicate the church building to God. It was called the Chinese Church and generally referred as the Fort Street Chinese Church[46]. Revenend Samuel Damon was invited to deliever the first sermon. Many Caucasian Christian missionaries attended the ceremony, as did King Kalakaua and his companions. The Caucasian Christian missionaries who had been working among the Hawaiians since 1820's, had started to pay attention to Chinese migrants in the 1870's as the number of Chinese increased. Their active participation in the founding of a Chinese Christian church indicated their keen interest in gospel work among the Chinese[47]. The Fort Street Chinese Church seemed to attract great attention among the Chinese migrants. By 1883, more than 100 people had been baptized while many others came to the Saturday services regularly[48].

In 1881, the CCA sold its property and began to use the facilities of the newly founded Fort Street Chinese Church. The Fort Street Chinese Church also set up a lodging house to provide lodging facilities for transients. As the church members and CCA members increased,

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[46]The Fort Street Chinese Chruch moved from the Fort Street to South King Street in 1929 and changed its name formally to The First Chinese Church of Christ in Hawaii. The new church building looks like a replica of the old one at the Fort Street. For the picture of the Fort Street Chinese Church see, The Chinese Christian Asociation of Hawaii, op.cit., p.24. Many Fort Street Chinese Church members later became strong supporters of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement. For details, see Irma Tam Soong, "Christian Leaders of Hsing Chung Hui," paper presented at the International Symposium on "Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Founder of the Republic of China," in June, 1991, Honolulu,Hawaii.

[47]For the text of Samuel Dmon's sermon on this occasion, see Samuel Damon, "Address at the Chinese Church, Sabbath Afternoon, Jan. 2, 1881," The Friend, 38:1, Supplement (Jan., 1881). The sermon covered the history of Christian missionary efforts among the Chinese in Hawaii during the twenty-five year period preceding 1881, A list of the contributors' names also appears in the Supplement. See Table1 for a break-down of donations.

Table1 Number of Donor for the Fort Street Chinese Church

	* Chinese	Non-Chinese
$ 501 - 1200	0	1
$ 250 - 500	3	1
$ 100 - 249	9	12
$ 51 - 99	8	0
$ 20 - 50	35	20
$ 10 - 19	31	7
$ 5 - 9	37	.3
$ 1 - 4	11	0

* Except three Hawaiian entities with a total of $ 22, all others were Caucasians.

Source: Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 223-234. The Friends, 38;1 (Jan., 1881), supplement.

[48]For the names of those baptized during this period, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp.218-223. The Baptism Record of the Members of Chinese Christian Church of Honolulu, Hawaii (Honolulu, 1929 recopied).

an annex building, named "Society Hall," was added as the CCA's building in 1885. The Fort Street Chinese Church and the CCA now could lend support to each other in their religious activities[49].

Both the Fort Street Chinese Church and CCA provided free education in English and Chinese (Cantonese) for the children of Chinese migrants. The total number of students in these two organizations was about three hundred at one time. Children from ages six to sixteen were admitted to study there. Educational expenses came from the church, the United Chinese Society and individual sponsors. Many of these students later entered colleges[50].

As many Chinese migrants settled down in Hawaii, early Chinese migrants started to form associations to take care of burials and bought land for Chinese cemeteries. A Chinese Christian cemetery was set up as early as in 1875. The membership fee for the cemetery association was five dollars. In 1882, when the CCA sold its property for $2,500, it donated the money to the Chinese Christian Cemetery Association[51].

A study of the membership of the Fort Street Chinese Church in the early days of its existence reveals that during the first two decades of its existence, altogether 306 adults joined the Fort Street Chinese Church, and 158 children were baptized. According to the existing records, the Fort Street Chinese Church was generally regarded as a Hakka church though some of its members came from the Cantonese districts in China. The data further indicate that the Fort Street Chinese Church was primarily a family church. About forty or so families constituted nearly 90% of the church membership. The sex ratio between adult males and females was 212:94, a figure much higher than the ordinary ratio among Chinese residents in Hawaii at the time. The majority were merchants and there were many housewives[52].

The Establishment of the Chinese Consulate in Honolulu

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[49]Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 217, 238-239. As a practice, the names of the members were written in both Chinese and English in the early days. And the dialect identities were also recorded in the The Baptism Record of the Members of Chinese Christian Church of Honolulu, Hawaii up to the 1940's. Presumably, the second and third generations of the natural-born Hawaiian Chinese grew up and many of them no longer used dialect identities as the main group identity.

[50]Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 270-271.

[51]The Chinese Christian Association of Hawaii, op.cit., pp.12-13. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.238.

[52]Various figures are derived from The Baptism Record of The Members of Chinese Christian Church of Honolulu, Hawaii.

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In October, 1898, the Chinese government officially established a consulate in Honolulu. Yong Wei Pin (Yang Wei-pin 楊蔚彬[53]), the first consul, and his interpreters from China arrived in Honolulu on October 12. Goo Kim Fui, the president of the United Chinese Society, was appointed by the Chinese government as the vice-consul. The United Chinese Society began to work closely with the newly established consulate to protect the interests of Chinese migrants in Hawaii[54].

Since Chinese labourers were not allowed to migrate to Hawaii after the annexation, many Chinese migrants with return permits issued by the Hawaiian government prior to the annexation were detained by the U.S.Immigration Office when they came back. The Chinese Consulate assigned its vice-consul to sit in the court as an observer in these cases. The Hawaiian high court eventually ruled that the return permits should be honored. Nevertheless, the American immigration officers continued to challenge the validity of the re-entry permits issued by the Hawaiian government. On the advice of the Chinese Consulate, 112 detained Chinese contributed $10 each to legal expenses in order to send a Caucasian lawyer to Washington D. C. to appeal their cases. The Washington authorities finally recognized the validity of the Hawaiian re-entry permits[55].

In December 1899, another epidemic broke out near Chinatown[56]. Health authorities marked all of Chinatown as a quarantine area, and residents were not allowed to leave the area. The sick were taken to a government clinic, and the dead were burned. Although many contemporary Chinese did not believe that there was an epidemic in Honolulu at the time, the authorities adopted preventive methods. In order to eliminate the epidemic, the health

[53]Yong was a controversial figure. He was a native of Chung-shan where a great number of the chinese Labourers in Hawaii and teh United States came from. Yong was supposed to be on good term with the Chinese migrants in Hawaii and to have been familiar with the local conditions. Although Yong was once commended in the Chinese newspaper for his efforts during the 1900 fire, Goo seems to have regarded his as an inexperienced diplomat who did not perform his duties well. See Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.154. Yong was later threatened with death by a group of Chinese migrants for his role as a supporter of the protect the Emperor Society. See "Chi T'an-hsiang-shan lin-shih Yang Wei-pin shou hsia" (Note on the treat received by Yang Wei-pin, the Chinese consul in Honolulu), Ch'ing-yi pao (a periodical published by the Protect the Emperor Society), Vol. 55 (Aug. 25, 1900). In mid-1900, Yong proposed to send parts of the relief fund of the 1900 fire to Peking for repair to the Empress Dowager's summer palace. His proposal was challenged by the United Chinese Society in the court. Subsequently, Yong was recalled in late 1902. See Charles e. Glick, op.cit., pp. 283-284. Since then, Goo was appointed as the Acting consul. Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p. 169.

[54]Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p 135.

[55]For discussions on the epidemic and the 1900 fire, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 141-158. Charles E. Glick, op.cit., pp. 229-231. The Friend, 58:1 (Jan., 1900), pp.2-3. "T'an-hsiang-shan Hua-jen pei nan t'san chuang chi," (The tragic conditions of the Honolulu Chinese in the 1900 fire), Ch'ing-yi pao, Vol.36 (Feb.20, 1900).

[56]Charles E. Glick, op.cit., p. 229.

authorities adopted the "burn-out" policy. Any house with an infected person was burned down, and a great amount of merchandise was destroyed. The authorities refused to deal with complaints in regard to the damage. Through a statement, that the merchants had been warned to pack their goods for a quick and ready removal. To avoid disputes over the value of the destroyed goods, the Chinese Consulate secured a promise from the health authorities to estimate the values of the properties and goods before they burned the shops. As more people died and the plague continued for more than one month, authorities decided to end it by burning houses quickly after deaths occurred. By the end of December, more than 100 shops had been burned down, and about 8,000 Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiians were put into a concentration camp in Kalihi. On January 20, 1900, a disastrous fire finally broke out in the quarantined area, which nearly consumed the whole of Chinatown. Although the government contended that the fire got out of control due to a sudden shift in the wind, it was generally believed among the Chinese residents that the government had deliberately allowed the area to burn down.

The Hawaiian authorities housed the victims of the fire in wood factories in Kalihi. Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiians were all crowded together, but no Caucasians were sent there. Perhaps due to the fear of plague, some Caucasian newspapers again launched an anti-Chinese campaign. Some even suggested deportation of Chinese migrants. The Chinese Consulate secured a firm promise from President Dole not to consider the deportation[57]. To help their fellow Chinese migrants, the Chinese community raised funds to support relief work. On February 17, one day after the quarantine was lifted, the newly established Chinese Consulate launched a relief-fund campaign and the United Chinese Society answered the call immediately. More than $20,000 was raised. Free food was distributed and free return boat tickets to China were provided for the needy[58].

Concluding Remarks

Today, it seems that it would have been quite logical to grant the natualized Chinese residents and those born in Hawaii prior to the American Annexation in 1898 as American

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[57]Chinese vice-consul Goo Kim Fui exercised his personal connection to secure a firm promise from Sanford Dole, then still was the President of the Republic of Hawaii, not to consider the deportation policy. The promise calmed the already-frightened victoms. For details, see Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., pp. 147-148.

[58]Ibid.,pp. 145-154.

citizenship. But historical records show that the political rights of the Chinese in Hawaii and the United States had been neglected since the 1880's. The Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States and the Workingmen's Party in Hawaii caused great alarm to the Chinese residents in Hawaii. During the annexation negotiations between the United States and the Hawaiian Republic, even the chief negotiator on the Hawaiian side, President Dole, was not sure that the Chinese migrants could be treated equally as other peoples. In order to overcome the difficulties of the Chinese migrants, the United Chinese Society did its best to win the support of the Hawaiian delegates and the sympathy of the American delegates. With the assistance of a Caucasian lawyer, the United Chinese Society repeatedly presented its case to the delegates. It even paid some Caucasian columnists to write favorable articles on the Chinese migrants in Hawaii in major newspapers in the United States[59]. The Society's efforts seem to have been successful. The Chinese community rejoiced at hearing that all naturalized subjects of Hawaii and those born in Hawaii could become American citizens when the United States formally annexed Hawaii in August, 1898.

Nonetheless, the political rights and economic prosperity of the Hawaiian Chinese were hard earned rather than free gifts from the Hawaiian society. Historical records further show that the Chinese in Hawaii began to think of themselves as settlers as early as the 1880's. Although many of them continued to pay attention to their homeland, they began to weigh the local interest more heavily than their loyalty to the Chinese government. In order to avoid a conflict between Chinese migrants and Japanese migrants in Hawaii after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), Chinese community leaders even requested that the Hawaiian government adopt necessary steps to prevent violence[60]. Furthermore, when Chinese migrants faced anti-Chinese agitation and potential racial discrimination after the American Annexation, they did not withdraw from the fighting ground. Instead, they fought for full equality and sought U.S. citizenship. It seems that the Chinese in Hawaii were ready to settle down in their adopted land by the turn of the twentieth century.

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[59]Goo Kim Fui, op.cit., p.131.
[60]Ibid., p. 123.

得來不易的歡迎：十九世記末葉在夏威夷之華僑

古 鴻 廷[*]

摘　　要

　　華僑移居夏威夷已有二百年以上的歷史，但大批華僑前往夏威夷卻爲十九世紀中葉以後的事，許多研究華僑史之學者，在比較華僑在各居留地所受到之待遇後，認爲移居夏威夷之華僑是屬於幸運的一群，而今日在夏威夷之華人，也常沾沾自喜，流行著一句「到夏威夷眞是幸運」的口頭禪。事實上，前往夏威夷之華僑，在十九世紀末葉，曾遭到相當激烈的排華活動，但由於當時移居夏威夷之華僑，抱持著一種強烈定居當地的意念，並在一群有識之士領導下，團結一致，努力爭取華僑在當地之種種合法權利，並一再反制排華運動，遂能克服種種困難定居夏威夷。本文旨在探討當年在夏威夷之華僑的種種活動，以期說明今日夏威夷華僑所享有之「幸運地位」，乃是先人所努力奮鬥的結果，而非僅僅運氣而已。

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A Study of Small Class Size in The United States: The Perceptions of State Education Department, Teachers And School Principals Attitudes Toward Reducing Class Size

I-chung Liu [*]

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations related to class size; what benefits teachers perceive a student would gain from small classes; what benefits teachers themselves could obtain by reducing class size; and what the principals perceive students and teachers could benefit from reducing class size; and the problem of implementing small classes the principals face.

This was a descriptive study. Thirty-seven State Education Department's regulations or acts about class size were collected to analyze the philosophy of reducing class size, the adopted number in class sizes, and the logistic of the systems. Seventy-one questionnaires of 100 samples were collected to survey teachers' opinions about smaller class size, and 5 school principals were interviewed to understand the general considerations of implementing reducing class size.

The findings of the study were as follows, first, most of state regulations have specific numbers with regard to class size, and have supporting systems and strategies to help local school systems. Second, the results matched with other studies. Teachers do perceive there are benefits from reducing class size. However, teachers do not agree strongly and completely on the advantages which their students could gain from reducing class size. Third, the principals perceived that small class size had a greater effect on students than on teachers. The most difficult issue of implementing smaller classes is financial problems.

From those findings, several suggestions are given. In addition to putting numbers on regulations or acts, state governments should provide more financial support and other support programs such as teacher training to help local school systems. Reducing class size is only one of the factors which influence students' learning. Employing various instructional and teaching strategies along with reducing class size might provide a better learning environment to students.

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Introduction

Education is a fundamental need of any society and human beings. What the human being will be and what the future will be all depend on education. However, the outcome of the contemporary education has proven to be disappointing during recent decades. Many research studies have focused on solutions for the problem of poor educational outcomes. Reduction in class size is one of the issues frequently studied.

Many research studies of small class size put an emphasis on the learning achievement and the behavior improvement of students. Opinions from the teacher's viewpoint are seldom reviewed by researchers. Since teachers have an important role in the students' learning and behavior activities, it is therefore important to study teachers' feelings, reactions and beliefs concerning the issue of class size.

Identification of the Problem

Generally speaking, there are about 22 to 25 students in one American classroom. Research (Bain & Achilles, 1986) shows that reducing class size would increase student achievement and decrease behavior problems. Other researchers (Mayhew, 1983; Bourke, 1986; Chandler 1988; Malloy & Gilman, 1989) argued that reducing student number would not directly cause the improvement of learning. However, both researchers agreed that students in small classes have high motivation, less behavior problems, and more participation in activities. These results were fascinating.

In many countries, one teacher to 40-50 students is quite common, comparing international; the science and math test score, the class size of those countries, which have higher scores are not necessarily smaller. Some countries have 30-40 students in one classroom. Smaller class size does not promise the higher academic achievement and good behavior (Tomlinson, 1988).

This phenomenon, a large class with higher scores, is very common among oriental countries. The oriental philosophy sees education as an important and fundamental basis to shape or to form a complete person. People believe education is the most important thing to young children. This kind of philosophy helps children to form a special respect for the teacher. Teachers' authority and power are very high and parents believe that students should work hard. If students do not study well, teachers have the right to punish them.

Parents, on the other hand, pay a lot of attention to education. In addition to totally supporting schools' and teachers' decisions, parents also help and examine their children's progress. The social and parental pressure and expectation make students work harder than other countries.

Moreover, the oriental education philosophy believes every child is unique and educable. Even some children who cannot learn quickly, can obtain the knowledge and skills if they continue to work hard.

Statement of the Problem

In Taiwan, there are about 45 to 50 students in one classroom with one teacher conducting the whole group in teaching and learning activities. Although the students are homogeneous; compulsory education is required. The schools' strict discipline, either academic or behavior, have been supported by the parents. Comparing the class size with the United States, it is really not an appropriate class size for the Taiwan elementary education. It is especially not for the lower grades. With 50 students, the teacher cannot provide individualization to diagnose the students' learning needs, and it is also impossible to pay close attention to individual differences among students.

As the matter of fact, there are parents who complain that teachers, sometimes, cannot and/or do not want to help their children. Only a few students can get extra attention and help from teachers. Some students who have special needs such as gifted talents, learning problems, or handicapping disorders cannot get enough appropriate instructional help and support from their teachers.

On the other hand, most teachers in Taiwan feel exhausted and frustrated after work. To an elementary school teacher, the daily routine constitutes giving five or six 40-minute lectures to 50 students, checking and marking 50 papers or assignments, and managing class climate. The everyday workload is so heavy that teachers do not have any more energy and time to give individual help and instruction. The frustration and dissatisfaction influences teachers' attitudes and the effectiveness of their teaching .

As an elementary school principal, the student's academic achievement and behavior are two main considerations to this researcher. However, since the workload of teachers in this researcher's school is so heavy, it is hard to ask teachers to give each student individualized instruction and learning activities. This problem was complicated. No one simple solution can solve this problem. Reducing student number (class size) might be a possible way to diminish the problem. This issue was interesting to this researcher and useful to the school this researcher serves.

Review of The Literature

The review of the literature addressed six aspects. These six aspects were: (a) the history of small class size movement; (b) young children: special psychological needs and learning support; (c) the effects of small class size: two conflicting findings; (d) two states currently using plans for smaller class size; (e) other important factors influencing learning achievement; and (f) which is better: smaller or larger classes? nationwide and international comparisons. This review started with the history of small class size movement.

The History of Small Class Size Movement

Since Glass and Smith (1979) published the results of their meta-analysis study of state educational departments, administrators, teachers and parents were so enthusiastic about the outcome and effect of learning as a result of reducing class size. Although the long-term results and effects of reducing class size were

not clear from the research, many state educational departments proposed large budgets to reduce average class size as a means of improving student academic achievement and attracting more qualified teachers.

The main and basic concept of this movement -- reducing class size -- is "small is better." The public, parents and teachers believe that small classes will increase students' academic achievement. This idea becomes one of the issues of the current educational reform movement.

This kind of movement was shaped by four major influential groups: parents, teachers, administrators and politicians. Parents believed that small classes were important for their children's learning. When in a small class, each child in the classroom could get more attention, more individual help and instruction, and more care from teachers. Although parents wanted smaller classes, they were reluctant to pay for the cost through increased taxes (Chase, Mueller & Walden, 1986).

The professional educational associations and organizations claimed that the current working condition and salary of teachers could not keep good people in the educational field. Because of the quality of teacher candidates and low salary, the quality of the educational outcome was far beyond the society's expectation. Based on the propaganda of the professional teacher associations, the reduction of class size became the only solution to this problem. The professional associations and unions viewed class size reduction as a technique to increase union membership and to improve working conditions. Thus class size served as a smokescreen to draw attention away from what needs to be done to improve education. Therefore, the public does believe that larger classes would increase the teachers' workload and reduce the effectiveness of education. The politician uses the reduction of class size to cultivate both the teacher and the parent vote. Because of the pressures from the parents, the public, teacher unions, and political groups, educational administrators convince themselves that small class size is the best solution for diminishing all these pressure and to improve the quality of education.

The cost of reducing of class size is very expensive. Physical buildings, equipment, extra teachers and teaching aides require a great deal of money. Is the benefit worthy? Could the money be better spent? If no one notices or cares whether reducing class size is cost-effective, reducing class size is only another unsuccessful educational bandwagon or meaningless administrative exercise.

Young Children's Special Psychological Needs and Learning Support

According to educators in the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1975), five- to seven-year old children need individual support and instruction to foster their cognitive development and to correct their egocentric views. Following is a list of needs for young children.

1. "Socially children face more new challenges, tend to select two or three best friends, quarrel frequently, and need teacher affection and approval.
2. Emotionally children express feelings openly, need frequent reassurance, and are beginning to accept rules.
3. Physically small muscle and coordination are still developing; and large muscle coordination is sufficient for game playing and handling tools and materials.
4. Thinking skills are developing and attention span increases during the five to seven period.
5. Memory skills are best for concrete sequence; and there is improved differentiation between fantasy and reality.
6. Language skills are developing." (p 27).

Because of these special needs, one-on-one teaching is the best and most effective teaching method. Teachers can give feedback immediately, and modify teaching strategy according to individual needs. However, because of the flourishing of mass education, the educational systems cannot reach this optimal educational dream. However, small class size allows for more individualization.

To some educational administrators, one teacher teaching many students is a more efficient strategy. First, one teacher can guide many students at the same time. More students can have the chance to get an education. Second, from a

social learning psychology viewpoint, a student must live and study within a group of peers to develop his social and behavioral skills, and cooperation. Third, budget limitations prevent smaller class size. One-to-many becomes the most common strategy.

What is the appropriate class size? What is the class size that can cost less and also reach the educational expectation? The debate of optimum class size has been argued for a long time. From ancient Greek definition to current research findings, there is no perfect or right number for this debate.

However, the outcome of the current education was not to satisfy the public, parents and educational administrators. The idea and research of reducing class size appears to study the relationship between class size and the student's learning achievement.

The Effects of Small Class Size: Two Conflicting Findings

Many research studies do not show the effect of the reduction of class size. In order to clarify the class size issue and draw conclusions from these plentiful but inconclusive findings, concerning class size, two major controversial studies are reviewed. Glass and Smith (1978) used meta-analysis method to analyze 80 studies of reducing class size. By the present statistical comparison, Glass and Smith concluded that decreasing class size could increase student's learning achievement. From the analysis, the authors drew a derived curve showing the relationship between class size and student achievement. When class size was less than 20 students, the achievement increased rapidly. Glass and Smith (1979) reported that small class size was associated with higher quality classroom environments, better student attitudes, and greater teacher satisfaction.

On the other hand, the Education Research Service (1980) pointed out that the analysis of class size by Glass and Smith was not as significant as the authors declared. The Education Research Service main statements were:

1. Students at different levels of personal and academic development required different learning conditions. Educators needed to address which type of students might benefit the most from smaller classes.

2. The major advantages of small classes were: (a) small classes in the elementary grades are important for reading and mathematics achievement; (b) small classes appear to have a positive effect on an elementary student's behavior: (c) minority, lower academic ability, economically and/or socially disadvantaged students tend to benefit more from small classes.

3. Small class size has little benefit unless teachers use appropriate instructional methods and procedures.

4. Class size is one of several variables affecting classroom climate and student achievement including: subject area, nature of learning objectives, availability of materials and facilities, instructional methods and procedures used, skills and temperament of the teacher and support staff, and budgetary constraints, etc.

Generally speaking, those findings and conclusions remain unchallenged and are accepted widely.

Two States Currently Using Plans for Smaller Class Size

State regulations on class size have a wide range. Based on the assumption that smaller classes would have a positive influence on student academic achievement, many states have spent large amounts of budget monies to reduce class size in the primary grades in order to enhance the learning achievement in school. Indiana's PRIME TIME Project and Tennessee's STAR Project were two apparently famous ones.

In 1981, with intention to provide Indiana school children a better start in school, Indiana spent more than 300 million dollars in the investigation of the effect on achievement test scores to reducing the student-teacher ratio to 14:1 in 24 kindergarten, first-, and second-grade classrooms around the state. The schools chosen to participate in PRIME TIME were located in cities, small towns, and rural areas (Bain & Achiller, 1986).

Controversial results from the PRIME TIME studies raise the questions concerning the value of small class size. Mayhew (1983), Bourke (1986), Chandler, (1988) and Malloy and Gilman (1989) stated that there was no significant effect for either reading or mathematics. PRIME TIME classes did not have a higher mean score than the non-PRIME TIME classes. Later Mueller, Chase and Walden (1988), Gilman (1988), McGilverin, Gilman and Tillitski (1989), reported controversy in the findings and results: the mean score of PRIME TIME groups was significantly increased in reading and mathematics; as well as the self-concept, attitude toward school, and total affective favored in PRIME TIME.

However, Gilman, Tillitski, Swan and Stone (1987), and Gilman Tillitski, Mohr and Stone (1988) demonstrated that many earlier gains which favored small classes in grade 1 and 2 disappeared in grade 3. The positive effect on academic achievement may be limited to the early primary grades. The Tennessee legislature passed the Comprehensive Education Reform Act (CERA) in 1984. This project involved many components such as Centers of Excellence and the Tennessee State University Center. The Tennessee State University Center had many projects and activities related to class size. One of those projects studied the effects of a student/teacher ratio of 15:1 on students in grades 1-3. This study focused on four kinds of student outcomes: achievement in reading and mathematics, behavior, attendance, and self-concept. This project also included some teacher variables such as attitudes and use of time.

Bain and Achilles (1986) stated that by comparing 15-student classes to regular classes, students in small classes: (a) had higher scores in reading and mathematics on the California Achievement Test; (b) were quieter, with fewer student interruptions; (c) showed more appreciation for one another and more desire to participate in classroom activities; (d) potential disciplinary problems could be identified and resolved more quickly; (e) had more learning activities taking place and participated more often in them.

And, teachers in small classes: (a) had more time to monitor students' on-task behavior during the instructional process, to provide quicker and more

thorough feedback to students, to reteach concepts as needed, and to provide in-depth instruction; (b) could provide greater individualized instruction; (c) had greater interaction among students, helped them understand one another, and increased their desire to understand one another, and increased their desire to assist one another.

The Tennessee legislature funded 10 million dollars to demonstrate a statewide project on class size in 1985 (Bain & Achilles, 1986). This new four-year project was called the Student-Teacher Achievement Ratio Project (STAR). In this research, several student variables were included: (a) achievement in reading and mathematics; (b) mastery of the reading/language arts and mathematics objects established under the Basic Skills First program; (c) self-concept; (d) attendance rates; and (e) retention rates.

The variables of teachers and teacher aides were also studied: (a) the educational backgrounds and experience level; (b) instructional methods used; (c) teacher morale; and (d) attendance. By analyzing this project, Bain, Achilles, Caraher and Whittington (1986) reported that the small classes of first graders performed more favorably on achievement and behavior; teachers reported better teacher perceptions and teacher comments about instruction and classroom activity.

Other Important Factors Influencing Learning Achievement

Many researchers argued that small class size was not the key factor to improving academic achievement. There were other factors such as teacher attitude and morale, classroom and time management, quality of instruction methods and materials, student participation and behavior, and school climate.

Glass, Cahen, Smith and Filby (1979) and Cahen and Filby (1979) addressed the idea, that small classes might increase teacher satisfaction, peer teaching, and student discussion; permit more interactive opportunities for individualized instruction; improve the quality and quantity of instruction; enrich the curriculum; and lower the rate of student failure. The recommendations for reducing class size included: employing reading specialists, part-time assistant

teachers, paraprofessionals and noninstructional aides; scheduling and grouping with a classroom; and providing selective small classes for special need students. As well as the reduction in class size, this was accompanied by the support and education of teachers to enable them to realize the potential of the small class.

However, other researchers indicated that teachers in those small class projects had more pressure (Chase, Mueller & Walden, 1986). Most teachers still used the same teaching methods as with large classes (Cacha, 1982; Hallinan & Sorensenm, 1985). Also, Gilman and Knoll (1984) stated that time management of teachers in the small class did not change. The instructional time each student got was the same, and teachers wasted more time.

The above research provided inconclusive evidence of benefits resulting from smaller class size.

Which is Better: Smaller or Larger Classes? Nationwide and International Comparisons

Tomlinson (1988) stated that, in nationwide tests, the states which ranked on the top of class size, such as the District of Columbia (14.3:1), was near last on the index of achievement (19 of 22). Oregon was 33rd of 50 in class size, but second from the top in achievement. This result provided little assurance for states proposing to improve student achievement (test scores) through reduction of class size. In international tests, many foreign countries such as Japan have large classes (40-50), less math instructional time, the same amount of homework each week, and have better achievement scores than the American. This evidence reveals that there is no linear relationship between class size and academic achievement.

Tomlinson stated that the cultural factors such as population characteristics, tradition of educational expectations and support, curriculum and instructional methods, the relationship between students and teachers, and students' industry play more important keys to higher achievement than small class size.

Although researchers addressed different findings and conclusions, several common conclusions remain unchallenged: (a) small classes will increase the

achievement; (b) small classes provide more opportunities for individualized instruction; (c) small classes will increase teachers' job satisfaction; and (d) there are still many factors influencing the students' achievement.

Questions

In this study, four questions were addressed:

1. What are the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations related to class size?
2. What are the benefits that teachers perceive students could gain from a class size of 20 or less?
3. What are the benefits that teachers perceived themselves as obtaining by reducing class size?
4. What are the benefits principals perceive teachers and students could get from reducing class size? What are the problems of implementing small classes?

Definition of Terms

There were many ways to calculate student number in one classroom. In this project, the most common definition of the ratio of class size was the number of students compared with the number of adults in one classroom during one instructional period. The adults in the classroom included teachers, teacher assistants, or any person who was working with students during one formal class time, except for specialists such as mobility specialists.

From the results of the studies (Bain & Achilles, 1986), the ideal ratio of student number to adult number in one primary classroom was around or under 15. This classroom had significant improvement. However, this was only under an experimental situation. In real implementation, it would be hard to reach this number. In this project, a larger number was used. The student numbers to adult numbers in one classroom was 20:1. One teacher conducts 20 students, or, one teacher and one teaching aid conduct 40 students.

Methods and Procedures

Methodology

This was a descriptive study. The purposes of this study were to understand the following: (a) the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations related to class size; (b) what benefits teachers perceive a student would gain from small classes; (c) what benefits teachers themselves could obtain by reducing class size; and (d) how the principals perceive students and teachers could benefit from reducing class size, and the problem of implementing small classes.

The class size or the number of students and adults in one classroom depends on state legal regulations and acts or the decision of individual school districts. Many states have already put class size into legal statement to ensure the benefits of students and teachers, and necessary financial support from government. The state legal documents were first-hand materials to help one understand the current state regulations and statements about small class size in the elementary school. As well as looking at state regulations and acts, the teachers' perceptions and opinions about class size, and how school principals cope with the extra needs and pressure brought by reducing class size were examined. Three data sources were approached: first, state regulations; second, teachers' opinions, and third, the school principals' opinions and experiences. A letter of request, questionnaires and interviewing questions were included in the appendices.

Each state has different regulations about student and adult numbers in one classroom. The legal regulations and written documentation were analyzed to understand the philosophy of class size and difference between states.

The beliefs and perceptions from the teachers who were teaching small size classes and regular classes were collected to address how teachers perceived the advantages and/or disadvantages of small regular classes on students; on teachers themselves such as workload, job satisfaction, why they believed, and how they coped with the changes of reducing class size.

School principals were the key persons in implementing small classes. Between expensive costs and potential benefits, school administrators must decide the balance point of whether they should spend the money to get the uncertain effect of reducing class size, or choose other alternatives. During the interview questions were asked to determine how school principals perceived the small class (advantages and disadvantages), how to deal with the public pressure and the financial dilemma, and how to manage the change brought by reducing size.

Population and Sample

The ideal situation was to survey all teachers and in the state. However, this kind of population was too big to research, and time and budget were too short to ask every teacher in the State of Kansas. For this researcher's convenience, elementary school teachers (K-3) who teach in Wichita, Kansas, USD 259 were used as the target population. One hundred teachers were selected randomly from 648 teachers, in kindergarten through third grade of 65 schools. Approximately fifteen percent were randomly selected to answer the questionnaires for this study: twenty teachers in kindergarten, thirty teachers in first grade, thirty teachers in second grade, and twenty teachers in third grade. Since the normal questionnaire return rate is about 30 to 45 percent, a large sample size was used to insure that there were enough data.

Five elementary school principals were chosen by recommendations, within elementary schools around Wichita, Kansas to interview. Permission was obtained from these principals in order to use collected data.

Instruments

Data for this study were collected through the following sources:

A letter of request was mailed to 50 State Departments of Education Personnel to collect the state regulations. A questionnaire designed by this researcher was used as an instrument and mailed to 100 subjects to access teachers' opinion and perception of class size. In order to simplify the process

and to get a higher return rate, most of the questions in the questionnaire were multiple choice, using a five-point Likert Scale (see Appendix A).

An audio-taped, face-to-face interview with the school principals was used to gather information and data of their opinion and perception of reducing class size. An interview guide was used as a base for the interviewing activity (see Appendix B).

Procedures for Data Collection

This study was conducted from December, 1990 through May 1991. The request letter was mailed to State Education Departments the third week of December. During the month of January both questionnaires were designed and modified in the first week of February the questionnaires were mailed to 100 teachers. Interviews with school principals were held from the second week of February through the middle of March. At that time, the state regulations for class size were analyzed. The data from teacher questionnaires and school principals' interviews were collected in the third week of March; the analyzing and scanning work were completed by the end of March. Beginning in April, the research data were complied.

Simple statistics were used to process the data. Since a lot of the data was descriptive and quantitative, tables were used to represent the results.

Data Analysis

After gathering data from the states, teachers and principals, each set of data was processed separately. This data was used to answer the initial research questions.

The first data collected was from State Departments of Education. The following research questions were answered. What are the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations related to class size? These data were collected and analyzed for the following information: What is the recommended ratio of students per teacher? How do the State Educational Departments

recommend reducing class size? Does the State Educational Departments recommend hiring more certificated teachers or teacher aides? If they recommend hiring teacher aides, then what is the qualification of those teacher aides? How do the State Educational Departments support the movement of small classes? Do they develop new instructional materials, provide teaching strategies, or teacher training? Since this data was descriptive and quantitative, tables were used to represent the results.

The second data collected came from teachers in kindergarten through third grade in Wichita, Kansas, USD 259. Two basic categories of information were addressed: (a) what are the benefits that teachers perceive students could gain from small classes? (b) what are the benefits that teachers perceived themselves obtaining by reducing class size? These data were designed using a Likert Scale and was displayed using a mean score of each item.

The final data collected came from principals in the Wichita public school system. The following questions were addressed: What are the benefits principals perceive teachers and students could get from reducing class size? What are the problems of implementing small classes? The results of these data were collected and analyzed for the following information: What is the perception of the principals toward smaller classes? What are the benefits and weaknesses from the principals' perception? What are the major problems of implementing smaller classes? Concerns for implementing smaller classes include financial and physical support and teacher training. What kind of support is needed from state government or the school board to implement smaller classes? This information was reported through a quantitative report of data.

Limitations of the Study

Because of the shortage of time and budget, a comparative study could not be conducted. Ideally the researcher would have liked to compare students in a larger class and year later a smaller class. This study assumed that the smaller classes may really improve students' academic and nonacademic achievement.

Second, the sample of this study only included a small sample of teachers and principals chosen around Wichita, Kansas. The expanded generalization may not be strong enough to support those used in the data.

Results of the Study

Presentation of Findings

The purpose of this study was to understand: (a) the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations related to class size; (b) what benefits teachers perceive students would gain from small classes; (c) what benefits teachers themselves could obtain by reducing class size; and (d) to understand what the principals perceived teachers and students could benefit from reducing class size, and the problem of implementing small classes.

The following discussion was based on the data received from the states, school teachers and principals. First the data were analyzed and separated into three parts according to their sources. The data profile, of small class size, was concluded by combining the three data analysis into one. The first set of data answered what the similarities and differences of the state legal regulations are in relation to the class size.

Findinqs of State Regulations

There were 50 letters mailed to 50 States' Department of Education requesting information about state regulations of class size. Each state was given to the middle of January, 1991 to respond. A total of 37 states, 74%, responded to the request. Twenty-six percent, 13 states, did not respond with these 37 respondents, 62% or 23 states have regulations regarding the class size, and 14 states, 38% do not have legal documents about the class size. The distribution of class size, from kindergarten through third grade of 23 responding states with regulations is shown in Table 1 and 2. Of the 23 states, the maximum number of students allowed in a classroom taught by one teacher per grade level ranged from

17 to 35. The most frequent cut-off points for class size on all four levels were 20 and 25. Of the 23 states responding to this study, six have regulations of 20 or less students in a classroom on all four levels. The six states with regulations of class size with 20 or less are Alabama, Indiana, Kentucky, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington.

In kindergarten only two states allowed more than 25 students in a classroom. The states were California and Louisiana. In first and second grade, California, Louisiana and Massachusetts allowed class sizes of 26 or more. Massachusetts allows classes of 35 from first through third grade.

In third grade seven states allowed class sizes of 26 or more students. The seven states are California, Hawaii, Idaho, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Montana. Table 2 has a complete listing of 50 states: 23 states mandated class size ratio; 14 states left it to the local school district discretion and 13 states did not respond.

Table 1 Distribution of Class Size

Maximum Number of Students Allowed	Number of States by Grade Level			
	K	1st	2nd	3rd
17	1	1	0	0
18	3	2	1	1
20	6	5	5	4
21	1	3	3	3
22	0	0	1	0
23	1	1	0	0
24	2	1	1	2
25	7	6	6	5
26	1	2	3	3
27	0	0	0	1
28	0	0	0	1
30	0	1	1	1
31	1	0	0	0
35	0	1	1	1
Total	23	23	22	22

Table 2 <u>Summary of Mandated/Recommended Class Size for K-3 of</u>
<u>State Regulations</u>

States	K	1st	2nd	3rd	Remarks
Alabama	17	17			(Budget plan should be submitted to State Department).
Alaska					(Local school districts discretion).
Arizona	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Arkansas	20	25	25	25	(Textbook provided by State Department).
California	31	30	30	30	(Penalty, financial support program).
Colorado					(Local school districts discretion).
Connecticut	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Delaware					(Local school districts discretion).
Florida	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Georgia	18	21	21	21	
Hawaii	20	20	20	26	(Helping program, guideline).
Idaho	23	23	26	26	
Illinois					(Local school districts discretion).
Indiana	18	18	20	20	
Iowa					(Local school districts discretion).
Kansas					(Local school districts discretion).
Kentucky	20	20	20	20	(Additional grants).
Louisiana	26	26	26	26	
Maine	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Maryland					(Local school districts discretion, recommended 22:2 for kindergarten level).
Massachusetts	25	35	35	35	(Guideline).
Michigan	25	25	25	25	(Additional grants).
Minnesota	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Mississippi	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Missouri	25	25	25	27	(School classification and accreditation system).
Montana	24	26	26	28	

Nebraska					(Local school districts discretion, recommended under 25 for kindergarten level).
Nevada	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
New Hampshire	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
New Jersey					(Local school districts discretion, recommended 25 for K with an teacher aide).
New Mexico	20	20	22	24	
New York					(Local school districts discretion).
North Carolina					(Local school districts discretion).
North Dakota	25	25	25	25	(Accreditation).
Ohio	25	25	25	25	(Curriculum guideline).
Oklahoma	25	21	21	21	(Penalty).
Oregon	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Pennsylvania					(Local school districts discretion).
Rhode Island	18	18	18	18	(Encourage 15 students, literacy dropout program).
South Carolina	21	21	21	21	
South Dakota					(Local school districts discretion).
Tennessee	25	25	25	25	(STRA project, additional grants).
Texas	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Utah	24	24	24	24	(Help school to reach the level).
Vermont	20	20	20	20	(Approval).
Virginia	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Washington	20	20	20	20	(State Funding).
West Virginia	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Wisconsin	--	--	--	--	NO RESPONSE
Wyoming					(Local school districts discretion, recommended under 20).

Findings of Teacher Questionnaire

The second set of data was collected to address two basic categories: (a) What are the benefits that teachers perceive students could gain from small classes? (b) What are the benefits that teachers perceive themselves obtaining by

reducing class size? In reporting the findings, the following portion of this paper will identify who received and responded to the questionnaires, provide demographic information about responders, and analyze information to answer the research questions.

There was a total of 100 questionnaires mailed to teachers who teach in USD 259, Wichita, Kansas. One hundred teachers were selected randomly from 648 teachers, in kindergarten through third grade of 65 schools. After a telephone follow-up, the response rate of the class size questionnaire was up to 71%, and each grade's return rate was over 65%. The distribution of the return rate for each grade was almost equal.

According to the demographic and general information sheet, within 71 responders, 17 persons have less than four years teaching experience, 20 persons have 5 to 10 years teaching experience. There were 21 teachers who have 11 to 20 years experience. Furthermore, there were 13 persons who have over 21 years of teaching experience (see table 3).

From the information on the questionnaires the range of students enrolled in each classroom, 48% had a classroom size of 20 to 23, 30% had a classroom size of 24 to 26, and 12% and 10% had a classroom size of under 20 or over 29 (see Table 4).

Table 3 Distribution of Teaching Experience

Year of Experience	Number of Teachers by Grade Level				Total No. of Sampled	Percent of Total
	K	1st	2nd	3rd		
Under 4	4	5	4	4	17	24%
5-10	4	7	6	3	20	28%
11-20	2	8	6	5	21	30%
Over 21	3	2	6	2	13	18%
Total	13	22	22	14	71	100%

Table 4 <u>Number of Students in One Classroom</u>

| Number of Students | Number of Teachers | | | | | Percent of Total Number of Responded |
	K	1st	2nd	3rd	Total	
15-19	1	3	4	1	9	12%
20-23	12	10	8	4	34	48%
24-26		7	8	6	21	30%
27-29		2	2	3	7	10%
Total	13	22	22	14	71	100%

Comparing those numbers with other state regulations, the numbers are still close to the general standards.

The ideal number of students in one classroom varied from teacher to teacher. Twenty-six percent of 18 respondents would like to have 10 to 15 students in one classroom. Thirty-five percent of teachers think that 16 to 18 students in one classroom is good. Another 38% of teachers think that 20 to 24 students in one classroom is good. Only one first grade teacher who has 19 years teaching experience responded that 25 students is fine.

According to the responses, 86% of classrooms are conducted by one teacher. Only 10 respondents answered that they had a teaching aide in their classroom. However, except in kindergarten, these teacher aides are either the parent, volunteers or junior high school students. They do not work as full-time paid staff. Teaching aides can work anywhere from 20 minutes to 4 hours per day. If the number of students in one classroom is not too high, one teacher can handle the whole group activities.

Of 71 teachers responding to this study, the mean scores ranged from 4.9 to 2.4 on various questions. The most frequent cut-off points for responses on questions were 4.5, 4.4, and 4.1. Among the rest of scores, from 4.8 to 3.6 there were two or three questions for each mean score, for except 4.9, 3.9, 3.2 and 2.4 had one question (see Table 5).

The teacher questionnaire dealt with a teacher's perception of advantages for themselves as well as their students. Because two perceptions were addressed, a * represented teacher advantages and ** represented student advantages. The forty questions were grouped in four sections according to means.

Table 5 Frequency of Response to Questionnaire on Class Size

I. How would a small class size influence the following factors for making teaching decisions?

Questions	Grade	(S.A (5)	A (4)	UD (3)	DA (2)	S.DA) (1)	Mean Score on Question
1. The teacher can utilize	K	8	4	1			4.5
a greater variety of	1st	15	6		1		4.6
instructional material.	2nd	15	5			2	4.4
	3rd	5	9				4.4
Total Number and Average		43	24	1	1	2	4.5
2. The teacher can use a	K	7	5	1			4.5
wider variety of	1st	13	8		1		4.5
different instruction	2nd	14	6	1		1	4.6
strategies.	3rd	7	7				4.5
Total Number and Average		41	26	2	1	1	4.5
3. The teacher is able to	K	5	7	1			4.3
employ better teaching	1st	12	8		2		4.4
practices.	2nd	12	9				4.4
	3rd	8	4		2		4.3
Total Number and Average		37	28	1	4	1	4.4
4. The teacher adjusts the	K	10	3				4.8
teaching technique to	1st	19	2	1			4.8
better address the	2nd	14	6	1	1		4.5
student's needs.	3rd	8	5		1		4.4
Total Number and Average		51	16	2	2		4.6

5. The teacher expe-	K	8	3	2			4.5
riences greater sat-	1st	18	3		1		4.7
isfaction, more en-	2nd	16	4	2			4.6
joyment and a higher	3rd	9	5				4.6
sense of achievement							
in the classroom.							
Total Number and Average		51	15	4	1		4.6
6. The teacher provides	K	12	1				4.9
more individualization	1st	19	3				4.9
to diagnose to the	2nd	19	3				4.9
student's learning	3rd	10	3		1		4.6
needs.							
Total Number and Average		60	10		1		4.8
7. The teacher's attitude	K	5	5	2	1		4.1
is more positive	1st	11	6	2	3		4.1
towards the students.	2nd	10	10	2			4.4
	3rd	7	5	1	1		4.3
Total Number and Average		33	26	7	5		4.1
8. The teacher spends a	K	6	6	1			4.4
sufficient amount of	1st	10	10	2			4.4
time in questioning	2nd	10	9	2		1	4.2
his/her students.	3rd	4	8	1	1		4.1
Total Number and Average		30	33	6	1	1	4.3
9. The teacher probes	K	6	3	3	1		4.1
his/her student's	1st	9	7	3	2	1	4.0
responses deeper, and	2nd	10	8	2	1	1	4.1
waits longer after a	3rd	4	6	1	3		3.8
question.							
Total Number and Average		29	24	9	7	2	4.0

Statement		5	4	3	2	1	Average
10. The Teacher is available to provide immediate feedback.	K	9	4				4.7
	1st	12	8	1	1		4.4
	2nd	14	7			1	4.5
	3rd	5	7	1	1		4.1
Total Number and Average		40	26	2	2	1	4.4
11. The teacher is able to spend more time with individual students.	K	13					5.0
	1st	20	2				4.9
	2nd	18	3			1	4.7
	3rd	11	3				4.8
Total Number and Average		62	8			1	4.8
12. The teacher pays closer attention to individual differences among students.	K	8	5				4.6
	1st	10	9	1	2		4.2
	2nd	13	8			1	4.5
	3rd	8	4	1	1		4.4
Total Number and Average		39	26	2	3	1	4.4
13. The teacher knows more about how each student is performing.	K	8	4		1		4.5
	1st	16	5	1			4.7
	2nd	15	6			1	4.5
	3rd	7	5	1	1		4.3
Total Number and Average		46	20	2	2	1	4.5
14. The teacher's work load is easier.	K	7	2	2	2		4.1
	1st	11	3	4	4		4.0
	2nd	8	9		4	1	3.9
	3rd	10	1	1	1	1	4.3
Total Number and Average		36	15	7	11	2	4.1
15. The teacher is able to be innovative and creative.	K	7	5	1			4.5
	1st	10	9	1	2		4.2
	2nd	10	10		2		4.3
	3rd	6	6	1	1		4.3
Total Number and Average		33	30	3	5		4.2

		c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	Average
16. The teacher's knowledge of students' individual abilities is increased.	K	7	6				4.5
	1st	12	10				4.5
	2nd	12	7	1	1	1	4.3
	3rd	6	6	1	1		4.2
Total Number and Average		37	29	2	2	1	4.4
17. The teacher's attention to observing non-overt students behavior is increased.	K	8	4	1			4.5
	1st	11	11				4.5
	2nd	11	10		1		4.4
	3rd	5	8		1		4.2
Total Number and Average		35	33	1	2		4.4
18. The teacher's knowledge of students' potential is increased.	K	6	6		1		4.3
	1st	8	13	1			4.3
	2nd	11	9		1	1	4.3
	3rd	5	6	1	2		4.0
Total Number and Average		30	34	2	4	1	4.2
19. The teacher spends less time on managing the classroom.	K	5	3	3	2		3.8
	1st	11	7	2	1	1	4.2
	2nd	9	8	2	3		4.0
	3rd	5	6	2	1		4.1
Total Number and Average		30	24	9	7	1	4.1
20. The teacher's time is increased to enable more work with the gifted and slow students.	K	7	6				4.5
	1st	13	9				4.6
	2nd	16	4	1		1	4.5
	3rd	7	6	1			4.4
Total Number and Average		43	25	2		1	4.5

II.How would a small class size influence the following factors for student's educational responses.

Item	Level					Average
21.The student's performance in cognitive knowledge is increased.	K	4	6	3		4.1
	1st	6	12	3	1	4.0
	2nd	7	12	3		4.2
	3rd	3	9	2		4.1
Total Number and Average		20	39	11	1	4.1
22.The student is more interested in learning.	K	2	6	2	3	3.5
	1st	8	8	3	3	4.0
	2nd	5	12	4	1	4.0
	3rd	2	5	5	2	3.5
Total Number and Average		17	31	14	9	3.8
23.The student's behavior is more spontaneous, creative, and happy.	K	3	8		2	3.9
	1st	9	8	3	2	4.1
	2nd	8	11	2	1	4.2
	3rd	5	5	3	1	4.0
Total Number and Average		25	32	8	6	4.1
24.The student's attitude improves significantly in comparison to achievement.	K	3	6	3	1	3.8
	1st	6	10	4	2	3.9
	2nd	5	13	3	1	4.0
	3rd	3	6	5		3.9
Total Number and Average		17	35	15	4	3.8
25.The student is able to stay on-task a higher percentages of the time.	K	5	3	4	1	3.9
	1st	7	14	1		4.3
	2nd	8	10	2	2	4.1
	3rd	4	6	3	1	3.9
Total Number and Average		24	33	10	4	4.1

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							Average
26. The student is assigned more homework.	K			2	7	4	1.8
	1st		1	5	14	2	2.2
	2nd	3	2	4	12	1	2.7
	3rd		1	6	6	1	2.5
Total Number and Average		3	4	17	39	8	2.4
27. The student's achievement among the economically dis-advantaged, minority and low-achieving will increase.	K	6	6	1			4.4
	1st	10	10	2			4.4
	2nd	9	11	2			4.3
	3rd	6	5	3			4.2
Total Number and Average		31	32	8			4.3
28. The student's attention rate is higher.	K	2	8	3			3.9
	1st	5	14	2	1		4.0
	2nd	9	8	4	1		4.1
	3rd	5	3	2	4		3.6
Total Number and Average		21	33	11	6		3.9
29. The student's selection of learning materials is increased.	K	3	7	1	2		3.8
	1st	5	13	2	1	1	3.9
	2nd	3	10	8	1		3.7
	3rd	2	6	4	2		3.6
Total Number and Average		13	36	15	6	1	3.7
30. The student develops better peer relationships.	K	1	6	4	2		3.5
	1st	5	10	2	5		3.7
	2nd	6	6	8	2		3.7
	3rd	3	5	3	3		3.6
Total Number and Average		15	27	17	12		3.6
31. The student's attitude and perceptions are more positive.	K		7	4	2		3.4
	1st	5	13	1	3		3.9
	2nd	5	11	5	1		3.9
	3rd	4	5	3	2		3.8
Total Number and Average		14	36	13	8		3.6

32.The student-teacher	K	6	7				4.5
relationships are	1st	11	9	1	1		4.4
improved.	2nd	9	13				4.4
	3rd	6	7	1			4.4
Total Number and Average		32	36	2	1		4.4

III. How would a small class size influence the following factors for classroom climate?

33.The quality of the	K	7	6				4.5
classroom environment	1st	7	13	1		1	4.1
is improved.	2nd	10	10	1	1		4.3
	3rd	6	6	1	1		4.2
Total Number and Average		30	35	3	2	1	4.3

34.Lesson completion rate	K	1	8	3	1		3.7
is faster.	1st	7	7	5	3		3.8
	2nd	5	9	6	2		3.8
	3rd	2	6	3	3		3.5
Total Number and Average		15	30	17	9		3.7

35.There are more	K	8	5				4.6
opportunities to	1st	11	10		1		4.4
evaluate students.	2nd	13	7	2			4.5
	3rd	7	7				4.5
Total Number and Average		39	29	2	1		4.5

36.There is more	K	11	2				4.8
flexibility of	1st	18	4				4.8
classroom's physical	2nd	18	4				4.8
arrangement.	3rd	11	3				4.8
Total Number and Average		58	13				4.8

		S.A	A	UD	DA	S.DA	Average
37. The rate of absenteeism is lower.	K		1	8	4		2.8
	1st	1	3	10	7	1	2.8
	2nd	2	8	8	4		3.4
	3rd	1	10	2	1		3.8
Total Number and Average		4	22	28	16	1	3.2
38. Discipline problems are decreased.	K	1	8	1	3		3.5
	1st	9	8	4		1	4.1
	2nd	8	10	3	1		4.1
	3rd	6	6	1	1		4.2
Total Number and Average		24	32	9	5	1	4.0
39. The noise level in classroom is decreased.	K	4	8		1		4.2
	1st	7	13	1		1	4.1
	2nd	10	4	5	2	1	3.9
	3rd	8	3	1	2		4.2
Total Number and Average		29	28	7	5	2	4.1
40. One-on-one relationship between teacher and student is increased.	K	13					5.0
	1st	19	3				4.9
	2nd	17	5				4.8
	3rd	10	4				4.7
Total Number and Average		59	12				4.9

* S.A = Strongly Agree (5)

  A = Agree (4)

 UD = Undecided (3)

 DA = Disagree (2)

 S.DA = Strongly Disagree (1)

High means represented strongly agree answers and low means represented disagree answers. The mean scores which represented the strongly agree responses from 4.9 to 4.5 which occurred in eleven questions. The distribution was: 4.9 - number 40*; 4.8 - numbers 6*, 11*, 36*; 4.6 - numbers 4*, 5*; 4.5 -

numbers 1*, 2*, 13*, 20*, 35*. All these questions showed that by reducing class size, teachers strongly agreed that it was beneficial to themselves. Teachers felt that they were able to individualize student work and vary teaching strategies. The teacher experiences greater satisfaction and has a higher sense of achievement in the classroom.

The second category of mean scores represented the agree responses from 4.4 to 4.0 which occurred in twenty statements. The distribution was: 4.4 - numbers 3*, 10*, 12*, 16*, 17*, 32**; 4.3 - numbers 8*, 27*, 33**; 4.2 - numbers 15*, 18*; 4.1 - numbers 7*, 14*, 19*, 21**, 23**, 25**, 39**; 4.0 - numbers 9*, 38**. The proportion of questions of this part for teachers and students was 2:1. In other words, in teachers' point of view, the benefits for themselves were higher than for their students. When decreasing class size the teacher is able to be more creative and spend more time in class discussions. A student is able to become more creative and stays on task longer in the smaller class. This aids in controlling the noise level and discipline problems.

The third category of mean scores was the undecided responses from 3.9 to 3.2 which occurred in eight questions. The distribution was : 3.9 - number 28**; 3.8 - numbers 22**, 24**; 3.7 - numbers 29**, 34*; 3.6 - numbers 30**, 31**; 3.2 - number 37*. Among these eight items, only one question dealt with the teachers, the rest of questions showed that reducing class size did not benefit the students. In the small class size students may have a higher attention span and be more interested in learning. Students' perceptions and attitudes may be more positive. Teachers could not agree if this was due to the class size.

The last category of mean scores was 2.4. There was only one question showing a disagree response. This question showed that almost all teachers disagreed that the student was assigned more homework in a smaller class.

Overall, seventy-eight percent of the questions had higher means from 4.1 to 4.9. The general trend of the responses was positive. An average mean score of this questionnaire was 4.1. An average mean score of teachers' benefits was 4.4, and for students' benefits was 3.8.

Findings of Principals' Interview

Besides collecting data from state regulation and questionnaires from school teachers, this researcher, in order to gain more informations of smaller class size, collected data from the school principals. These data were used to understand what benefits principals perceive teachers and students could get from reducing class size and what are the problems of implementing small classes that each principal faces?

There were five school principals interviewed. In reporting the findings, the following statements were addressed. The benefits and weaknesses that school principals perceived about smaller class size are listed briefly as follows: there are ten items relating to the students; and five items relating to the teachers. The benefits to students were: (a) receive more help, (b) receive more individualized instruction and attention time; (c) enhance learning and creativity; (d) enhance more opportunities to participate in learning activities; (e) have more interaction between peers; (f) have less behavior problems; (g) learn quicker and more; (h) less time lost - transitions are made faster; (i) more opportunities for helping children from "high risk" families; and (j) fewer children "lost in the crowd." Benefits to teachers were: (a) have more time to prepare teaching and materials; (b) use easier teaching techniques; (c) have less clerical work - such as paper work; (d) have less stress, and (e) enhance self-concept and satisfaction. As for the weaknesses, there were three items: (a) students face lack of challenge; (b) schools are short of teachers; and (c) not sure of the real benefits of reducing class size.

The problems the principals faced with regard to reducing class size were: (a) lack of financial support; (b) lack of hardware facility - physical building, classroom, equipment; (c) lack of software facility - teacher, teaching aides, instructional materials; (d) lack of teacher training; and (e) lack of project guideline.

The government support that school principals need to reduce class size were: (a) financial supports from state governments and local school boards; (b)

increase teachers' salaries; (c) extra teachers and teaching aides; and (d) teacher training - inservice training.

Analysis of Findings

Data Analysis of State Regulations. From written documentation, many states included sentences to explain why the specific class sizes were set up. Alabama stated that those systems (student/teacher ratio) show an increase in average daily attendance. Hawaii thinks that the reducing class size program assists teachers to provide better education that is relevant to young children's development and learning process, promoted classroom activities, and pursued total developmental approach to instruction.

Indiana and Tennessee ran two famous and larger scaled projects - Project PRIME TIME and Teacher Achievement Ratio Project. Indiana enacted a plan to encourage and reward local schools that voluntarily reduce the class size to 18 students in the primary grade.

The legal class size is varied from state to state. Each state has different criterion and number. Looking at the scale as a whole, only two states, Alabama and Rhode Island, put the criterion under 20. The rest of the states put their criteria at 20 to 35 students to one teacher. When looking at total numbers of states setting their class numbers at 20 to 26 students, Table 1 shows there were 18 states at kindergarten, 18 states at first, 19 states at second and 17 states at third.

The legislature of Alabama enacted laws concerning class size and the method of calculation of teacher units for funding purposes. This means the budget is submitted to the State Department of Education. For the 1990-1991 school year, grade K-1 procedures have been implemented at 17:1. Additional grades will be included in the future as provided, but the class size is determined by local school districts.

The kindergarten class size for Alabama, Georgia, Indiana and Rhode Island are 11 and 18 respectively. Maryland maintains a clear and precise kindergarten class size limit. It recommended that class size shall not exceed 22 students to two adults (11:1). One adult is a certificated teacher, another is a certificated teacher aide. The local school systems have tremendous autonomy determining class size for other grades.

The greatest change of class size for kindergarten to first grade is in Massachusetts. Massachusetts regulates that it cannot have more than 25 students in one classroom at the kindergarten level. From first grade up, Massachusetts allows up to 35 students in one classroom. There is a discrepancy of 10 students. California and Oklahoma are two unusual states. They place fewer students in the higher grades than the kindergarten level.

In order to ensure local school districts to follow the regulation, states use different kinds of "strategies" to enforce and/or encourage local school districts to implement the regulation. There are certain strategies that many states try to use to reach the criteria. They are: financial aid, accreditation, decrease work duty and penalty.

By providing paraprofessionals, Georgia State Department of Education allowed the class size to have the number of 24(K) and 28(1-3). Michigan regulated that through the State School Aid Act; if schools attained an average class size of not more than 25 students, they were granted an additional $14.00 per pupil.

Utah responded that reducing class size is a major issue in this state, as they have the largest class sizes in the United States. In January 1991, the Department conducted a special "Forum on Class Size" in which various state level organizations reviewed data and are hopefully, developing a common strategy for dealing with this important issue.

The State Funding of Washington is allocated to local school districts through an apportionment formula based upon the rating of certificated instructional staff to students. Actual numbers of students in the classroom

through the state are considered, yet, limited by the financial constraints of State Funding.

California, Kentucky, Michigan and Tennessee used additional grants to encourage local school districts to implement smaller class size. If school districts can reach the level, they can get additional financial supports from State Funding.

Some states put forth an effort to help schools. Some state governments have guidelines, and special programs to help teachers adopting the new change - reducing class size. Arkansas and Ohio provided textbooks for schools. Schools are required to send their instructional materials and curriculum to the State Department of Education to get approval. North Carolina provided inservice training to teachers to ensure that teachers understand what the reducing class size is and what the state expectations are. Hawaii has a special program entitled "Program Guide for Early Provisions for School Success Phase."

Missouri, North Dakota and Vermont used accreditation and approval to enforce schools to lower class sizes. If local schools failed to reach the criteria, the State Educational Committee would not give accreditation or approval to those schools.

Some state governments use "decreasing work duty" to encourage local school systems to decrease classroom numbers. California lets school principals and superintendents decrease the average daily attendance report, if the school can reach the appropriate number.

Some states used "penalty" to enforce local districts to follow the regulation. California and Oklahoma put the word "penalty" inside their state regulation. However, lacking of more detailed information, the kind of penalty and what are the impacts, are not known.

Local schools can apply for special state educational funds to hire more teaching and educational aides to reach the needed student/teacher ratio. Certain states allow local schools to hire classroom instructional aides or teacher assistants, or paraprofessionals as classroom teachers. California, Georgia and

Rhode Island have a special formula to count student/teacher ratio. The paraprofessionals are equal to one-third of a teacher. Many states have special criteria or qualifications to ensure the quality of teacher aides.

Within these 37 respondents, 14 states give the decision right about the class size to local school districts (see Table 5). In other words, those states did not document any regulation or restriction about class size. Local school districts have highly autonomous rights to decide the appropriate class sizes according to the local needs and limitations. Class size within a district is either determined by the local school board, or bargained collectively through teacher union negotiations with the school board. The method to determine class numbers varies greatly among the local school districts. The state simply requires that the local decisions be consistent with viable educational practices. Except in Special Education, the state will play a helping role or hold a supervising position.

Among 14 states, there are only three states that recommended the kindergarten class size to the local districts. Nebraska and Wyoming required there be under 25 and 20 students per class. A requirement from New Jersey stated that kindergarten classes be no larger than 25 students without an aid or an additional teacher.

Synthesizing the above statement, it is clear that class size has became an important issue among the states of this country. Next, this researcher will analyze the class size questionnaires which were responded by sampling teachers.

Data Analysis of Teacher Questionnaire. The 40 questions presented to the teachers were grouped into five parts to understand the teachers' perception about smaller class size. Teachers agreed on nearly all the questions. The general analysis is shown as follows:

(a) Utilize instructional progress

Teachers perceived that reducing class size allows them to have more time and abilities to understand their students' differences and needs to utilize instructional material and strategies; to provide better feedback; to employ better

teaching practices; to probe students' abilities, problems and performance. Also, teachers are more creative.

However, teachers did not agree that smaller class size meant that students would get more homework. This researcher wondered if this was due to the fact the American educational philosophy does not focus on practice and memorization.

(b) Individualization

Since there are fewer students in one classroom, each student can get more individualized help attention and instruction from teachers. On the other side, teachers know more about their students' behavior and academic performance, and teachers can provide more time to work with gifted and slow students.

(c) Job satisfaction

Because of reducing class size, teachers reported they could have more time to improve their teaching techniques and to get new knowledge. Teachers feel that they have more enjoyment and achievement in teaching. And they have more positive attitudes toward teaching and students. They said that they have more opportunities to evaluate students; and have more flexibility of physical arrangement.

However, teachers did not strongly agree that reducing class size can reduce their workload, and lesson completion rate is faster.

(d) Teacher-student relationship

Because teachers have positive attitudes toward students and have more time spent on understanding students, the one-on-one relationship is increased and teacher/students relationships are much better.

(e) Academic and behavior performance

Although reducing class size increases the teacher perception about teaching, it did not promise the improvement of students' academic and behavior performance. From questions about students' educational response, the means of

these questions are not high. They are 3.1 to 4.2. Most teachers chose "undecided" to answer these questions.

In other words, teachers did not perceive that reducing class size will bring the following benefits: students are more interested on class activities; students have longer attention on learning progress and instructional material; students develop better peer relation; students have higher attendance rate; students have less discipline problems; and students are positive toward learning, and the teachers and the school.

This research indicated that there are findings which are associated with regard to class size that vary according to teachers' teaching experience. According to information in Table 6, by the sequence of four groups, the average student numbers in current classroom were 22, 25, 23, and 23. The ideal numbers which teachers considered more appropriate for quality teaching was 16, 17, 19 and 19. Obviously the less experience, under four years, the teachers have, the smallest the class size, they have. As to the ideal number of students in the classroom, the number they responded was also the smallest. The reseacher felt this may be a result of newer teachers knowing more about class size studies, as they have just finished their undergraduate studies.

Table 7 shows a varied mean score. In order to get more practical information, instead of grade levels, the mean scores of each question were figured by teachers' years of experience. There were different responses among the four groups of teachers. The first finding of this table was, the distribution of strongly agree mean scores, 4.51-5.00, and according to the sequence of four groups of teachers, the numbers were 14, 11, 12 and 3. Obviously, the fewer years of teaching experience a teacher had the higher the number of mean scores than the teacher with more teaching experience.

The second finding identified a variance between two groups: group one, teachers who have teaching experience under four years, and group four, teachers with more experience, over twenty-one years. When group one (teachers with less than four years) answers yes loudly to questions, group four (teachers having taught over twenty-one years) considered the information less important.

Table 6 Number of Current Class Size and the Ideal Number for Quality Teaching
(According to Years of Teaching Experience)

Number of Students	Current Class Size Years of Experience				Ideal Numbers Years of Experience			
	Under 4	5-10	11-20	Over 21	Under 4	5-10	11-20	Over 21
10					1			
12					1	1		
15	2				6	6	2	1
16					1		1	
17		1			1			
18		2		2	5	10	3	3
19			2					
20	2	2		1	2	3	8	7
21	2	4	3	1			3	1
22	5	5	2	2			2	1
23		2	2	1				
24		2	8				1	
25	1	1	1	1			1	
26	1		1	3				
27				2				
28	3		1					
29	1		1					
Average	22	25	23	23	16	17	19	19

Table 7 <u>Mean Score of Questionnaire on Class Size According to</u>
<u>Teachers' Years of Experience</u>

Quest-ions	Years of Ex-perience	Strongly Agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mean Score
I. 1**	Under 4	15	1	1			4.82*
	5-10	12	7	1			4.55*
	11-20	10	10		1		4.38
	Over 21	6	5			2	4.00
2**	Under 4	14	2	1			4.76*
	5-10	10	9	1			4.45
	11-20	10	9	1	1		4.33
	Over 21	7	5			1	4.31
3**	Under 4	13	4				4.76*
	5-10	11	7		2		4.35
	11-20	8	12		1		4.29
	Over 21	5	5	1	1	1	3.92
4**	Under 4	15	2				4.88*
	5-10	14	4	1	1		4.55*
	11-20	16	5				4.76*
	Over 21	6	5	1	1		4.23
5	Under 4	13	4				4.76*
	5-10	15	3	1	1		4.60*
	11-20	17	4				4.81*
	Over 21	6	4	3			4.23
6	Under 4	17					5.00*
	5-10	16	3		1		4.70*
	11-20	16	5				4.76*
	Over 21	11	2				4.85*
7**	Under 4	10	6	1			4.52*
	5-10	11	5	2			4.25
	11-20	9	9	1	2		4.19
	Over 21	4	5	3	1		3.92
8**	Under 4	7	9	1			4.35
	5-10	7	11	1	1		4.20
	11-20	10	8	3			4.33
	Over 21	6	5		1	1	4.08
9**	Under 4	5	7	2	3		4.41
	5-10	8	8	2	2		4.10
	11-20	10	6	3	1	1	4.10
	Over 21	6	3	2	1	1	3.92

10	Under 4	10	5	1	1		4.41
	5-10	12	7	1			4.55*
	11-20	13	8				4.62*
	Over 21	6	5		1	1	4.08
11**	Under 4	17					5.00*
	5-10	18	2				4.90*
	11-20	18	3				4.86*
	Over 21	9	3			1	4.46
12	Under 4	12	2	2	1		4.29
	5-10	11	7		2		4.60*
	11-20	11	10				4.52*
	Over 21	6	6			1	4.23
13**	Under 4	12	4	1			4.65*
	5-10	15	4		1		4.50
	11-20	14	5	1	1		4.52*
	Over 21	5	7			1	4.15
14***	Under 4	9	4	2	2		3.59
	5-10	11	1	4	4		3.95
	11-20	8	7	2	3	1	3.86
	Over 21	8	3			1	4.05
15	Under 4	9	7		1		4.41
	5-10	10	5	2	3		4.10
	11-20	10	11				4.48
	Over 21	5	6	1	1		4.15
16	Under 4	10	5	2			4.47
	5-10	10	8		2		4.30
	11-20	12	9				4.57*
	Over 21	6	6			1	4.23
17	Under 4	9	7	1			4.47
	5-10	10	9		1		4.40
	11-20	12	9				4.57*
	Over 21	5	7		1		4.23
18**	Under 4	8	8	1			4.41
	5-10	10	8		2	1	4.30
	11-20	9	11	1			4.38
	Over 21	4	6	1	1		3.85
19	Under 4	7	7	2	1		4.18
	5-10	10	5	3	1	1	4.10
	11-20	9	9	2	1		4.24
	Over 21	4	3	2	4		3.54
20**	Under 4	12	5				4.71*
	5-10	14	6				4.70*
	11-20	13	7				4.57*
	Over 21	5	6	1		1	4.08

II.	Under 4	5	11	1			4.24
21	5-10	6	12	1	1		4.15
	11-20	4	11	6			3.81
	Over 21	7	3	3			4.30
	Under 4	6	5	2	4		3.76
22	5-10	5	10	2	3		3.85
	11-20	3	12	5	1		3.81
	Over 21	4	3	5	1		3.77
	Under 4	8	5	2	2		4.12
23	5-10	6	10	1	3		3.95
	11-20	6	11	3	1		4.05
	Over 21	5	6	2			4.23
	Under 4	6	5	6			4.00
24	5-10	5	9	3	3		3.80
	11-20	4	13	3	1		4.19
	Over 21	3	7	3			4.00
	Under 4	7	7	3			4.24
25**	5-10	8	8	3	1		4.15
	11-20	7	10	3	1		4.10
	Over 21	4	6	2	1		4.00
	Under 4	1	1	3	9	3	2.29
26	5-10	1		2	15	2	2.15
	11-20		2	10	7	2	2.57
	Over 21	1	1	3	7	1	2.54
	Under 4	10	6	1			4.43
27**	5-10	10	7	3			4.35
	11-20	8	12	1			4.33
	Over 21	3	7	3			4.00
	Under 4	7	8	1	1		4.24
28**	5-10	5	8	4	3		3.75
	11-20	5	12	4			4.05
	Over 21	3	6	2	2		3.71
	Under 4	4	9	2	2		3.88
29	5-10	5	12	1	2		4.00
	11-20	3	10	6	1	1	3.62
	Over 21	2	5	5	1		3.32
	Under 4	6	6	2	3		3.88
30**	5-10	3	9	5	3		3.60
	11-20	2	10	6	3		3.52
	Over 21	4	3	3	3		3.52
	Under 4	6	5	3	3		3.82
31	5-10	4	11	2	3		3.80
	11-20	3	15	2	1		3.95
	Over 21	2	4	6	1		3.58

32**	Under 4	11	6				4.65*
	5-10	11	8		1		4.45
	11-20	7	13	1			4.29
	Over 21	4	8	1			4.23
III. 33**	Under 4	9	8				4.43
	5-10	9	10	1			4.40
	11-20	8	13				4.38
	Over 21	5	4	2	2		3.92
34**	Under 4	5	6	3	3		4.06
	5-10	4	8	6	2		3.70
	11-20	5	9	6	1		3.86
	Over 21	3	6	1	3		3.69
35	Under 4	16	1				4.94*
	5-10	12	8				4.60*
	11-20	10	10		1		4.38
	Over 21	7	5	1			4.41
36	Under 4	17					5.00*
	5-10	16	4				4.80*
	11-20	15	6				4.71*
	Over 21	10	3				4.78*
37	Under 4	1	3	8	5		3.00
	5-10	1	3	10	6		2.95
	11-20		4	12	4	1	2.90
	Over 21	1	2	7	2	1	3.00
38**	Under 4	9	6	2			4.41
	5-10	5	10	3	1	1	3.85
	11-20	8	10	1	2		4.14
	Over 21	3	5	3	2		3.69
39**	Under 4	10	5	2			4.47
	5-10	6	10	2	1	1	3.95
	11-20	9	8	2	2		4.05
	Over 21	4	5	1	2	1	3.69,
40**	Under 4	16	1				4.94*
	5-10	16	4				4.80*
	11-20	18	3				4.86*
	Over 21	9	4				4.69*

*   Strongly agree mean score

**   Under 4 - the highest mean score.

    Over 21 - the lowest mean score.

***   Under 4 - the lowest mean score.

    Over 21 - the highest mean score.

The third finding dealt with question number fourteen, when group one showed the lowest mean score, group four teachers showed the highest mean score. This question stated that the teacher's work load is easier with a smaller class size. This could be affected by an attitude change in the teacher. The experienced teachers' workload will be less due to the fact they draw upon what they have taught in the past and not what their class size is.

The last finding of Table 7 was, all four groups of teachers strongly agreed that the teacher provides more individualization to diagnose to the student's learning (question number 6); there is more flexibility of classroom's physical arrangement (question number 36); and one-on-one relationship between teacher and student was increased (question number 40). All four groups of teacher deemed that the most benefits for smaller class were the above three statements.

Data Analysis of Principals' Interview. The last section of data analysis involved on school principals' perceptions on reducing class size. Concerning the school principals' points of view, the following questions were addressed: the benefits and weaknesses of smaller class sizes, the current constraints about applying smaller class, and the expected supports from state governments and local school boards.

(a) The benefits and weakness of smaller class size.

From the interviews, these five principals agreed that in small-sized classrooms, students have more opportunities to receive individualized instruction and help from teachers; students can concentrate on learning more, and learn more. Each student can receive more attention and help from teachers, therefore the loss and failure can be reduced.

Since there are fewer students in one classroom, teachers have more time and energy. Teachers can spend more time with students and thus give more attention to each student. The interactions between students and teachers are more active and effective. Teachers can have more time to prepare teaching materials, to give deep feedback, and to give immediate and individualized help to students.

Yet, one of five principals pointed out that since there are not many research studies done about the weaknesses of small class size, and how students perceived themselves in the smaller class, it is hard to say that a smaller class is perfect. In those research studies, there was significant difference of academic achievement between smaller and regular classes when the class size was down to 15 - the magic number. However, when the class size was up to 20, there was no difference about academic achievement.

Another school principal pointed out that there is lack of peer challenge in smaller classes. Since there are few students in one classroom, students do not have opportunities to compare themselves with other students, especially with the brighter and older students. When comparing oneself with another a student stimulates self-motivation. Students have less of a chance to experience social activities and interpersonal relationships.

(b) The problems of applying smaller class.

Because of the shortage of financial support, the schools can not build up the hardware facility such as classroom, equipment, as well as the software facility such as teachers, teacher aides, and instructional materials.

One principal pointed out that the larger number of classes which result in smaller class size requires not only additional classroom teachers, but also requires additional special teachers for arts, music, physical education and library since services are based on the number of classes, not on the number of students. Overall, it's a problem of ensuring a balanced program for all students, knowing that, if they reduce class size and create more classes for the same number of students, they are going to have to cut services in other areas, sometimes having to take time away from other areas such as Counseling, Library, etc.

The pace of preparing hardware and software facilities is always slower than the increasing rate of student population. Schools always have more students than the hardware and software facilities can afford. Moreover, the social factors change the population structure. For example, the economic situation, the migration of population, the job marketing, all these factors will change the population structure in one geographic area. Sometimes, there are too many

students moving into one area in a short time period. The local school systems cannot face those challenges immediately.

(c) The support systems from state governments.

The school principals felt that if they could have more money, they could build more classrooms, buy more equipment, and hire more teachers and teacher aides to reach the desired classroom level.

One principal illustrated a fact that although local districts have established class size guidelines for public schools, a lower student/teacher ratio, 20-22/1, is needed for Chapter I school which the schools located in low income areas, should receive additional Federal monies due to students' needs. Those guidelines need to be enforced, and dollars provided to make it happen! Another principal pointed out that usually there is little money allocated for classes now, and it would be a bigger problem unless the government intervened.

The budget at the building level, as one principal explained, is under the control of the principal and not greatly impacted by the class size issue. Actually funding for new classrooms with appropriate equipment and funding for staff salaries are provided directly by the school district. One principal stressed that since cost is the primary limitation for establishing smaller class size, legislation at the state level, which provides financial aid to local districts, would have a big impact on local district's ability to lower class size.

This problem is not simple and easy. Due to current economic situation and federal budget crisis, many state governments cut their public educational budget plans. Even the local school systems and state governments want to give more money to public educational systems. It is difficult to manage the budget plan.

As a result of reducing class size, the schools need to hire more teachers and teacher aides, the school principals want to have more available teachers and teacher aides. Since teacher aides play an important role in reducing class size, the school principals want more higher qualified teacher aides. Moreover, the teaching methods, strategies and instructional materials used in smaller classes are quite different from traditional ones. It does not produce the expected

outcomes if teachers still use the same teaching strategies and instructional materials in smaller classes. So, the inservice training and instructional guidelines are very important to the schools.

Also, when looking at the benefits, the proportion of item number on students and teachers was 2:1. In other words, the principals perceived that small class size had a greater effect on students than on teachers. Again, when studies, the ten items of students' benefits, there were several items, such as number (c), (e), (f), and (g), which were the same as question number 22, 30, 38, and 29 in the teacher questionnaire. Actually the mean scores of these questions were 3.8, 3.6, 4.0 and 3.7. In other words, teachers did not perceive that reducing class size will bring those benefits to the students. From this comparison, this data found that there were some different points of view between teachers and principals.

Summary of Findings

States have different class size standards for different grades. From these numbers, most states try to keep the class size stable or lower in grades K-3. The changes of class size from kindergarten to third grade vary little. In the higher grade levels, more students are allowed in one classroom.

In addition to encouragement or penalty, State Departments put a lot of energy and budget into school systems to help schools in reducing class size, to increase the quality of teachers and teaching personnel and to give students a better educational environment. However, there are still many limitations which keep local school districts from reducing class size. Local school systems can use other means such as, writing reports to request waiver or exemption. This will continue their funding support from states and help avoid any punishment.

When analyzing the teacher questionnaires about the benefits of smaller class size, the general trend of the responses is positive. Seventy-eight percent of 40 questions have a higher means from 4.1 to 4.9. The results indicated that teachers believe reducing class size can have more benefits to students and to themselves. However, teachers perceived that reducing class size can bring more benefits to themselves, but they did not strongly agree that students can gain certain benefits

from the smaller class size such as higher academic performance, and better behavior. This might be explained by stating, reducing class size is only one of the factors that influences teaching and learning. Although teachers thought there could be more benefits from reducing the class size, it did not promise that students can get better instruction and learning help from teachers. Since the data is from different groups, the opinions and results could reflect the perception of the teachers who have different working experiences. A generalization of the results is a better representation.

As for the opinions of school principals, the five principals thought that smaller class size has its potential benefits to students and to teachers. Also all of them agreed that as family structure and support has deteriorated the need for smaller classes has increased. However, two of them doubt the advantages of reducing class size.

Basically, all principals mentioned the lack of financial support is the most urgent issue. They would like to have more teachers, teacher aides and certain training programs from the state governments and the local school boards to help them cope with the change. Finally, all the school principals want the state government to provide more financial support. Even one female principal claimed that possibly federal government might redesign their funds to assist this very valuable effort.

In short, several findings from these three sets of data are not questionable. First, from the state regulation, each state tried to use different ways to help schools implement smaller class size in order to reach a higher educational outcome. Second, teachers appeared to benefit from smaller classes; and teachers deemed that the ideal number of students in the classroom for quality teaching was 16-19. Third, the principals perceived that students could benefit more from smaller classes than teachers. Also, the principals felt that reducing class size must be accompanied by the school board support and state government financial support to enable them realizing the potential of smaller classes.

Discussion, Conclusions and Implications

Discussion

Reducing class size and increasing better educational outcome have been a continuing and controversial issue. Twelve years ago, Glass and Smith (1978) used meta-analysis to describe the phenomena of increasing student's learning achievement by decreasing class size. When class size was less than 20 students, the achievement increased rapidly. In their later study (1979), the authors showed that small class size was associated with higher quality classroom environments, better students' attitudes and greater teacher satisfaction. They addressed that small classes might increase teacher satisfaction, peer teaching, and student discussion; permit more interactive opportunities for individualized instruction; improve the quality of quantity of instruction; enrich the curriculum; and lower the rate of student failure. They suggested several methods to reduce class size such as employing reading specialists, part-time assistant teachers, paraprofessionals and noninstructional aides; scheduling and grouping within a classroom; and providing selective small classes for special need students.

On the other hand, the Educational Research Service disagreed with the findings. Different studies required different learning conditions; educators need to address which type of students might benefit the most from smaller classes. Small class size is good for primary grades, for reading and mathematics, and for special-case students. But if used without appropriate instructional methods and procedures, students cannot gain benefits from small class size.

Because of the interesting and attractive findings of studying smaller class size, State Educational Departments spent large amounts of budget to reduce class size in the primary grades, in order to get higher achievement scores. Such as in 1981, Indiana started a special project, PRIME TIME, to study the effect of smaller class size on achievement test scores in kindergarten, first, and second-grade classrooms. And in 1984 and 1986, Tennessee expanded several studies of student and teacher outcomes from smaller classes, and installed a

statewide project on reducing class size. However, the outcomes of those studies were controversial during the recent decade.

Class size is only one of several variables affecting classroom climate and student achievement. There are still other factors influencing classroom climate and student achievement such as subject and nature of learning objectives, availability of materials and facilities, instructional methods and procedures used, and so on.

The real impacts of reducing class size are still not clear. Many studies only emphasized on students' academic performance and behavior problems and not teacher variables. Only the STAR project, Glass, Cohen, Smith & Filby (1979) addressed some teacher variables.

The main effort of this study was to highlight the perception of teachers and school principals, as well as the basic philosophy of state government toward the smaller class size. Under the experimental situation, it is easy to set up a 15-pupil class. However, it is hard to work out a solution in the real world.

How do state educational departments react with this movement? How do teachers perceive this movement? How do school principals cope with this movement? All these questions are very important to consider the success of reducing class size.

Conclusions and Implications

From the finding analysis, there are four aspects induced.

(a) There is a gap between reality and dream.

Since State Educational Departments want to improve the outcome of education, the results of those studies of smaller class size interested them. In order to have more power or authority to ensure that local school systems really reduce class size, large numbers of state departments put specific student numbers into written documentation such as acts or regulations. They also use different strategies such as financial aid or penalty to ensure that local school systems do follow the rules.

However, the real world is, sometimes, not perfect. The State Educational Departments and school principals must consider all the problems within the real situations. From a school principal standpoints, lack of financial support is the most important issue. School principals know that smaller class size has benefits to students and teachers. Without financial support, schools cannot afford to build up physical equipment and to hire more teachers and teaching assistants. Reducing class size seems to be only a dream.

In order to balance the reality and the dream, many states choose to compromise class size numbers. Most states defined that small class size is about 18 to 22 students in one classroom under one teacher and/or one teaching assistant. Although it is not the perfect number, under 15 students, it is what the states and school can afford.

(b) Schools need more software supports.

Only reducing class size does not promise the higher academic performance and less behavior problems. Studies showed that smaller class size did not work out if teachers still used the same teaching strategies and instructional materials. Therefore, school principals want to have some kind of inservice training and instructional guideline from state departments to help teachers cope with this movement.

(c) Teachers did not highly perceive the benefits students can gain from smaller class.

Teachers and teacher unions are strongly supportive of the movement of reducing class size, but they do not perceive that smaller class will bring high benefits to students. Most teachers agreed that smaller classes will let them have more time to prepare teaching, to have better communication with students, to have better relationship with students, and to have high job satisfaction. However, teachers do not perceive that smaller class will bring more help and benefits to students. They do not strongly agree that students will perform better in smaller classes.

(d) Planning and logistic support are important.

All those results show that smaller class has its potential benefits to teachers and to students. But, the reality is not so wonderful. Lack of financial support, teachers, and teacher training are the most critical issues. It is impossible to think that a local school district can afford to reduce class size on their own. Only based on state financial support, local school district can reduce the class size.

However, if the state departments want to have higher quality of educational outcome, only reducing class size will not work out. How to support the schools reducing class size, how to let teachers understand the essence of smaller class, and how to let teachers have better teaching preparation may be the future directions.

On the other hand, this researcher found that theoretically and experimentally, small class size is the most appropriate and beneficial educational setting for students and teachers, especially for the lower grade level learners. But, practically, the essential factor of reducing class size is based on colossal funds. Although under the situations of different social environment, different educational philosophy and school systems, this study is a valuable reference information to the school this researcher serves.

Finally, this researcher would like to mention two points for future recommendation. First, because of lack of time and money, this study only investigated three factors related to smaller class size. Previous studies only observed and compared quantitative data such as testing scores, or number of behavior problems, and only emphasized on students. In future studies, the opinions from parents may provide clearer profile and understanding about the outcome of smaller classes.

Secondly, the main purpose of reducing class size is to improve the outcome of education. Reducing class size is only one of the strategies. And, this problem is very complex. Reducing class size cannot solve this problem. In order to reach this goal, educators and organizations should consider this problem from different viewpoints and cooperate in reducing class size with other strategies.

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Appendix A - Teacher Questionnaire

Instructions: Please circle the choice after each statement that indicates your opinion.

Part I. How would a small class size influence the following factors for making teaching decisions?

1. The teacher can utilize a greater variety of instructional material.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

2. The teacher can use a wider variety of different instructional strategies.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

3. The teacher is able to employ better teaching practices.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

4. The teacher adjusts the teaching technique to better address the student's needs.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

5. The teacher experiences greater satisfaction, more enjoyment and a higher sense of achievement in the classroom.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

6. The teacher provides more individualization to diagnose to the student's learning needs.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

7. The teacher's attitude is more positive towards the students.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

8. The teacher spends a sufficient amount of time in questioning his/her students.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

9. The teacher probes his/her students' responses deeper, and waits longer after a question.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

10. The teacher is available to provide immediate feedback.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

11. The teacher is able to spend more time with individual students.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

12. The teacher pays closer attention to individual differences among students.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

13. The teacher knows more about how each student is performing.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

14. The teacher's work load is easier.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

15. The teacher is able to be innovative and creative.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

16. The teacher's knowledge of students' individual abilities is increased.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

17.The teacher's attention to observing non-overt students behavior is increased.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

18.The teacher's knowledge of students' potential is increased.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

19.The teacher spends less time on managing the classroom.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

20.The teacher's time is increased to enable more work with the gifted and slow students.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

Part II. How would a small class size influence the following factors for student's educational responses.

21. The student's performance in cognitive knowledge increases.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

22. The student is more interested in learning.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

23.The student's behavior is more spontaneous, creative, and happy.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

24.The student's attitude improves significantly in comparison to achievement.

    Strongly   Strongly
     agree   Agree Undecided Disagree disagree
      (5)   (4)   (3)   (2)   (1)

25. The student is able to stay on-task a higher percentage of the time.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

26. The student is assigned more homework.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

27. The student's achievement among the economically disadvantaged minority, and low-achieving will increase.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

28. The student's attention rate is higher.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

29. The student's selection of learning materials is increased.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

30. The student develops better peer relationships.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

31. The student's attitude and perceptions are more positive.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

32. The student-teacher relationships are improved.

Strongly agree (5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)

Part III. How would a small class size influence the following factors for classroom climate?

33. The quality of the classroom environment is improved.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

34. Lesson completion rate is faster.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

35. There are more opportunities to evaluate students.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

36. There is more flexibility of classroom's physical arrangement.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

37. The rate of absenteeism is lower.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

38. Discipline problems are decreased.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

39. The noise level in classroom is decreased.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

40. One-on-one relationship between teacher and student is increased.

| Strongly agree (5) | Agree (4) | Undecided (3) | Disagree (2) | Strongly disagree (1) |

Appendix B - Principal's Interview Questions

1. What are the benefits and weaknesses of reducing class size?

    (a) Benefit :   a. to student

    b. to teacher

    (b) Weakness: a. to student

    b. to teacher

2. What are the problems of reducing class size the school principal faces?

    (a) Physical building.

    (b) Equipment-instructional materials.

    (c) Extra teachers and teaching aides - teacher training.

    (d) Budget - project guideline.

3. What kind of support of reducing class size does the school principal need from the state government or local school board?

Appendix C - Demographic And General Information

How many years have you taught in the elementary school?

_____years.

What grade do you teach?

_____grade.

How many students in your classroom?

_____students.

Do you have any teaching aide in your classroom?

_____yes.

_____no.

If yes, how many?

_____

What do you think is the ideal number of students in the classroom for quality teaching?

_____students.

小班制之研究：
美國州教育廳，小學教師及校長對
減少班級學生人數之看法

劉益充 *

摘　　要

本研究之目的一方面探討美國各州州政府有關小學班級人數立法規定之異同；另一方面研究教師對於在小班級制學生所獲得之益處爲何；同時探究教師本身若在一個較少學生人數班級裡之教學工作，其好處又爲何；再一方面探知身爲一校之長，他瞭解在減少班級人數中之學生與教師獲益爲何，而他在執行此政策所面臨的困難又何在。

本研究採用描述方法。收集美國三十七州主管教育行政機關對小學班級人數之立法或法令規定，加以分析此政策之信念，適用之班級人數及整個系統的邏輯性。由一百份樣本中回收之七十一分問卷內容搜集教師對小班級制之意見與看法。並訪談其中五所學校之校長，以便瞭解他們對實施小班制度之整體考量。

研究發現如下：第一，大部分州政府主管教育行政機關，不但對於班級學生人數皆有特別之規定，並且對於地方學校均有支持及協助之制度與方案。第二，此研究之結果與其他研究有類同吻合之結論。教師們均察覺到將班級學生減少所預見之好處。然而，教師們卻不全然認同學生因此而獲益。第三，校長們發覺小班制學生所得之效益大於教師。實施小班制最大的難處在於財務問題。

由上述之發現提出下列建議：首先，州政府除了在法規或法令中明定班級人數外，應該提供更多之財力支持及其他有關支持，如教師在職訓練，以協助地方學校建立制度。其次，減少班級學生人數只是影響學生學習因素之一，宜運用多元化講授及教學技巧來配合小班制，或許可提供學生一個更理想之學習環境。

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A Learner-centered Teaching Approach

Daniel Scott Cothran[*]

Abstract

These last few years a learner-centered approach has become almost a byword in ESL/EFL journals and conferences, yet few teachers have been quick to apply this approach to their own classrooms. This article attempts to adduce some of the reasons for this tendency and to issue a challenge to teachers to reevaluate their views. Lastly, the author reviews an article in which A. P. Littlejohn reports on a practical approach to implementing a learner-centered approach.

Introduction

Any discussion of learner-centeredness should begin with a clear understanding of what is meant when we speak of a person's "role." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines "role" as an "actor's part; one's function, what a person or thing is appointed to be expected to do." In his book *Roles of Teachers & Learners*, Wright (1987) gives a good illustration of what constitutes a social role. Wright writes that the social role of a pilot can be delineated into three aspects - his actions, his words and the expectations of others. For instance, the pilot's job requires that he sits at the controls of his aircraft and performs maneuvers such as landing, taking off, climbing and turning. At the same time, he shares the cockpit with the co-pilot, navigator and other personnel with whom he talks and maintains a relationship. If he is the captain, his position of leadership and responsibility will influence these relationships and how he conducts himself around his colleagues. Lastly, the passengers have certain expectations of the pilot that go far beyond any of the above occupational duties. For instance, he would cause quite a stir if he were to come suddenly out of the cockpit with uncombed hair and a beer can in his hand and begin flirting with all the women.

In a similar way, learners bring certain expectations with them to the classroom. The teacher's relatively high social position, especially in Taiwan, gives him the right and even the obligation to be in control of the learning process. If he does not fulfill this duty, he may be seen

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as weak and incompetent in the eyes of the learners. Furthermore, learners' expectations will lead them to believe that their own role is to comply with the wishes of the teacher. To take control of their own learning would be viewed as an attempt to usurp the authority accorded to the higher social rank. In most instances, the teacher maintains this "power relationship" (Wright, 1987) by a system of rewards and punishment usually in the form of grades. Learners not only accept this method of maintaining control but also expect it. Many of them would feel disoriented without it.

Another factor that affects classroom roles is the belief held by many learners concerning the nature of learning. Many believe, for instance, that to learn one must be taught. Only the teacher possesses the knowledge that they hope to possess and only the teacher knows how to convey that knowledge in a way that they can best assimilate it. Therefore, it is only logical that the teacher plans objectives, organizes class activities and assesses learners' progress.

Teachers[1] own beliefs also have an important influence on their role in the learning process. Many teachers believe that they can be good teachers only if they are in absolute control of classroom management. To give up some of that control would risk failure, and failing too often would diminish the enjoyment and sense of fulfillment they have always found in their teaching role (Wright, 1987). Every teacher has had the experience of walking away from a class where everything seems to go wrong. No teacher would deny feeling inadequate at those times and perhaps even doubting his competence as a teacher. Therefore, to "safeguard" their job satisfaction, many teachers feel compelled to tighten their grip on the class in an attempt to preclude any unforeseeable problems.

Another belief that many teachers share is that their main task is to do nothing more than to get the students from one place in the curriculum to another or, as Stevick (1980) puts it, to get "the turtle from point A to point B"(p. 13). This belief gives the teacher just one more reason not to hand over any classroom management to learners. To do so would risk wasting valuable time since learners are not trained to make up lesson plans or organize activities. Learners' mismanagement of resources would necessitate the repetition of particular lessons, and slower learners would attempt to reduce the pace of the class in order to meet their personal needs. Both of these would cause the class as a whole to fall short of the goals of the curriculum.

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[1]For the sake of smoothness, the teacher will be referred to as "he" throughout the article.

The last belief that teachers hold is probably the most important in determining their role and, consequently, it is one that will probably determine whether a teacher is open to implementing a learner-centered approach in his or her class. This belief falls into one of two opposing views (Littlejohn, 1985). The first view states that learners:

1) dislike and avoid study and will thus cheat at any given opportunity

2) must be coerced or threatened with punishment in order to get them to make the required effort

3) prefer to be directed, have little ambition, and want security above all (p. 257)

The second view sets students in a more positive light. Those who hold to it believe that learners:

1) enjoy mental and physical work

2) exercise self-control and self-direction

3) are committed to the objectives of a course because of the reward of achievement

4) accept responsibility

5) show a great deal of imagination in solving problems (p. 257)

If we were to investigate which view is held by most teachers in Taiwan, we shouldn't be surprised to discover that the former view is more prevalent than the latter. Many Chinese teachers feel that students need to be constantly pressured into studying because students lack the initiative and direction to learn on their own. Whether Chinese students are in fact so teacher-dependent is not the issue here. The fact that many teachers hold such a view should be a reason for concern.

First, the negative view of learners prevents a teacher from experimenting with any other role than the traditional one. The teacher is already predisposed to the idea that students learn best when discipline is imposed and that any relaxation of that discipline will result in chaos. The students are, therefore, not given the chance to show that they may respond very favorably to a new approach. Students are also not given the chance to demonstrate that not all of them fit into the mold characterized by the negative view.

Secondly, the negative view, like its counterpart, may actually cause students to demonstrate the very characteristics it predicts (Littlejohn, 1983). In other words, there is good reason to believe that a system set up to prevent students from cheating will cause them to cheat. This phenomenon is even more unfortunate considering that a teacher may forfeit by his

negative views the opportunity of awakening positive qualities in his students and changing the way they approach their studies.

The first challenge, therefore, is for teachers to take a serious look at the views that shape their role in the classroom and the basis for their views. If the teacher is honest with himself, he may see that he is not totally justified in holding some of his views and that modifying his role is well-worth trying. The second challenge is to take a serious look at the problems associated with one's present role and the benefits a change may have on students' learning. Some teachers have used an approach for many years and become so convinced that, though their approach may not be without problems, any other approach would have more problems. However, it may be that they have underestimated the seriousness of the problems associated with their present role and failed to see how much the students would gain by trying something different.

For this reason, this paper will discuss first the problems associated with the traditional role and then attempt to outline what a learner-centered approach entails as well as some of the major benefits involved. Lastly, a practical framework will be discussed for handing over more responsibility to students, and in particular students in Taiwan, to manage their own learning.

Problems Associated With the Role of the Teacher in the Teacher-centered Classroom

In the traditional classroom a parent-child relationship usually is fostered by the teacher's role as manager of the learning environment (Littlejohn, 1983). The students give up their rights and responsibility as adults to make decisions for themselves. Instead it is solely in the hands of the teacher to do this as well as to show approval or disapproval of learners' performance. It is no wonder that learners are put on the defensive in this kind of situation, afraid of being put on the spot when they do not know the correct answer. Learning, therefore, becomes "a burden, to be worn as little as possible and cast off entirely (i.e., forgotten) at the first safe opportunity" (Littlejohn, p. 596).

An additional and yet more serious problem occurs because the teacher is required to fulfill a multiplicity of roles at the same time. For instance, he is the "controller" (Harmer, 1990, p. 200) who organizes all of the classroom activities, sets up the tasks and aids the learners in performing those tasks. He is also the "prompter" (Harmer, p.202) who encourages learners to

participate in activities and the "resource" of all the knowledge that is to be acquired. Lastly, he is the "assessor" (Harmer, p. 201) of the learners' efforts and contributions. His evaluation determines the validity, correctness and relevance of the whole learning process.

The teacher who tries to fulfill all these roles is overburdened with a host of decisions. He has to make decisions concerning the learning goals as well the methods and tasks. He also has to decide on the content of each lesson, how much guidance to give and what he hopes the class behavior (i.e., punctuality, courtesy to others...) will be like. Moreover, he has come to terms with the most sensitive decision of them all - how to handle evaluation.

Allwright (1978, 1981) points out the complexities of managing all these areas entails risks that can threaten to destroy the value of the classroom experience for the learner. Almost every class is composed of a multiplicity of levels and it is a difficult task for the teacher to decide at which level to gear the material. Some of the better learners will inevitably feel that they are being 'spoon-fed' if the language is broken down into too many minute parts. Slower learners will feel demoralized if the level of the materials is too high or if the pace of the class is too fast. Likewise, some learners will feel frustrated if the teacher chooses inappropriate materials or learning goals as a result of making decisions without consulting the learners first.

In addition to the above, taking on the role of decision-maker in so many areas could have even more serious consequences. Learners who have no say in the decision-making process will become dependent on the teacher for help and as a source of intelligible target language input. However, after leaving the classroom environment, the learners will not have the teacher to supervise their learning and tell them how to go about it. This problem of teacher-dependency is not to be taken lightly. Anita Wenden (1987) points out that considering the rate at which new information is gathered in our changing world, knowledge learned at one point in a person's life quickly becomes obsolete. It is, thus, vitally important that people have the ability to cope with changing knowledge. For most people, being able to obtain and manipulate new knowledge is not just a luxury; it is a necessity because it "can bring about changes that will affect adults in both their personal and professional lives" (Wenden, p. 9).

In addition, Wenden (1987) reminds teachers that the place and time constraints that accompany formal classroom environments will limit how much learning can actually occur. Learners can not simply acquire all the language skills they will need for their future professional and nonprofessional goals within a set time limit; neither is it possible for the

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teacher to expose them to a sufficient number of communicative situations within the confines of a classroom to prepare them for all of their communicative needs. Courses need to help learners develop the ability to make up for some of these deficiencies when the need arises. This can not be done if the teacher is usurping all of the decision-making powers. For this reason Allwright (1978) concludes that a teacher who takes "direct and exclusive responsibility" for managing a course is "professionally irresponsible."

Redefinition of Teachers' and Learners' Roles

Any change in roles must begin with the teacher's reevaluating his attitude and expectations of learners in at least two areas. Firstly, he must move away from the erroneous assumption that every student learns in the same way, at the same rate, or has the same interests. Secondly, he must move away from the "teacher's 'I think you need this' toward the learner's 'I know I need this'(Littlejohn, p. 597)."

Next, he needs to slowly detach himself from his role of "controller" and begin to see himself more in the role of "facilitator" of learning. In this role, the teacher gives the learners more opportunities to make choices for themselves. Choices can be introduced into the classroom in any number of areas such as the time to be spent on the learning material and when the study tasks take place. The learners can be allowed to give input on short- and long-term objectives by devising their own projects in consultation with the teacher and hand them in at an agreed-upon time. Learners can be asked their preferred "mode " of learning (i.e., whether in pairs, groups, alone or together with the rest of the class). It is even possible to involve learners in choosing content. For instance, it might be left up to them whether they' would prefer subject matter in the form of fictional stories or factual information. Littlejohn (1983) even suggests that instead of buying thirty copies of the same book, each learner could be allowed to choose his or her own book and thereby build up a class library. As for evaluation, some aspects could be handed over to learners if learning objectives have been made clear (Holec, 1987).

The above suggestions do not necessarily involve handing over complete control to the class. EFL students in Taiwan would regard a teacher who goes to such an extreme as irresponsible, not to mention the fact that many of them would not know how to go about

planning their own learning. That is why Gower and Walters (1983) point out, "you need to subtly alter your role according to the activity without going to the extremes of dominating a class or leaving it without anything to do" (see Wright, p. 55). Some activities will require more central direction from the teacher than others, so it is up to the teacher to judge when his involvement would be robbing the learners of "work that learners could more profitably do themselves" (Allwright, p. 6).

Benefits From a Learner-centered Approach

It is natural that some teachers will initially react to a learner-centered approach with a certain amount of skepticism. There are obvious risks involved in giving learners a degree of self-determination - time-wasting, frustration and confusion to name a few - but these risks are equally present in any teacher-centered class (Allwright, 1978). Consequently, a teacher's focus should not be solely on the risks involved in a new approach. Teachers need to have a balanced view in which they consider both the drawbacks as well as the benefits.

Consider, for instance, the studies of learner-centeredness done by Beach, Littlejohn, Fitz-Goibbon and Reay (1983). The studies indicate that motivation is increased when responsibility for class-management is shared with the learners. Obviously when learners are working toward linguistic and communicative objectives that they have determined for themselves, they will have more incentive to see that those objectives are reached. Kohenen (1992) also reports on experiments in self-guided learning that demonstrates how increased learner involvement satisfies needs such as "belonging, acceptance, satisfaction from work, self-actualization, power, self-control" (p. 18). For this reason, Kohenen sees the merits of this approach in the feeling of success and competence that it manifests in the learners. Littlejohn (1983) relates that when learners are given more autonomy, they not only do as well as those in traditional teacher-centered classes, but in some cases do better.

A Procedure for Implementing a Learner-centered Approach

It can be assumed that some reservations about a learner-centered approach arise from the fact that many teachers are not able to imagine how to implement it in a practical way in their

own classrooms. For this reason we will discuss a procedure that Littlejohn (1983) utilized with two groups of Arab students at the University of Bahrain. His experiment in learner-centeredness is of particular consequence to teachers in Taiwan because many readers will probably note qualities in these students that match those they see in their own. This procedure is only one of many that could be practically implemented in a classroom in Taiwan.

Subjects of the Experiment

In Littlejohn's experiment he worked with lower intermediate Arab students who had to repeat a semester of "General English" and were therefore not very motivated. They had been taught by traditional methods which involved mainly whole class activities with very little if any communicative elements. Furthermore, like most EFL students in Taiwan, "they saw language learning as the study of grammar and vocabulary and the roles of teacher and learner as clearly separated" (Littlejohn, p. 600).

Activity One: Questionnaire

Littlejohn began by distributing a questionnaire to the class (Appendix A). The questions were designed to solicit students' views concerning their goals for learning English, the best ways to learn any language and the pros and cons of using their present text. The whole class then brainstormed possible answers to the questions before silently filling in the questionnaire at their desks. After everyone was finished, the teacher invited students to share their answers with the class while he recorded them on the board. This activity was followed by a session of discussion in which the teacher encouraged students to elaborate on their answers and seek clarification from other students as to why they held certain opinions.

The objective of this first activity was two-fold. First, it drew learners's attention to some of the "relevant issues" such their learning goals as well as the approaches, methods and materials they might use to achieve those goals[2]. Secondly, it demonstrated to learners in a subtle way that their experiences and opinions were important and would have an impact on the class.

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[2]Obviously, it is possible to add a variety of questions to the questionnaire, depending on the issues you would like the students to address. For instance, if you are teaching students who are together for the first time, you might want to ask them questions related to methodology or materials used in former classes to get a feeling for where they are coming from and which methods or materials they like. If, for example, you suspect that the students have already been exposed to methods involving group and pair work, you might want to get their input on their favorite method.

Activity Two: Textbook Review

Next, Littlejohn had the class split up into groups and each group was assigned a different section of their grammar book. Their task was to examine each section and record on a table (Appendix B) the steps required to complete it as well as how their perception of its difficulty level. After all the results were handed in, the teacher made up a list of the activities in descending order of difficulty[3].

In addition to providing the students with "experience in working cooperatively without ongoing teacher direction" (Littlejohn, p. 603), this activity gives both the teacher and the students insight into what kinds of exercises the students themselves consider as difficult. This valuable information can later be exploited by both the teacher and the students as they prepare lessons.

Activity Three: Students as Teachers

Following the completion of this task, Littlejohn asked for volunteers to "research" the different areas of grammar categorized in the last task and then share their findings with the class as well as prepare some exercises for the other students to do. The teacher met with each of the volunteers in order to provide them with alternative materials to consult and to select exercises from. On the day the volunteers were to give their presentation, the teacher sat among the other students and gave assistance only when asked to do so[4].

In this exercise the students practiced communicating content (i.e., grammar explanations and exercises) that was important to both their own success in the course and that of the other learners. Therefore, one benefit of this activity was that it introduced students to the idea that a classroom task can have real communicative value. More importantly, it got them thinking about how they might best arrange activities to help both their peers and themselves.

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[3]If a teacher is teaching a new group of learners, he will need to make some modifications. In that case, he could give the learners the actual grammar text that they will be using in the coming semester and do the same tasks as described by Littlejohn.

[4]What the students were to look for as they "researched" different grammar points was not made explicit in the article. The idea seemed to be that students were left to their own discretion as to what they discovered and then presented in class. As for the presentations, I would advise against doing one after another as this would become monotonous. It would be best to spread them out over period of time with other activities planned for in-between.

Activity Four: Error Correction

In the following activity the students were divided up into groups and each group was given a tape recorder. They were given instructions for a role play, which they were to put together impromptu while recording the whole process. They were allowed to stop the tape recorder at any time and ask for assistance from each other when they did not know a word or were not sure about the grammar. After each group was finished, they were given a task sheet (Appendix C) which required them to listen to the tape and write down any mistakes or problems that they noticed. The task sheet also includes a place to record corrections for each of the mistakes. Similar to the last activity, students typically did not resort to asking the teacher for assistance unless the group-as a whole could not resolve a problem.

The purpose of this activity was first to make the students more attentive to the errors that they typically made. Secondly it contributed to their slow but steady progress along the road to autonomy. They became more and more aware that they could function as effective learners without the constant intervention of the teacher.

Activity Five: "Student-Directed Lessons"

In preparation for the final stage of this experiment, the class was divided up into small groups and was given the task of listing all the language activities they could remember having used, noting those that were particularly enjoyable and helpful. Groups also spent some time discussing their personal learning goals and then compiled these into an additional list for future reference.

By the eighth week, when the students had demonstrated that they worked satisfactorily in small groups and had learned enough from the above activities to plan lessons for themselves, the teacher set aside two of the six class hours per week as "student-directed lessons" (p. 605). He designated groups of five or six students whose responsibility was to plan and to carry out their own activities during these two hours[5]. Similar to other times, the teacher remained in the background, only giving assistance when the students requested it. During the remaining four

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[5] It seems to me that to get the most out of this activity, groups should be divided up according to level of English proficiency. In other words, the better students should separated from the slower learners. In this way, each person in a group will have an opportunity to prepare a lesson and then teach it to the group.

class hours, the teacher taught as usual; however, he purposely tried to plan activities in such a way as to introduce the learners to as many new methods and techniques as possible.

After the students had led a few of these student-directed lessons, the teacher arranged a time for the class as a whole to share their feelings about their first hands-on experience with this approach. At this time problems caused by the absence of teacher-control were brought up and solutions were proposed. As a result, student-generated rules such as those below were set up for each group:

1. Only speak English. Only speak another language if it is very necessary.
2. Help each other and correct each other's mistakes.
3. Only ask the teacher after you have asked the others in the group.
4. At each session, make a different person responsible for preparing something to bring to the next meeting (p. 605).

The Results

In the weeks that followed, Littlejohn noticed that students utilized a repertoire of methods and techniques comparable to most teacher-centered classrooms [e.g., "dictations, grammar, explanations, pair work, dialogue building, communication games, and so forth" (p. 605)]. Moreover, a definite sense of community was formed in which students felt relaxed about helping each other. In the small groups slower learners presumably received more individual attention than is usually possible in a traditional classroom. Most importantly, students took on a much more active role in their learning. They realized that they did not need the teacher to answer all of their questions and could look to each other or to reference books for the answers[6].

At the same time, however, the implementation of this approach was not completely without problems. Foremost was the students' apprehension concerning the value of some activities. Students' expectations led them to judge the worth of any activity by its ability to prepare them for the final examination. If the link between the task and the exam was not clear, some students felt unhappy and dissatisfied. Another related quandary had to do with the fact that the teacher, not the student-teachers, knew what would be included on the exam. Therefore,

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[6]This last point is one that most teachers in Taiwan could appreciate since many teachers comment how passive Chinese learners are.

there was some resistance shown to having students organize and teach the small groups[7].

Conclusion

In traditional classrooms teachers usually select teaching materials according to the level of the average student, hoping that the slower students will somehow catch up with the rest and that the faster learners will make allowances for slow pace of the class. However, in reality this situation often leads to only a fraction of the students finding real satisfaction in their learning experience. Many learners end up feeling demoralized, knowing that their dependence on the teacher does not afford them any other alternative than to make the best of their present situation.

A learner-centered approach, however, offers a practical solution to many of the woes of traditional teaching methods. Students learn how to take responsibility for their own learning and are more adept at helping others meet their special needs. They also gain confidence in seeking target-language input outside class to fill in some of the gaps in their learning. They know that the walls of the classroom do not restrict the amount of language that can be learned.

The process of involving learners in classroom management must be done gradually; it would be a mistake to simply hand over control of a class and see what happens. It requires the teacher first to help the students develop the management skills they will need to be successful. The more the learners show themselves competent in their new role, the more the teacher can step back and act as "facilitator" of learning instead of sole source of learning.

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[7]This second problem could be resolved if the students were made aware of what skills or content would be covered on the exam. When student-teachers are preparing lessons, they could incorporate some of those skills and content into their lessons.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Why are you learning English?

How do you think English will be useful to you?

What do you think is the most difficult thing about learning English?

Can you give precise examples?

What do you think you need to learn?

What do you you think is the best way to learn?   Why?

What do you like in the (name of a book)?

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APPENDIX B

Review of Previous Textbook

Look at each unit that you have been assigned and try to fill in the table below:

Unit/What exactly does the section   How difficult is it?
Section ask you to do?   1 2 3 4   5   6 7 8 9 10
                                           easy   difficult

P e r s o n a l l y / G r o u p A v e r a g e

APPENDIX C

Listen to the recording of your roleplay. Stop the tape every time you think you hear a mistake or have a problem understanding something. Discuss the mistake/problem in your group and then complete the table.

Mistake/Problem   It should have been like this:

以學習者爲中心的教學法

柯　思　義*

摘　要

　　近年來，以學生爲中心的教學法在英語教學期刊及學術研討會中廣受重視。然而，在實際教學應用上並不普遍。本文旨在探討其原因，並鼓勵任課教師重新評估他們對此教學法的看法。本文並討論李德強（A. P. Littlejohn）所撰的關於如何實際應用此教學法的一篇報告。

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Using Art Activities to Motivate Repeaters

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Abstract

Repeaters are students who have failed their mid-term and final examinations in a course and have to repeat it. Teaching these students is a challenge because many lack self-motivation and esteem. In addition, going back over the same materials is boring for both teachers and students. This paper presents the experience of incorporating *art* into the teaching of Freshman English repeaters as a way to alleviate these problems. Sample lessons and the classroom implementation results are described and discussed. The technique has been effective -- students' fear of English was turned to delight, and all of the repeaters passed the course successfully in their first try.

Background

Repeaters refer to those college students who fail the mid-term and final examinations in a course and must retake it. From 1989 to 1993, I was assigned to teach repeaters of Freshman English program at Tunghai University in Taiwan. The first time I walked into the classroom, I was stunned by the sight of students squeezing into the last three or four rows and lowering their heads to avoid direct eye contact with me. I hesitated for a minute or two in front of this group who seemed diffident and anxious. The meticulously prepared, step-by-step, course plan sat in front of me but somehow seemed woefully inadequate. I proceeded to try many tricks to break the ice: encouraging them to introduce themselves, soliciting questions about myself, and organizing them into groups. Most students remained passive and silent. Frustrated, I decided to seek help from some of my colleagues who were either teaching Repeaters at the time or had taught Repeaters in previous years. The following are some of the responses:

A has been teaching English for 12 years and is currently teaching Repeaters who are English majors. She has many years of experience in teaching Repeaters. When she was asked how she felt about teaching Repeaters, her first reaction was, "I don't like it." Then she explained her dissatisfaction as follows:

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Their major is English, but they are not interested in English at all. I think that was why they failed the course before. Some of them have even failed two or three times. Freshman English is the easiest course. If they fail this one, I wonder how they are going to pass the rest of the required courses.

The atmophere in the classroom is passive. I feel it is very difficult to motivate them, and I am afraid that it's almost impossible to help them make progress in only one semester. Some of them are my former students; for them, I can't use the same materials or the same old tricks....that makes things even more difficult. (9/5/1993)

B has been teaching non-major Freshman English for three and a half years. When we started to talk about the Repeaters, he used an old story as an analogy:

....it's like a father who always beat his daughter and said that he loved her. One day, that girl met a young man who really loved her but didn't beat her. The girl couldn't believe that he loved her, because there was no beating.... The same is true for Repeaters. I feel Repeaters are distant. They're worried only about the test scores, not about English learning. We did some activities in class they didn't particularly like, because they didn't think the activities would do any good as far as their tests are concerned. (9/18/1993)

What **B** meant here was that extra classroom activities would not help; students needed a "beating" in the form of examinations.

C had been assigned to teach Repeaters the year before, which she did not like at all. She used the term "inferiority complex" to describe the Repeaters.

They had a lack of confidence; they always lowered their heads to avoid direct eye contact with me.... They were afraid of making mistakes, so they sat rather quietly. You needed great patience to encourage them, to build their confidence. (10/21/1993)

D was a Chinese language student and a part-time English teacher who had always taught high-level students. The fall semester of 1993 was the first time he had ever taught Repeaters. His reaction was "surprised!"

> I didn't know that they don't even know those basic grammatical rules, so
> we spent lots of time just on ground-level stuff.... (9/16/1993)

E has a great deal of experience in teaching low-level Freshmen, but he also expressed frustration when talking about the Repeaters. He sighed, then said,

> No response, almost none. Most teachers like to teach highly motivated
> students, but the Repeaters just sat there... very difficult to motivate them.
> (10/19/1993)

From these comments, I felt somewhat reassured that at least I was not alone in the feeling of exasperation. It was generally observed that the students were anxious about tests, which distracted them from actual learning, and that students lacked basic English grammatical knowledge. Moreover, they worried that they could not talk properly and were so afraid of making mistakes that they hardly uttered anything in class. Because some of them have failed the course repeatedly, they had lost their self-esteem and had neither the confidence nor interest in learning English.

In the fall semester of 1993, I decide to take a new approach using art to motivate Repeaters due to my previous experience in art education and graphic design. Before I experimented with art in the language classroom, I used a questionnaire called *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning Version 7.0 (ESL/EFL)* (Oxford, 1989)(Appendix A) to check their English learning style in the following categories : A) Remembering more effectively; B) Using all their mental processes; C) Compensating for missing knowledge; D) Organizing and evaluating their learning; E) Managing their emotions F) Learning with others. Besides these six categories, I added one more item; with five True-or-False questions to find out if they would like to use art in class.

The results of the questionnaire were quite interesting: First, the top overall average for this questionnaire is normally 50, but my students' overall averages were rather low; they were

between 12.7 and 26.9 Secondly, most students received very low scores on the E)Managing your emotions section. According to their answers in this category, the Repeaters felt nervous whenever they are using English, they were extremely afraid of making mistakes, and they didn't like to talk about their feelings about English with others. Thirdly, their scores on part C and part F were very low, which meant that they were afraid of making guesses when they encountered unfamiliar English words, and they dared not ask for help. Finally, they didn't particularly like drawing; only 1/3 expressed any interest.

Based on the questionnaire, I interviewed each of my students. To my surprise, most students had not had any bad feelings when they first heard that they had failed and had to repeat Freshman English. They said, "My English has never been good, so I was bound to fail." One student even asked me,"Why did you interview me first? I wonder if it is because I got the lowest questionnaire scores?"

In fact, from the interviews I found that English was most students only academic problem, the only subject they failed. One girl even told me that she could have received a scholarship, but failing English made it impossible. Some senior students had already finished most of their courses, and English was the only subject holding them back. If they were to fail again, they would have had to come back to school to repeat this one course, even if they had a job.

Through this interview I found out more about the Repeaters, who were from a variety of departments, and at different ages. Age differences made some seem more mature: one senior girl didn't want to work with others; she felt they were too young for her taste. Fortunately, most of the students' inhibitions and the lack of motivation seemed to dissipate after these one-on-one intimate conversations with me.

Art In Language Education

I taught arts and crafts to children several years back. Drawing on this experience, I thought art might be useful as a tool to remove some of the inhibition in class. I found that the students had stopped taking art courses in tenth grade, as art was not a subject tested in the highly competitive college entrance examination. I could see some awkwardness when we first did some drawings in class.

Adriana Diaz's *Freeing the Creative Spirit -- Drawing on the Power of Art to Tap the Magic and Wisdom Within* (Diaz, 1992) provided many ideas. At the beginning of her book, she criticized traditional art education, which made drawing and painting only for the talented ones (Diaz, 1992, p.6). She states:

> ...and too many people walk through life with a sense of failure and lack of self-respect where creativity is concerned. (Diaz, 1992, p.6)

That was why some of the students were reluctant when they were asked to draw; their first reaction was, "I can't draw." In fact, according to Diaz, everyone can draw; everyone can hold a pen or a pencil doodling something on paper. Here she showed us how to free ourselves to draw:

> ....to be playful, for playfulness is the ultimate form of creative autonomy. It is non-goal-oriented and nonreasonable (this is not the same as unreasonable). Playfulness is whylessness. It is spontaneous celebration and exploration. (Diaz, 1992, p.23)

This notion of "playfulness" is reminiscent of the Bulgarian scientist, Dr. Georgi Lozanov, the first person who used Suggestology[1] in language teaching. One of his principles of Suggestopedia, double planeness is based on the idea that if things are "generally pleasant on the unconscious level, things will be sure to go smoothly on the conscious, cognitive level" (Stevick, 1980, p.231) Indeed, when he and his Suggestopedia's practitioners were operating Suggestopedia, they used many art forms to stimulate students consciously and unconsciously in order to make the language learning process reach the level of joyfulness, and hence, uncover students reserve capacities.

Elina Salabarria's practicum report at Nova University, Center for the Advancement of Education; Learning English through Art in the Elementary School provides me much information about using art in the language-learning classroom:

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[1]Suggestology is the comprehensive science of suggestion in all its aspects, but for the time being it deals mainly with the possibilities of suggestion to tap man's reserve capacitites in the spheres of both mind and body. Consequently it is the science of the accelerated harmonious development and self-control of man and his manifold talents. *Innovative Approaches to Language Teaching*, Blair R.W. ed., 1982, p.146

Before the age of about six, the brain increases in cells or neurons. After
that the neurons make countless interconnections, associations based on
such sensory perceptions as sight, touch, and sound. These associations are
stored in the brain as learning. The art classes can stimulate these connec-
tions and associations with language acquisition. The art program can help
the flow of images, ideas, contexts and words. (Salabarria, 1990, p.16)

Based on her study, she used art in her sixth grade class with her ESL students. The results
revealed an average gain of 40% in English vocabulary, of 40% in command of the grammatical
constructions of the English language, and of 30% in English pronunciation.

Linking art and language acquisition with teaching does not only apply to elementary
school children: The Language Experience Approach (LEA) (Safwat, 1986) has shown that the
application of art to adults can be equally successful. LEA teachers not only use their own pic-
tures as stimuli, but also encourage students to draw pictures and talk to learn how to describe
the pictures they draw (Safwat, 1986). This approach has been extremely successful for low-
level students.

For my own class, my emphasis is to encourage students to first develop *ideas* that they
can take ownership of, and communicate through art, in the form of a concrete *product* such as
a brochure, pamphlet, poster, or book. To foster this process, I have used all kinds of visual
stimuli such as photographs, magazines, posters, famous paintings and drawings, commercial
art work, cartoons, flash cards, as well as video tapes, slides and overhead transparencies. My
goal is to stimulate the students to create their own artistic expression with which they can then
more comfortably describe, discuss, explain and write down their thoughts in English.

Sample Lessons

At Tunghai, a semester consists of sixteen weeks of instruction, four class periods and one
language lab period per week. I designed forty lessons based on the three textbooks and three
simplified readers required from a larger program at Tunghai University (see Appendix B for
the course syllabus). Based on students' feedback, the following twelve lessons among the forty
were the most effective:

1. **A Book About "Me":** Students develops books about themselves through the use of the "Me Tree".

2. **The Winged-Bean Flyer:** Students get the information from the text, then make a colorful flyer.

3. **What Have I Done So Far Today?:** Students use the present perfect tense and the past tense in terms of the things they have done that day.

4. **The Missing Elephant Man Poster:** After reading a simplified reader called The Elephant Man, students make their missing Elephant Man posters.

5. **Home Robot For Sale:** After reading the text called Robots for the Home, students make their own home robot ads, then try to sell their robots.

6. **Family Tree:** Students learn family relationship words and know how to talk about their family members through the family tree they draw.

7. **Halloween Decoration:** Students decorate the classroom with ghosts posters and symbols of Halloween.

8. **Creating A Dialogue:** Based on the pictures students draw, student create their own dialogues.

9. **Earthquake:** Students use the new words which they learn from the text about earthquakes to describe their own pictures.

10. **New Product Ads:** Students use the proper forms of comparative and superlative adjectives to create ads for new products.

11. **Asking Questions:** Students generate questions regarding the illustrations of the assigned simplified readers before reading the text, and they find the answers after finishing reading the book.

12. **Describing A Person:** Students describe the characters of the simplified reader which they are assigned to read.

These lessons are necessarily oriented toward Tunghai's requirements but can be adjusted to a variety of situations in other teaching contexts. I will describe two lessons in detail in this section, *A Book About Me* and *New Product Ads*. For each of these lessons, I first state the objectives, then give the specific procedures that I followed, and then my own observations of that particular lesson. I finish with a summary of the feedback that I received from students and suggestions for possible alternative activities. A complete description of all twelve lessons can be

found in Wendy Ting Shu Wens thesis (1995) — Incorporationg Art with English Teaching and Learning: Using Art Activities to Motivate Low Level Students.

1. A Book About "Me"

Objectives:

1. Students will be able to talk about themselves according to the "ME TREE" that they have created.
2. Based on the "ME TREE," students will be able to create a book about themselves.

Procedures:

1. T asks Ss to draw a big tree, along each branch Ss should write something that can describe themselves. As T talks about the tree, she starts to demonstrate how she does her own tree: She draws a big tree with long graceful branches, then she writes some words along each tree branch. Each time she draws one more branch, she adds some more words along it.
2. T uses this "ME TREE" as a tool to introduce herself. She draws at the same time as she talks about herself (see figure 1).
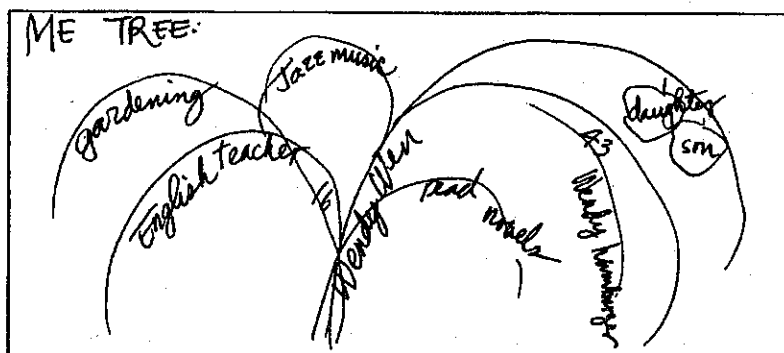
figure 1. Teacher uses ME TREE to introduce herself.

3. Ss start to draw their own trees on white paper pads.
4. T puts students into pairs. Ss talk to their partners about their own trees.

5. T assigns Ss to make a book about themselves according to the trees they have drawn. The book should be able to represent some aspects of themselves. They should feel free to use pictures or any sort of decoration to go with the words.

Follow-up:

1. T draws a man and a woman's profile on the board. On the top of the board, she writes FIRST ENCOUNTER, below each figures, she writes their names, JOHN and MARY (see figure 2).
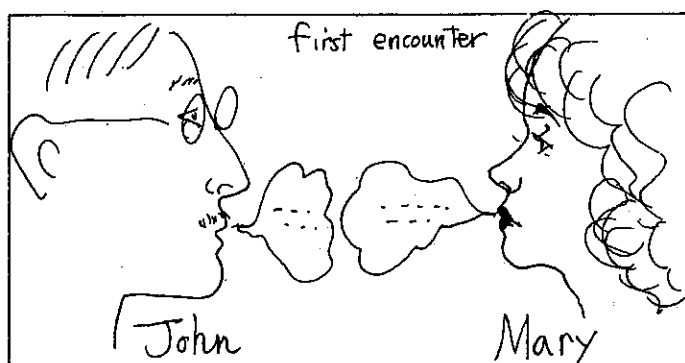

figure 2. John and Mary's first encounter.

2. T encourages Ss in pairs to take the roles of John and Mary and perform their first encounter.
3. T shows Ss a video tape of how Westerners introduce themselves when they first encounter each other.
4. Ss form two lines to practice their first encounters with each classmate.
5. T distributes a list of attributes: can do 20 push-ups, have a driver's licence, was born in September, etc. Then she asks Ss to find someone who can do 20 push-ups, or who has a driver's license. Whenever Ss find someone who fits an attribute, they fill that person's name in the blank.
6. Ss walk around to find someone who can do 20 push-ups, who was born in September, etc. To ask each new classmate's name, they practice the first encounter language they have learned from the tape.

7. At the bottom of the handout, there are three empty spaces in which Ss have to write three things they would like to find out from their classmates.

Observations:

1. Ss looked hesitant at first. It seemed that they had never drawn anything in the language classroom.

2. This was the way I introduced myself. So instead of standing in front of them talking about me, I drew a tree with graceful lines of branches, leaves and dangling fruit. If they couldn't understand my English, there were some written words for them to grasp.

3. I could see different reactions for the second step: some couldn't wait; they grabbed a pencil and started to draw right away, others hesitated; they drew one line, then erased it. I could see the Chinese product-oriented education had affected them. They had to get those lines right! One particular student was very interesting: she drew a little tree on the top of the page, then listed several things under it. It seemed that the little tree was only a decoration, and the writing was the main part.

4. To them, I was still a stranger. I tried not to walk too close to them; I was afraid that I would interrupt or intimidate them. I let them talk to each other comfortably. I could hear a few Chinese words along with the English.

5. I assigned them to write "A BOOK ABOUT ME." I was a little worried that the jump from a page to a book would be too large, so I encouraged them to create their own unique books which could be huge or tiny, triangle or round. in other words: they could do whatever they liked, as long as their books could fully represent themselves.

6. Each pair of Ss had their own version of their first encounter a stranger. Some made their personal funny touch, which brought out some laughter and eased Ss tension immediately.

Reflections and Changes:

We did this activity before I had read their questionnaires. Later I found that most of them did not particularly like drawing, but they all loved colors. At least that was a good sign of interest in art. So for my other class, I brought a big box of colorful magic markers and 36-color felt tip pens. They could choose whatever colors they would liked to draw the ME TREE on the big pieces of white paper I gave them. The result was much better than the first class; they were definitely more at ease and more willing to talk about their colorful trees. Some of the books that the first class made were quite creative with pictures, others were only words. Most of their

writings were superficial: names of their parents, number of their siblings, their interests, etc. Nothing stood out to distinguish one from the other. For the second class, I added one more activity in which I showed pictures of stick figures to indicate some special interests and abilities that I have, such as that I can ride my bike with only one hand holding the handle bar, I can whistle, etc.

Students started to draw their own. If they couldn't draw, they were welcome to draw symbols to indicate their concepts as long as they could read their own drawings. Then they shared their drawings with their group members. After that, I asked, "What interests and abilities do people in your group have that you think are unique?" As they were sharing and laughing, they became familiar to each other, lowered their inhibitions, and, at the same time, increased their own self-esteem. The books that the second class made had more texture and greater variety: they came in different sizes, colors and shapes. In addition, their writing was more interesting, deeper, and more humorous. I was fascinated by their creativity.

2. New Product Ads

Objectives:

1. Students will be able to use the proper forms of comparative and superlative adjectives. (-er and more; -est and most)
2. Students will be able to create ads for new products, and use comparative and superlative adjective forms in the written passage of their ads.

Procedures:

1. T shows Ss a poster-sized picture with several items on it, then asks Ss to choose any two items to make a comparison.
2. T asks Ss questions such as:
    Which one seems to be the most expensive one?
    Which one is the biggest?
    Which one seems to be the heaviest one?
    .....Ss practice using superlative forms.
3. Ss are assigned to finish all the exercises in their grammar book (Azar, 1992, pp.327-334).

4. T tells Ss to imagine that they are working for an advertising agency. Each S has to make an ad for a particular product, and they have to give an attractive name to that product.

5. T asks Ss to think of a list of adjectives which can describe their own products. Along with the adjectives, Ss have to write the comparative and superlative forms for the adjectives.

6. Based on the lists, Ss write a passage to sell their products.

7. T collects the writings, then distributes them to the class. Each S should have another students writing, read it, then find the problematic sentences and write them on the board.

8. Ss discuss the problematic sentences on the board. T doesnt intervene while Ss are discussing this.

9. T shows Ss some sample poster lay-outs, then assigns Ss to make their own posters with their own written passage.

10. Ss hang their own posters on the wall. They are told to check each others posters. Each S has to find the one they are particularly interested in buying, and they have to give the reasons why that product attracts them.

Observations:

1. The adjectives they used to make the comparisons were the most common ones, such as big, small, long, short; it seemed that they could hardly think of any other adjectives other than these. The most common mistakes that they made were using more and -er together: some even used more for all the comparative adjectives. At this point I had a strong intention to correct their errors and give them the reasons for the corrections immediately. Then I realized for this stage, it was better for me to hold back. I asked them why some of them use -er and others use more instead. One students knew the answer, and told the whole classs. Then we started to brainstorm some more comparative and superlative forms according to the rule she had mentioned. Some Ss looked as if they had heard this rule for their first time.

2. Ss seemed to have fewer problem with the superlative forms than the comparative forms. I wondered if it is because in both English and Chinese, the superlative sentence pattern is easier.

3. Azar's grammar book allowed Ss to learn more adjectives from some basic exercises, which were definitely very useful, before they actually listed adjectives which could be used to describe their products. I noticed that they did it without any effort.

4. Ss usually can't find the errors in their own writing, but they seem to have no problem finding other's errors: the whole blackboard was full of sentences Ss had found from each other's

papers. Either finding the errors or correcting the errors on the board demanded a very high degree of concentration. My withdrawal from the activity made them concentrate more.

5. When all the ads had been put on the board, I encouraged Ss to look them over closely and then write down how they felt about each one. This would help them to express themselves for the next step. It was a pity that when we reached the next step, time was up and only a few did the talking.

Reflections and Changes:

I have used this activity to teach comparative and superlative forms of adjectives several times. I remember that the first time I asked students to create an advertisement, some of them found that it was difficult to generate any fresh ideas. Now I realize that the warm-up activities are curcial. In *Supporting Whole Language* Constance Weaver listed several principles for significant human learning; one is:

> In order to engage students wholeheartedly in learning, however, learners
> must be confident that they will be safe. That is, the environment for learn-
> ing must be risk-free. (Weaver & Henke, 1992, p.7)

In order to encourage students to create product ads, I had to make sure that they were well prepared and they felt secure, ready to take the initiative, which meant that they not only had a favorable environment in which to create whatever they wanted, but also that they had the basic language tools for them to express themselves.

Several of my colleagues often complained that Chinese students lack creativity, and it is true that our educational system does place less value on any sort of creativity. But I believe that if we teachers set up a risk-free environment for our students and treat students as capable individuals by offering challenges to stimulate them, they can become just as creative as we can imagine.

Students' Feedback

Throughout the semester, I invited students' feedback in several informal settings or during the class period. I was encouraged by what I was told on how much they were enjoying the

course. At the end of the sixteen-week semester, I was ready to dig a little deeper: If they liked it, why? What had helped them learn best? If they didn't like it, why? What had hindered them in learning? To aid this process, Deborah Hoffmen Fowler's IPP (1991) *Structured Feedback: A Means of Learning and Practicing Metacognition* provided some valuable ideas on how to elicit honest opinions from students:

> I must express my physical and emotional state a calmness which may even appear to be a passivity although it is not. In this situation, I am not a mover; I am a receiver. I must not appear to care too intensely about the content of student responses or even that they respond at all..... (Fowler, 1991, p.38)

In order to maintain emotional distance, I decided to ask my students to write down their feedback instead of giving their feedback verbally in front of me. A written questionnaire in Chinese was given to the students on the final day of the class (1/14/1994). Since I couldn't recognize students' Chinese handwriting, and they might feel freer and more willing to express their feelings in Chinese, I allowed them to write their answers in Chinese. The following summarizes the statistical results and the students' own further explanation, which I extracted from their questionnaires and translated into English:

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1. How do you think that combining art with language affects your English learning? Please choose one answer, and explain it.

    a. It made a big difference for me.   46 out of 55   84%
    b. A little difference.   9 out of 55   16%
    c. No difference.   0

Explanation for answer a:
❖ It was easier for me to understand.
❖ Things I learned in class were printed in my mind more deeply.
❖ It made the boring class more interesting and more lively.

❖ It was different from the traditional way of teaching; it was more like the Western way. I felt more motivated. It broadened my view. I found that I had learned more through art acitivities.

❖ It was easier for me to memorize new words and phrases; some of the things I learned in class, I probably will never forget.

❖ I became more creative.

❖ Because I paid more attention to the art, it affected my English learning, and the results of learning were better.

Explanation for answer b:

❖ It was different from my previous English class. But sometimes we had too much homework which needed to be done with pictures, that was rather difficult for me. I seldom draw or paint. When we did this art in class, it made me feel shameful to be such a terrible "artist."

❖ If there were just one or two art activities, that would be very interesting. But I found that art had too much emphasis, I was getting tired of it later on.

❖ I think art is helpful for low level students to understand the text. As for me, I consider my level is higher than others. Art didn't do any good for me.

❖ I suffered from not being so artistic.

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2. How did you feel when you spoke English in class?

a. I still felt very nervous; I was afraid that if I made a mistake, people would laugh at me.

13 out of 55(23%)

b. Not so nervous; even if I knew I made a few mistakes,I kept talking.

42 out of 55(77%)

(No further explanation given.)

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3. The following are twelve activities which we did in class. Please answer these two questions for each activities:

a. What helped you to learn?

b. What did you have difficulty with?

Based on these two questions, students expressed their thinking and reaction regarding each lesson. The following are the answers I directly translated from the students' questionnaires concerning the two sample lessons that were described in detail in this paper:

A Book About "Me"

a. Benefits:

❖ By drawing a Me Tree, I started communicating with my partner. It was a very interesting beginning.

❖ The Me Tree made me understand myself more.

❖ I found that drawing a Me Tree made it easier for me to talk about myself. Usually it isn't easy, I am very shy.

❖ I am happy that I created something that belongs to me.

❖ It was the first time I drew and I learned English at the same time: very special, and very interesting, quite an experience for me.

❖ I found that was a very useful lesson, because I learned how to introduce myself to others.

❖ I got to know my teacher more. I was glad that I could understand what she was talking about.

❖ In this book I wrote my past experience, and decorated it with some pictures, very creative.

❖ Wendy told us to create a book totally different form others, so I made a special one which could represent myself.

b. Hindrances:

❖ I don't like to tell other people too much about my personal things, so I didn't know how to talk about myself, nor did I know how to write about myself.

❖ Some of the things that I know how to say in Chinese, I don't know how to say in English. Same for my partner, we both got stuck, and it was a very embarrassing situation.

❖ It was like an entertainment, that was all.

New Product Ads

a. Benefits:

❖ I feel more creative.

❖ I think writing the written passage really improved my writing ability.

❖ I used to be so confused about the comparative and superlative forms. Creating an ad made me more confident of using them properly.

❖ I liked the part where I could draw a new product.

❖ I liked using my own drawing to learn grammar.

❖ For this challenging assignment, I spent so much time to think, to find the information. It was a lot of work, but it was worth it.

❖ I created a new product, drew it on the paper. By looking at the picture, words which could describe the product gradually came out.

b. Hindrances:

❖ I can't draw, but I've learned some English anyway.

❖ This homework was too time-consuming. The problem was that I didn't have enough time. Besides English homework, I had other homework that needed to be done.

Conclusion

I remembered my trepidation in my first Repeaters' class. When I walked into the class-room, the atmosphere was depressing: some lowered their heads, others sat in the corner, few wanted to get very involved in the class. Even as the students grew more relaxed, their "door to learning" was barely ajar. In the journal that I kept on the class, I used my experience of raising silkworms as a metaphor to show my frustrations at that time:

> ...For those relatively thin and yellowish ones, I noticed that they seemed to be less interested in food (leaves); they either lift their heads wondering which way to go or lie there as they are going to die. Once I stuck a piece of leaf right in front of them and forced them to eat. They turned their heads away and curled their bodies around.

> Looking at these silkworms reminds me of my Repeaters. While some of them did look like fat silkworms grabbing leaves to eat, others are still very

passive; they seem to never reach my goal as independent learners! (5/14/1993)

In art, I have found an important tool to stimulate their interest in learning English. Most students were doubtful in the beginning --- only one third of them believed that they liked art at all. At the end of the semester, however, complaining voices were very few. From the questionnaire I gave them at the end of the course, I found that most Repeaters thought positively of their experience; they found the course interesting and motivating, and they felt much freer to express themselves in class. One student added some extra comments at the end of the questionnaire:

> The most significant thing I learned from this class is that I had walked
> away from the shadow of being a "Bad English Student," which was the
> tag that had been stuck on me for a long time... (1/14/1994)

For myself as a teacher, the experience was an extremely satisfying one. All 55 students passed the final examination -- a standardized test for English students, not just those in my class -- and, more importantly, the students no longer regard English as an intimidating hurdle to somehow climb over, but, instead, a lively and fun experience to enjoy with confidence and humor.

In closing, I recall a visit to the Robert Frost Trail in Vermont in the summer of 1993. I came upon a couple of lines from "The Last Mowing" carved in a wooden stand:

> Then now is the chance for the flowers,

> That can't stand mowers and plowers

These wonderful lines that fully describe my sentiment toward my students! Repeaters are traditionally viewed as failures; to me, they are just "beautiful flowers" that cannot stand the "mowers and plowers," I believe art provides a chance for them to sweep their negative self-images away and tap the creative powers within. Through the medium of art, my repeating students can become butterflies liberated from their cocoons and fly away freely to an unbounded new world.

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Appendix A

Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL)
Version for Speakers of Other Languages Learning English
Version 7.0 (ESL/EFL)
(c)R. Oxford,1989

Directions:

This form of the **Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL)** is for students of English as a second or foreign language. You will find statements about learning English. Please read each statement. On the separate Worksheet, write the response (1,2,3,4 or 5) that tells HOW TRUE OF THE STATEMENT IS:

1. Never or almost never true of me
2. Usually not true of me
3. Somewhat true of me
4. Usually true of me
5. Always or almost always true of me

NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE OF ME means that the statement is very rarely true of you.

USUALLY NOT TRUE OF ME means that the statement is true less than half the time.

SOMEWHAT TRUE OF ME means that the statement is true of you about half the time

USUALLY TRUE OF ME means that the statement is true more than half the time.

ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE OF ME means that the statement is true of you almost always.

Answer in terms of how well the statement describes you. Do not answer how you think you should be, or what other people do. There are no right or wrong answers to these statements. Put your answers on the separate Worksheet. Please make no marks on the items. Work as quickly as you can without being careless. This usually takes about 20-30 minutes to complete. If you have any questions, let the teacher know immediately.

Part A

1.____I think of relationships between what I already know and new things I learn in English.

2.____I use new English words in a sentence so I can remember them.

3.____I connect the sound of a new English word and an image or picture of the word to help me remember the word.

4.____I remember a new English word by making a mental picture of a situation in which the word might be used.

5.____I use rhymes to remember new English words.

6.____I use flashcards to remember new English words.

7.____I physically act out new English words.

8.____I review English lessons often.

9.____I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page, on the board, or on a street sign.

Part B

10.____I say or write new English words several times.

11.____I try to talk like native English speakers.

12.____I practice the sounds of English.

13.____I use the English words I know in different ways.

14.____I start conversations in English.

15.____I watch English language TV shows spoken in English or go to movies spoken in English.

16.____I read for pleasure in English.

17.____I write notes, massages, letters, or reports in English.

18.____I first skim an English passage (read over the passage quickly) then go back and read carefully.

19.____I look for words in my own language that are similar to new words in English.

20.____I try to find patterns in English.

21.____I find the meaning of an English word by dividing it into parts that I understand.

22.____I try not to translate word-for-word.

23.____I make summaries of information that I hear or read in English.

Part C

24. ____ To understand unfamiliar English words, I make guesses.

25. ____ When I cant think of a word during a conversation in English, I use gesture.

26. ____ I make up new words if I do not know the right ones in English.

27. ____ I read English without looking up every new word.

28. ____ I try to guess what the other person will say next in English.

29. ____ If I cant think of an English word, I use a word or phrase that means the same thing.

Part D

30. ____ I try to find as many way as I can to use my English.

31. ____ I notice my English mistakes and use that information to help me do better.

32. ____ I pay attention when someone is speaking English.

33. ____ I try to find out how to be a better learner of English.

34. ____ I plan my schedule so I will have enough time to study English.

35. ____ I look for people I can talk to in English.

36. ____ I look for opportunities to read as much as possible in English.

37. ____ I have clear goals for improving my English skills.

38. ____ I think about my progress in learning English.

Part E

39. ____ I try to relax whenever I feel afraid of using English.

40. ____ I encourage myself to speak English even when I am afraid of making a mistake.

41. ____ I give myself a reward or treat when I do well in English.

42. ____ I notice if I am tense or nervous when I am studying or using English.

43. ____ I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.

44. ____ I talk to someone else about how I feel when I am learning English.

Part F

45. ____ If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again.

46. ____ I ask English speakers to correct me when I talk.

47.____I practice English with other students.

48.____I ask for help from English speakers.

49.____I ask questions in English.

50.____I try to learn about the culture of English speakers.

Part G (True or False)

51.____I like drawing

52.____I think if I cant express myself well in English, with visual aids or with pictures drown by myself can help me.

53.____I think colorful pictures, slides, video tapes and other visual aids can help me learn English better.

54.____I love colors.

55.____I like using art in my English class.

SILL Worksheet

1. The blanks (____) are numbered for each item on the SILL.
2. Write your response to each item (that is, write 1,2,3,4 or 5) in each of the blanks.
3. Add up each column. Put the result on the line marked SUM.
4. Divide by the number under SUM to get the average for each column. Round this average off to the nearest tenth, as in 3.4.
5. Figure out your overall average. To do this, add up all the SUMS for the different parts of the SILL. Then divide by 50.
6. When you have finished, your teacher will give you the Profile of Results. Copy your averages (for each part and for the whole SILL) from the Worksheet to the Profile.

Part A	Part B	Part C	Part D	Part E	Part F	Whole SILL
1.____	10.____	24.____	30.____	39.____	45.____	SUM Part A____
2.____	11.____	25.____	31.____	40.____	46.____	SUM Part B____
3.____	12.____	26.____	32.____	41.____	47.____	SUM Part C____
4.____	13.____	27.____	33.____	42.____	48.____	SUM Part D____
5.____	14.____	28.____	34.____	43.____	49.____	SUM Part E____
6.____	15.____	29.____	35.____	44.____	50.____	SUM Part F____
7.____	16.____		36.____			
8.____	17.____		37.____			
9.____	18.____		38.____			
	19.____					
	20.____					
	21.____					
	22.____					
	23.____					

SUM____	SUM____	SUM____	SUM____	SUM____	SUM____	SUM____
9=____	14=____	6=____	9=____	6=____	6=____	50=____

(OVERALL AVERAGE)

Profile of Results on the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL)

You will receive this profile after you have completed the Worksheet. The Profile will show your SILL results. These results will tell you the kinds of strategies you use in learning English. There are no right or wrong answers.

To complete this profile, transfer your averages for each part of the SILL, and you overall average for the whole SILL. These averages are found on the Worksheet.

Part	What Strategies Are Covered	Your Averages on This Part
A.	Remembering more effectively	_____
B.	Using all your mental processes	_____
C.	Compensating for missing knowledge	_____
D.	Organizing and evaluating your learning	_____
E.	Managing your emotions	_____
F.	Learning with others	_____
YOUR OVERALL AVERAGE		_____

Appendix B

Syllabus for Repeaters

WEEK	M	T	W	Th	F	Family Album	Project Achievement	Grammar	others
	gray shading indicates No Class								
1	September						pp5-17	7-1 7-2 7-3	pick up book introduction
		21	22	23	24				
2	27	28	29	30	Oct 1		pp 18-29	7-4 7-5	Oral One *Simplified Reader I
3	4	5	6	7	8		pp 30-37	7-6 7-7 7-10	Quize One
4	11	12	13	14	15		pp 38-45	6-15 6-11 6-12	Write One
5	18	19	20	21	22	Episode 7	pp 46-53	13-1 13-2	Oral Two
6	25	26	27	28	29	Episode 7	pp 54-59	13-3 13-4	Quiz Two
7	November								
	1	2	3	4	5	Episode 8	pp 60-69	13-5 13-6 13-9	Write Two
8	8	9	10	11	12	Episode 8	pp 70-78	16-3 16-4	Oral Three
9	15	16	17	18	19	Episode 9	pp 110-117	16-5 16-6	Quiz Three
10	22	23	24	25	26	Episode 9	pp 118-125	Review	Review
11	29	30	December			Mid-term Exams			

WEEK	M	T	W	Th	F	Family Album	Project Achievement	Grammar	others
			1	2	3				
12	6	7	8	9	10	Episode 10	pp 80-89	4-4 4-5 4-6	Write Three *Simplified Reader II
13	13	14	15	16	17	Episode 10	pp 90-97	4-7 4-8 4-9 4-10	Oral Four
14	20	21	22	23	24	Episode 11	pp 98-109	4-11 4-12 4-13	Quiz Four
15	27	28	29	30	31	Episode 11	pp 126-131	10-1 10-2 10-3	*Simplified Reader III
			January						
16	3	4	5	6	7	Episode 12	pp 132-137	10-4 10-5 10-6	Quiz Five
17	10	11	12	13	14	Episode 12	pp 198-204 pp 208-214	Review	Review
18	17	18	19	20	21	Final Exam			

* Vicary, Tim.The Elephant Man (5th ed.) England: Oxford University Press,1992.

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以藝術活動引導重修生學習英語

文 庭 澍[*]

摘 要

　　重修生是一群無法通過期中和期末考必須重修同一門課程的學生。這些學生通常學習意願不高，自信心也不足，老師教學倍感吃力，加上重修的課程通常重複前一個學期的舊教材，學生更是缺乏興趣。所以，如何引發學生學習的興趣，對老師是一大挑戰。

　　本文敘述一段以藝術活動引導重修生學習大一英文的經驗，並討論如何經由老師設計的藝術活動使英語課程的教材與教法更活潑多樣，如何透過藝術的啟發，重新燃起學生對英語學習的興趣，使學生藉著自我的創作，解放桎梏的心靈，從而優游自在學習英語，不再自縛手腳。

　　學生在課堂上的學習過程經由老師加以細心觀察、記錄、反省，並將教學方法加以適度的調整與修正。學習的結果，從學生的意見調查中反應出學生對學習英語的恐懼與挫折轉為歡愉與自信，所有的重修生都能順利通過大一英文的統一測驗。

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井上毅の国体論・君主像

－天皇像をめぐる伝統と近代

林　珠　雪

摘　要

　　本文是藉在日本近代化過程中，唯一一位既參予明治憲法又起草教育
敕語的人物--井上毅之國體論與君主觀來探討近代天皇制的特色。本文共
分四節。第一節，分析井上毅爲論證天皇統治的正當性所提出的「しらす
」型國體論。第二節，論述井上毅之「しらす」型國體論與傳統君主觀的
形成過程，並從中探討井上毅之「宮府一體」論的思想背景。第三節，從
井上毅的立憲君主觀來探討彙具近代立憲君主與傳統君主之雙重性質的天
皇，在憲法上的合理性。第四節，分析教育敕語的發布與井上毅之君主觀
的破綻。根據以上的論述可明看出教育敕語的發布所呈現的日本近代化的
矛盾，而此種矛盾即使在井上毅的合理化理念國家中也無法獲得解決。

＜はじめ＞

　本稿は、明治憲法と教育勅語の両方を起草した唯一の人物である井上毅の国体論
君主観を検討することによって、近代天皇制国家の特質をとらえようとするものであ
る。すなわち、井上毅の天皇観に存在する伝統と近代の矛盾を、井上がいかに解決し
ようとしたか、そして井上が明治国家の近代化に取り組んだ時、井上の国体観と君主
観がどのような変化を示したかなどの問題を究明することによって、明治国家の近代
化とそのジレンマを明らかにしたいと思う。

（一）井上毅のしらす型国体論

　明治維新によって、明治国家が封建的な身分序列から四民平等社会に転換した際、
たとえ本質にはまだ封建的な要素が存在しても、建前では当然のこととして近代社会
の姿を示していかなければならない。
　近世の幕藩体制における将軍の統治の正当性は、天皇からの大政委

＊東海大学　日文系

形式に依存したものであったから、大政奉還によって天皇親政に変わってきた時、天皇統治の正当性は、王政復古という古来の律令制に形式上戻ることから説明すれば、十分論証できる。しかし、明治維新の目的は日本を律令制時代に戻そうとしたものではなく、西洋列強に並ぶような強大な国家にすることである。したがって、幕藩体制の崩壊からもたらされた国内統一の課題を解決するために、国家大権を天皇に集中するという形をとって、政治上の統一的支配体制を備えるようになった。天皇支配の正当性は、支配層（封建社会の武士階級）向けに説明するだけではなく、新しく成立した一君万民という社会体制の臣民を対象にして、説明せねばならないのである。また、欧米の承認し得る近代的統治原理に符合するような天皇統治の正当性でなければならないのである。天皇統治の正当性が伝統的律令制のみでは説明できなくなったのち、近代的明治国家の君主としての天皇統治の正当性は重大な課題となってくることとになった。

　明治政府のブレーンと称される井上毅は、明治憲法の起草に参与した際、伝統と近代の接合を論証可能なかたちで説明しなければならなかった。井上毅に関する史料の中で、この問題について最も体系的に説明したものは、明治二十二年二月十六日に、皇典講究所での井上の講演「古言」である（同じ内容の異本「言霊」は明治二十三年三月一日に、『皇典講究所講演録』第二巻として刊行された）。

　井上毅は「古言」の中で、まず古事記の中の「うしはく」と「しらす」という二つの言葉を借りて、日本古来の統治原理は中国とヨーロッパの統治原理より優れていることを説明した。すなわち、中国・西洋の「うしはく」型の私的領有形態の統治と違って、日本の天皇統治は「しらす」型の統治であり、人民を物質的な私有財産として領有することではなく、「先第一着に天日嗣の大御業の源は、皇祖の御心の鏡で、天下の青人草を知ろしめして、力でない心で御支配遊ばして、御心にかけられて、御世話を遊したといふことが、御国の国の成立の初めである」（『井上毅伝』史料編第五、三九八頁）という精神的な心の動きによる自然的な統治形態であるとする。そして、この「しらす」型的な統治形態は各国と違う特殊性であり、また他国にまさる統治形態でもあると考える。

　また国家の成立原理について、他国の契約説や征服説と違って、「御国に於ける国家成立の原理は、君民の約束でない、兵力の征服でない、一ツの君徳である」（同、三九九頁）という君徳説で日本国家の成立原理を説明したのである。

　そして井上毅は、日本国家が以上のような特殊性に基づいて自然に近代国家の原理と適応し得ることについて、次のような理由を挙げていたのである。

　まず、公法と私法の区別に適応できるような「しらす」型統治について、「欧羅巴の人が二百年前に辛うじて発明したる公法・私法の差別は、御国には大昔より明かに定つて居る、是は何故ぞといへば、即、御国をしらすといふ大御業は、国土を占領す

ることゝ全く公私の差別のあるからである」と述べた。（同、四〇〇頁）また、日本
の租税について、「国を知らす、天職の道理が初めより明かであつた故に、君位君職
に付いての入用経費は、天下全国に割負せて、是を租税と名づけて、人民の義務とし
て納むることであつた」（同、四〇〇頁）と説明した。それに、「欧羅巴の租税は、
元来、約束に成立つたものである、御国の租税は、君徳君職に属したる人民の義務で
ある、」（同、四〇〇頁）ということから、ヨーロッパとの差異を述べている。

　そして、結論としては、日本と他国の大なる区別は、他国の「うしはく」型統治と
違った「しらす」型の万世一系の天皇統治にあるとした。明治憲法発布後の明治二十
三年に刊行した「言霊」では、井上はまた一つの結論を下した。すなわち「我か国の
憲法は欧羅巴の憲法の写しにあらすして即遠つ御祖の不文憲法の今日に発達したもの」
（『井上毅伝』史料編第三、六四六頁）であると。

　明治憲法の発布にあたって、以上のような論述を公表したのは、当時の明治国家の
必要に応じたものと考えられる。すなわち、一つの近代国家を建設する際に、近代国
家の原理と日本君主の統治の正当性原理が整合的であることを証明しようとしたもの
である。以上の内容から見られるように、井上は、天皇は公的なものしか意思しえな
いという「しらす」型統治が、近代的統治原理に適応できることを強調した一方、日
本国家の特色は、その精神的な心の動きによる自然的な統治形態と、皇祖皇宗の人民
を慈愛するゆえの「君徳」にあるということを説明し、さらにそれは、他国にまさる
統治形態であることをも強調しようとしたのである。

　鈴木正幸「皇室財産論考」は、「井上毅が、統治権と所有権の概念的区別を明らか
にして王土論的名分論を克服しつつ、しかも皇室が私有財産を持つことに極力反対し
たのは、皇室が私有財産を持つことが、天皇統治の正当性（天皇家が統治権を世襲的
に独占することの正当性）と矛盾すると考えたからであった」（注1）ことを論証す
るために、「古言」と「言霊」を引用し、井上毅の国体論について、次のように述べ
ている。「国体がいかに近代国制の法理に適合的であるかについて、井上が公権と私
権、したがって統治権と所有権の峻別の中から説くべく、神代史における「うしはく」
型統治と区別される「しらす」型統治を見出し、それによって、ヨーロッパにおける
家産制的支配から近代的統治への転換が人為（革命）を媒介とせざるを得なかったの
に対して、日本では予定調和的、自然的に近代国制になじむ国柄であることを説得的
に説いている」（注2）。すなわち、「しらす」型統治においては天皇家の「私」的
存在がないゆえに、西欧の公権と私権を峻別する近代的法理に適応しうるということ
から、鈴木氏の井上の天皇統治の正当性についての論述は、天皇＝「公」という「

注1　鈴木正幸「皇室財産論考」（下）一頁、（「新しい歴史学のために」、一九九
　　　〇年）。
注2　鈴木正幸前掲論文、二頁。

しらす」型統治に集中して論じていた。しかし、「古言」と「言霊」における井上の
国体論は、天皇の統治は近代的法理に適応できるという天皇統治の正当性よりも、「
地球上ニ独立スルノ国体」という他国にまさるような伝統的天皇統治の優越性を強調
しようとするのである。したがって、精神的な心の動きによる自然的な統治形態と、
人民を慈愛する「君徳」による国体的天皇統治の優越性こそ、井上の「古言」と「言
霊」の精神なのではないであろうか。

　たしかに、「古言」と「言霊」で井上は、日本の国体的優越性を強調する一方、そ
の国体が近代的法理に適合的であることを論じていることも確かである。そこには、
統治権と所有権を区別すべし（公権と私権の峻別）という近代的統治原理の意識が存
在する。しかし、井上はなぜ前近代的思想を近代的論理として再生産しようと苦心し
たのか。この問題については、井上自身の考え方のほかに、当時の国際関係や日本人
の国際観並びに、国内の社会背景と政治状況も合わせて考えなければ、証明できない
と思う。またたしかに国際的観点から見ると、明治日本の文明国家を目指す実質的な
目的は、やはり条約改正の問題であり、この問題を解決せねば本当の独立的な近代国
家は成り立たないので、西洋列強に認められるような文明国家たることが要請されて
いた。ゆえに、明治国家の君主としての天皇の権力のあり方は、西洋の近代的統治原
理に合わせなければならないのである。そしてまた、日本の国内情勢に目を向けてみ
れば、民権派・福沢派の議院内閣論に対抗するために、天皇を主体とする立憲君主制
の正当性を主張しなければならなかったのである。

　しかし井上の国体論は、それのみを考慮の対象にしたのではなかろう。井上の国体
論を考える場合に留意すべきもう一つの問題は、人民の生存する社会的基盤そのもの
の性質であろう。市民革命を経ず、短期間での資本主義化が当時の日本社会にもたら
した影響は、やはり表面的な変革でしかなかったのである。当時の日本の社会構造は
やはり幕藩体制の影響下で、家・共同体を基礎とする、まだ前近代的なものである。
だから、国家の支配体制の変革があっても、社会構造が変わらない限り、底辺にいる
民衆の思想と精神はやはり前近代的なもので、近代的市民思想が受け入れられるよう
な土壌はまだ耕されていなかったのである。そのような社会背景の中で、井上毅が当
時の人々を説得できるような論理をつくろうとすれば、必然的に「言霊」のような論
理を持ち出さなければならなかったと思われる。

　島善高「井上毅のシラス論註解」は、「言霊」に註を付けるという方法で、井上が
しらす型統治様式のどのようなところに日本の独自性を見いだしたのか、及び井上の
皇室の「「公」と「私」に対する考え方などを論究したものである。島善高氏は、井
上のしらす型統治論について、次のように説明した。「『シラス』はすなわち、『一
身の為でなく』『私の心によってではなく皇祖の心に従い』、しかも『力によるので
はなく君徳に基づいて』天下を治めるということであって、『欧羅巴人のオッキュパ
イドと称へ、支那人の富有奄有と称へたる』兵力による征服や『土地人民を我か私産

として取り入れたる大国主神のしわざ』とは『雲泥水火』の違いがある」（注３）。
このようなシラス型統治論によって、井上は積極的に日本の国体の独自性を打ち出す
ことができると述べていた。また、井上は「シラス」型統治論に現われた「公権」と
「私権」の考え方はブルンチュリーの『国法泛論』からの影響であり、「公私未分離
の家産国家であった中世とは違って近代国家は国法私法を畩別すべきであるという所
論にはとりわけ強い影響を受けている」ことも説明した。（注４）したがって、島氏
は井上の思考の脈絡を忠実に辿るという仕方で、しらす型統治論の内容に関する井上
の日本の国体に対する考えをとらえようとした。しかし、井上はいったいどのような
目的でしらす型統治論を出してきたのかについて、島氏の論説に即して見れば、それ
は他国と違った日本の国体の独自性を打ち出そうという理由である。無論、井上が「
言霊」で最も強調しようとするのは、日本の独自的国体に基づいた伝統的天皇統治の
優越性である。だが、それだけではその目的を完全に説明できないと思われる。当時
の日本にとって、独自的な国体を打ち出すまえに、まず近代的国家の君主としての天
皇統治の正当性を、西洋列強に認められるように説明しなければならない。すなわち、
当時の日本における内外の状況から考えれば、井上がしらす型統治論を提起する理由
は日本独自の国体の強調だけではなく、万世一系の天皇統治という国体を、いかに近
代国制の法理に適合させるのかという考慮も重要な要素であったと考えられる。

　井上は日本を近代的独立国家として列強に認めさせるほかに、日本の独自的国体を
維持するためにも、日本の伝統的天皇統治の国体と近代国制の法理とを自然に融合で
きるようなしらす型国体論を提起したのである。このしらす型国体論に表れた井上の
天皇統治における伝統と近代の融合から、近代天皇制国家の特殊性も映しだしている
と思われる。このことを逆に言うならば、井上の国体論・君主像を明らかにすれば、
近代天皇制国家の特色もそれなりにとらえられることになると考えられる。

　そこでまず、井上のしらす型国体論・君主像の形成過程を検討することによって、
井上の伝統的君主観を究明したいと思う。

注３　島　善尚「井上毅のシラス論註解」（梧陰文庫研究会編『明治国家形成と井上
　　　毅』〈木鐸社、一九九二年〉二九〇頁。
注４　島　善尚前掲論文、二九八頁。

（二）　井上毅のしらす型国体論・君主像の形成過程

　井上のしらす型国体論・君主像は、次のような時期を経て形成してきたものと考えられる。まず、慶応三年までの藩校生活を中心とする井上の儒学の勉強の時期である。この時期の井上は幕府の官学とも言われる朱子学を主として勉強していた。第二の時期は、慶応三年、江戸遊学を命ぜられてフランス学を初めて学んだ時期からの西洋諸国への接触と近代法の吸収の時期である。以上の過程を経て、井上の独自の国体論と君主像が形成されるようになる。すなわち、井上は、第一の時期と第二の時期で蓄積された学問を基礎にして、日本の独自の国体を求めるために、国学への転換により、そのしらす型国体論・君主観を形成していったのである。

　（1）第一期

　井上毅は、天保十四年（一八四三年）十二月、熊本城下竹部に生まれる。父は熊本藩家老米田家の家臣飯田権五兵衛、後に慶応元年（一八六五年）、同じ家中の井上茂三郎の養子となった。幼時米田家家臣のために設けられた学塾必由堂に学んだ後、主人米田（長岡）の命で十四歳頃藩儒木下犀潭の門に学ぶが、やがて陪臣の子弟として異例の抜擢を受けて藩校時習館にむかえられ、その居寮生として慶応三年に至る。藩校での学習は井上の学問の基礎とも言える重要なものである。

　慶応三年まで、井上毅は「朱子の道学的謹厳に加うるに、徂徠学一派の古学的・文芸的洒脱を加味し、さらに加うるに国学に内在する勤王精神と皇道尊崇をもってし、真の朱子ともつかず、古学とも断ぜられず」（注5）と評される時習館で、儒学を中心とする学問の基礎を築いていったのである。以下井上の藩校時代の読書ノート『灯下録』八冊を中心に、第一時期の井上の藩校時代における儒学的政治思想と君主像の形成について検討しようと思う。

　井上の儒学に対する勉強は学問に止まらず、生活上の実践にも及んでいる。『灯下録』に「妄言を禁じ、妄念を絶つ、誠の道を立つるなり」、「学を志すに、須く先ず苟且の心を絶つべし」（注6）など自戒ないし反省の自己修養の言葉が多く見出されるほかに、朱子学的な「修身」の言葉もたくさん存在している。たとえば、「一切の理にあらざる心は皆妄念なり、一切の理にあらざる言は皆妄言なり」、「人事を学んで天理に達す、聖賢は同帰なり」、「心を正すは、これ性に帰るのこと」「一日喜怒を節すれば、是一日の気質が変わる」（注7）等のような内容から推察すれば、井上は明らかに朱子学の信奉者である。「理」の存する「本然の性」に帰する聖人への道

注5　笠井助治『近世藩校における学統学派の研究』下冊（吉川弘文館、一九六九年）一七二〇頁。

注6　『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ−１（１）、『灯下録』第一冊（原文−「禁妄言、絶妄念、立誠之道」、「志学、須先絶苟且之心」）

は学問の目的であり、その実践の方法はやはり朱子学の提供する形而下の「気質」の転化と心を正す「反性之事」という「修身」法である。所謂「存心」と「窮理」の方法によって、人欲を滅尽して本然の性に帰るという聖人の道である。それは個人の道徳的精進の究極的目標である。

　朱子学の道徳的実現は個人の道徳的実現のみならず、一切の政治的社会的価値の実現もまた、その道徳実践の範囲である。「物格りて后に知至る。知至りて后に意誠なり。意誠にして后に心正し。心正しくして后に身修まる。身修まりて后に家斉う。家斉いて后に国治まる。国治まりて后に天下平らかなり。天子自り以て庶人に至るまで、壱是に皆な修身を以て本となす。其の本乱れて末治まるものは否ず。」（注８）という大学の言葉で表す身から天下まで、心から天理までの道徳の連鎖的配列は朱子学の「連続的思惟方法」（注９）の全体系の完結である。朱子学の信奉者である井上は道徳の完成は個人の道徳の完成としての「修身」だけではなく、「治国」という治者への道こそその志の帰着であり、「明徳にして仁なり、孔門の教えは人々皆仁を志せしむ、尭舜の政は天下の民皆以てその明徳を明らかにならしめる」（注１０）すなわち、「天下平」の前提は尭舜之政という聖人の政治を完成しなければならないとしているのである。

　また「学者少小の時、立身に務め、その壮に及んで、行道に務め、その老に及んで、述作に務める」そして「学んで優れれば仕う。蓋し十五にして学に入り、四十に至りて、道明らかに徳立ちて、即ち仕えるなり」、「大丈夫は当に国家の用を為す、区々の詞章詩句何するためぞ」（注１１）などから見られるように、井上の自分に対する期待は、やはり治者としての官僚への道である。そして、「身は舜の臣道を践み、まさに人主以て尭の君道を望むべし」（注１２）と述べたように、国家の政治が「尭舜之政」という理想を果たすために、自分にも臣下としての責任を自己要請している

注７　同上（原文ー「一切非理之心皆妄念也、一切非理之言皆妄言也」、「学人事而達天理、聖賢同帰」、「正心是反性之事」、「一日節喜怒、是一日化気質」）

注８　島田虔次『大学・中庸』（上）、（中国古典選６、朝日新聞社）、七三頁～七六頁

注９　すなわち、自然法則は道徳規範と連続している連続性である。この連続思惟は朱子哲学の大きな特色である。「天理は人性と、気は人欲と、法則は規範と、物は人と、人は聖人と、知（格物窮理）は徳と、徳（修身斉家）は政治（治国平天下）と悉く直線的に連続せしめられる。さうしてかうしたすべての連鎖が道徳性の優位の下に一糸乱れざる配列を示してゐるのである」。（丸山真男、『日本政治思想史』〈東京大学出版、一九八六年〉二八頁）

注１０　『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（３）、『灯下録』第四冊、七頁（原文ー「明徳而仁也、孔門之教使人々皆志於仁、尭舜之政使天下之民有皆以明其明徳」）

のである。

　そして、治者としての立場は、人民を管理するだけではなく、人民に対する「明明徳」という教化の役割も治者の責任であると自らに要求する。井上の考えでは、治者側と被治者側を二分して、治者側にあってはその役目に相応する条件も、被治者のそれとは違うのである。「乾徳健に、坤徳順ひ、故に小人君子に順ふ、これを治世と為す」（注１３）、そして同じ「徳」と言っても、それぞれに内容が違うのである。「仁義礼智は無形の前に存し、所謂無極而大極なり、孝悌忠信は有形の後に生じ、所謂有物有則」（注１４）そして「治世は陽であり、気の盛であり、聖人がこれに処する道は二つある。一つは仁であり、もう一つは礼である。乱世は陰であり、気の衰であり、聖人がこれに処する道は二つある。一つは義であり、一つは智である」（注１５）、また「聖人、人を教うるに、忠信を持てす。これをして、理を窮め、知をつくせしむ。その善を好み、悪を憎むの心をよく発す。自らやむべからずして、後これを提し、慎独自慊の説をもって、其進徳の基をなすのみ」（注１６）などから見られるように、被治者の「明明徳」と言うのは、聖人への完成の道程ではなく、社会の規範に従って、「孝悌忠信」の道徳規則を守るだけのことである。しかし、これに対して、「古より、大有為の君は、乾徳を体せずして、よくその志しをなす者未だあらざるなり。易に曰く、天行健にして、君子自強をもって止まず、思うに孟、程、朱は尭舜をもって、その君を責めるは、また君道の当然を欲するのみにして、苟も過高の言となさざるなり。」（注１７）と述べたような治者側への要求は、「存於無形之前」「無極而大極」の「仁義礼智」という道徳である。すなわち、治者の道徳は「理」を体現

注１１『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（４）、『灯下録』第四冊、二一頁（原文－「学者少小之時、務在立身、及其壮、務在行道、及其老、務在述作」）、『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（８）、『灯下録』第八冊、二六頁（原文－「学而優則仕、蓋十五入学、至四十、道明徳立、而即仕也」）、『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（２）、『灯下録』第二冊、一八頁（原文－「大丈夫当為国家之用、区々詞章何為」）。

注１２『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（５）、『灯下録』第五冊、一〇頁（原文－「身践舜之臣道、方可望人主以尭之君道」）。

注１３『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（１）、『灯下録』第一冊、一頁（原文－「乾徳健、坤徳順、故小人順君子、是為治世」）。

注１４同上、同冊、八頁（原文－「仁義礼智存於無形之前、所謂無極而大極、孝悌忠信生於有形之後、所謂有物有則」）。

注１５同上、同冊、一四頁（原文－「治陽、而気之長也、聖人所以処之之道有二、曰仁、曰礼、乱陰、而気之消也、聖人所以処之之道有二、曰義、曰智」）。

注１６同注１５（原文－「聖人教人以忠信、使之窮理尽知、善発其好善悪悪之心、不可自已而後提之、以慎独自慊之説以成其進徳之基耳」）。

した「本然の性」に帰する「形而上」の徳であるのに対して、被治者の徳は君道に従う「孝悌忠信」の社会秩序を守る「形而下」の徳である。そして、「形而上」の徳は「形而下」の徳を導いて、社会を教化し、安定させる作用がある。言い換えれば、井上は政治と社会を明らかに分けて、政治を社会の上位に置いている。しかし、上述から解るように、両者の関係は断層ではなく、一直線で繋がっているものと思われる。そこで次は政治にいる治者と社会にいる被治者の間は、いったい何によって繋がっているのかについて、分析して見たいと思う。

　治者と被治者の関係を論じる前に、まず井上毅における治者の定義をはっきりさせたい。同じ治者の立場と言っても、その中にまた治者と被治者の関係が存在している。すなわち、治者の中の治者としての君主と、治者の中の被治者としての臣下である。官僚は治者であると同時に被治者である。君主と官僚は、治者の身分であるから、同じ人民に対して治者としての徳を守る必要があるが、臣下としての官僚はまたその臣下としての徳と責任が要るのである。この点について、井上毅は「身は舜の臣道を踐み、まさに人主以て尭の君道を望むべし」と述べたが、「舜の臣道」は一体どういうものなのか、これに続く言葉として、「天下に不是の君父はなく、舜は瞽瞍において、文王は紂において、全くその過ちを知らざるに非ず、但君父の怒りを以て天地の怒りと為し、猶我が誠意の未だ至らざるを怨むのみ、いずくんぞ君父に不是の所あるを見る暇あらんや」（注18）と述べている。以上から見られるように、官僚も君主という治者に対して、従順の「徳」が要求されているのである。そして、「其の位に在らずして、其の政を謀らず、臣たるの道は旧章に順い、而も簡なり」、また「規諌の言は、簡にして忠、質にして至るを貴ぶ」（注19）などから見られるように、臣下としても、秩序の遵守と君主に対する「忠信」の態度は、庶民と同じように守るべき「徳」である。ゆえに、官僚は「二重身分」（治者であると同時に被治者であること）であるから、その実践道徳も二重的なものとしているのである。

　さて、治者（君主・官僚）と被治者（人民）の間を繋ぐのは、一体どんなものであ

注17　『梧陰文庫目録』D−1（8）、『灯下録』第八冊（原文—「自古大有為之君、未有不体乾徳而能成其志者也、易曰、天行健、君子以自強不息、思孟程朱以尭舜責於其君、亦欲以君道当然之而己、非苟為過高之言也」）。

注18　『梧陰文庫目録』D−1（7）、『灯下録』第七冊、一五頁（原文—「天下無不是底君父、舜於瞽瞍、文王於紂、非全不知其過、但君父之怒以為天地之怒、猶怨我誠意未至耳、何暇視君父有不是処乎」）。

注19　『梧陰文庫目録』D−1（5）、『灯下録』第五冊、一三頁（原文—「不在其位不謀其政、為臣之道順旧章而簡」）。『梧陰文庫目録』D−1（2）、『灯下録』第五冊、一七頁（原文—「規諌之言、貴簡而忠、質而至、無涕泣而言者、豈暇文飾哉」）。

るのかについて検証して見よう。治者が一方的に被治者の従順を要求すれば、それは覇政となり、井上の主張するような仁政ではない。「夏の政は忠、殷の政は質、周の政は文、皆民心に従ふのみ、故にこれを作為するに非ざるなり」（注２０）、「智は習において生じる。法は一なり、先王の法は万民の心に従ふ」（注２１）などと述べたように、「民心」に従うことは仁政の一要件である。「民に各々その情を遂げせしむ、各々その情を得せしむるのみ」（注２２）、そして「有道者の見る所皆天であり、一草一木の微と雖も、皆是以て生意を見る、況んや匹夫匹婦の言は、もとより性情より出で、この理を明らかにせざるものはなし、古の聖人は雛蕘から取り得る所以である」、（注２３）などから見られるように、仁君の一つの条件は人民の性情を理解し、人民の性情に逆らわないような政治を施すことである。ここでは明らかに、治者への「聖人無私」、「聖人之心即天理」（注２４）の「公」的な要求と相対的に、人民の「私」的な「情欲」に対して寛容な態度を取っているのである。

　ところで、「公」は「私」に対して、管理と教化の任務を有しているので、教化の「徳」を重んじるのみならず、管理の「術」も重視しなければならない。ゆえに、「御吏の道、五分の徳を以てし、五分の法を以てす、御兵亦同じ」（注２５）、「三代の治、文武兼用なり」（注２６）、「天道一に偏するを忌む、（中略）故聖人は文武を兼用、徳刑を両施し、一に偏するに至らしめず」（注２７）などから窺われるように、井上の強調した「聖人之治」は徳治の要素だけではなく、権力的・制度的な要素も常に併用しようとするのである。そして、後者の要素については、「人情は変革を忌む、新法の出づる、人尽喜ぶは、これ急行して可なり、利三にして害七は、漸を以

注２０『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（１）、『灯下録』第一冊、一六頁（原文－「夏政忠、殷政質、周政文、皆従民心而已、非故作為之也」）。

注２１同上、同冊、四七頁（原文－「智生於習、法一也、先王之法従万民之心」）。

注２２同上、同冊、三一頁（原文－「使民各遂其情、使之各得其情耳」）。

注２３同上、同冊、二六頁（原文－「有道者所見皆天、雖一草一木之微皆是以見生意、況匹夫匹婦之言、固出性情無不是明是理、古之聖人所以有取于雛蕘」）。

注２４同上、同冊、二四頁。

注２５『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（７）、『灯下録』第七冊、一六頁（原文－「御吏之道、五分以徳、五分以法、御兵亦同」）。

注２６同上（原文－「三代之治、文武兼用」）。

注２７同上（原文－「天道忌偏於一、（中略）故聖人文武兼用、徳刑両施、不使至偏於一也」）。

注２８『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－１（４）、『灯下録』第四冊、一三頁（原文－「人情忌変革、新法之出、人尽喜者、急行之可矣、利三而害七者、以漸改之、利害相半者、当因旧章」）。

てこれを改め、利害相半するは、当に旧章に因る」（注２８）、「先王の旧章に循せ
ずに、一事をなすは必ず一害を生ず」（注２９）、「古人の立法は苟も寛弛となすに
非ず、正に自ら深意あり、後人多く便捷を以て事を誤る」（注３０）など数多くの言
葉から、井上の立法に対する観念が窺われる。すなわち、立法する時、なるべく人民
の慣習に沿って、人民の生活秩序を乱さないように配慮しているのである。このよう
な法観念はその後の井上にも影響し続けているのである。

　以上の論述を総合して見れば、治者と被治者の間を繋いでいるものは、やはり社会
秩序の安定を図るための「平天下」の理想である。すなわち、人民の生活秩序の安定
は政治の最大の目的であって、君主ないし国家はやはりその社会秩序を維持するため
に、存在しているのである。そして君主だけではなく、君主の輔弼としての官僚も君
主と協力して、「治世安民」の理想を貫くべきである。なお、君主は「尭舜」の徳を
身につけた「仁君」であるべし、そしてそのような「仁君」は人民を教化して、「明
明徳」させながらも、君主としての威厳を失わないように、「五分以徳、五分以法」
のような「文武兼用」の君主でなければならない。だから、君主に期待する役割はあ
くまでも社会秩序の維持であるから、君主が人民の秩序道徳を教化することが、どう
しても必要なことになったのである。

　しかし、藩校生活を背景にした井上毅の儒学の勉強は、単に一つの学問の世界に閉
じこもって、現実の政治にはまだ携わらない時の学問であったので、当時の井上の政
治理念と統治者の姿は、何れも理念的な道徳像であった。ゆえに、その君主像も必然
的に理念的な儒学の「仁君」像であったと考えられる。

　『灯下録』には、「人主の種々の失徳は、一に欲の字より生ずるに非ざるはなし、
孝文の仁たる所以を見るに、倹にして寡欲云々、武帝の武帝たる所以を見るに、其の
貨を殖し財を聚め、利臣を挙げ、酷吏を用い、宮室を営み、長生を求め、遠略に務め、
戦伐をかまえる。なんぞ欲の為す所以にあらざる乎、北条泰時は無欲の二字を以て能
く小康を致す、それ釈氏の説を用いて未だ致正をなすを得ずと雖も、然もなお以て治
道の基づく所を見得る。此を以て観るに、危微精一の言は誠に百代不易の道となす

注２９『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ—１（６）、『灯下録』第六冊、八頁（原文—「不循先王
　　　旧章、作一事必生一害」）。
注３０同上（原文—「古人立法非是苟為寛弛、正自有深意、後人多以便捷誤事」）。
注３１『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ—１（５）、『灯下録』第五冊、九頁（原文—「人主種々
　　　失徳、莫非従一欲字生者、試視孝文之所以為仁、倹而寡欲云爾、視武帝之所以
　　　為武帝、其殖貨聚財、挙利臣、用酷吏、営宮室、求長生、務遠略、事戦伐、
　　　非欲之所以為乎、北条泰時以無欲二字能致小康、雖其用釈氏之説未得為致正、
　　　然亦方以見得治道之所本、以此而観、危微精一之言誠為百代不易之道、而朱子
　　　上書往々以過欲拡理為説者、豈為迂乎」）。

、而して朱子の上書は往々以て欲を遏え理を拡げて説となすは、豈迂為さん乎」（注
３１）とあるように、井上の儒学的君主観の中で、朱子学で言う「遏欲拡理」がその
「君徳」の基本項目である。ここで注意したいところは、井上の挙げた「人主」の例
から見れば、孝文と武帝は中国の皇帝であるのに対して、日本の人主の例として北条
泰時を挙げた点である。この点から見れば、この時期の井上は、天皇が日本の君主で
あることを、まだ意識していなかったのではなかろうか。言い換えれば当時の井上は、
やはり日本の政治を実際に運営している幕府の方を「朝」として考えていたのであろ
う。そして、天皇のような神聖性を持たない幕府に対して、統治者としての道徳を求
めたことも不思議ではないと思う。「天下の事を為さんと欲すれば、須らく先ず朝廷
を正すを要す、朝廷を正さんと欲すれば、須らく先ず君側の悪を除くを要す、（中略）
しかして君側の悪を除かんと欲すれば、また須らく先ず君心の非を格すべし」（注３
２）と述べたように、「天下」の治を図るために、まず「朝廷」を正し、そして「朝
廷」を正す前に、まず「君側之悪」を取り除くべき、なお「君側之悪」を取り除こう
とすれば、まず「君心之非」をたださねばならないというステップで政治の順序を踏
むべきだと主張した。ここで見られるように、「君心」は一国の政治に関わる最大の
重点となる。この「君心」はいったいどういう基準に立つのか。それはすでに上述し
たように、疑いもなく儒学的な「仁君」の基準である。すなわち、欲をなくし、理を
体現しうる道徳がある君主でなければ、君主として失格になるのである。しかし、ま
だ幕藩体制の枠にはめられていた井上にとっては、その君主と言えば、具体的な国家
の頂点にある政治的な君主像ではなく、ただ儒学の学問上における聖人の政を行なう
道徳的な君主像である。そして、その君主の個人道徳に対する期待と要請は、まだ現
実に存在している天皇とは繋がっていなかったと見られるのである。

　慶応三年までの井上毅の政治観念の形成について述べてきたが、それは井上の政治
思想の基盤と言えるほど大切な時期と思われるので、紙幅を惜しまず論じてきたので
ある。この時期の井上は、あくまでも、孔孟の儒学を最高の仁義として堅持していた。
時習館の学風は必ずしも朱子学を固持したのではないが、井上自身としては彼なりに
朱子学に対する忠実な信奉に傾いていたのである。儒学と相容れない老荘思想や仏教
思想に対して厳格な批判を与えたのみならず、国学的なものに対しても好意を示さな
かった。

　井上は老荘思想に対して、「老荘は畢竟是れ君臣の義を廃するを欲し、耕を罷めて
食す」（注３３）という手厳しい批判を下した。そして、神道もその類であることを

注３２同上、一〇頁（原文―「欲為天下之事、須要先正朝廷、欲正朝廷、須要先除君
　　側之悪、不然則雖営々於措置之末、馳騁於事為之細、而一暴十寒、衆萩難勝、
　　将見随補随潰壅閼日牢、然欲除君側之悪又須先格君心之非、豈強激之所能為乎
　　哉」）。

「神道家其の説は老荘に類し、亦呱々唖々にして止む者なり」（注３４）と表していた。また、国学者に対しては、「国学者の言治は大概覇術なり」（注３５）そして「国学の徒は修徳力行要せず、ただ義勇の動のみ、それは兵学者流と大に近い」（注３６）と批判したのである。以上から見られるように、この時期の井上は儒教的政治倫理しか正統的なものと認めなかった。

さて、このような政治理念を固持していた井上の国体観はいったいどういうものであるのか。井上のこの時期の著述である『交易論』（元治元年頃）を見ると、井上は日本の国体と西洋の国体との差異について、「風俗人質、言語礼法、教法宗旨、立国の基本」という四つの不同を掲げた。また、「日本ノ国体国制元来万一国ニ秀出スルヲ以テ、綱紀事功、本末並挙、日本ノ人質神智霊明ナルヲ以テシ、技倆器械兼備ヘザル処ナキニ至バ、洋夷モ手ヲ置ク様ニナルベシ、然シテ孔孟仁義ノ道ヲ守リ、日本ノ日本タル処ヲ以テ、宇内ニ中立セバ、誠に、皇国ヲ宇内第一ノ仁義国トナシ、万一国ノ標準モナリ、終ニハ放蕩ノ邪説モ是ガ為ニ熄テ、万国孔孟ノ教ヲ慕フ様ニモナルベシ」（注３７）と述べたように、日本を「洋夷」とはっきり区別し、日本を「孔孟仁義ノ道ヲ守」る「宇内第一ノ仁義国」であると考えたのである。

以上の井上の国体論から見れば分かるように、この時期の彼の国体論はやはり儒学の政治倫理に基づいたものである。すなわち、この時期の井上の国体論は国学的な国体論ではなく、あくまでも儒学的な国体論である。このような国体論は、時代の流れにつれて、どんな変化を見せてくるのか。このことを論ずるために、まず井上が熊本から出て、官僚への過程を歩む中で、彼の政治観念がどんな変化を示したかについて、述べようと思う。そして、次に西洋の近代法を学んだことが、井上の国体観にどんな影響をもたらしたのかについて論究したい。

慶応三年（一八六七年）、井上は江戸遊学に命ぜられて、フランス学を学ぶ。一旦熊本に帰った後、明治三年（一八七〇年）再び東京に出て、南校に入った。明治四年司法省十等出仕となった。ここからその官僚の生涯が始まった。明治五年司法卿江藤新平の渡欧に随員を命ぜられ、江藤は中止したが、井上らは渡仏し、さらにベルリンに赴いて六年九月帰国した。この一年ぐらいの間、ヨーロッパの刑法、治罪法、司法制度について調査している。七年西欧治罪法を紹介するために『治罪法備考』を刊行

注３３『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ―１（２）、『灯下録』第二冊、一八頁（原文―「老荘畢是欲廃君臣之義、罷耕而食」

注３４同上、同冊、一五頁（原文―「神道家其説類老荘、亦欲呱々唖々而止者也」）。

注３５同注３３（原文―「国学者之言治、大概覇術」）。

注３６同上、同冊、二六頁（原文―「国学之徒不要修徳力行、唯義勇之動、其与兵学者流大相近矣」）。

注３７『井上毅伝』史料篇第三、二四頁。

し、同年に大久保利通の中国派遣にあたって意見書を提出して随員に加えられ、諸文案の起草などでその才能を発揮して大久保に認められ、これが頭角をあらわすきっかけとなった。八年『王国建国法』を翻訳してプロシア憲法を日本に紹介した。十年太政官大書記官、十一年兼地方官会議御用掛、ついで兼内務大書記官となった。このころ、伊藤博文のために「教育議」を起草した。これから、岩倉具視・伊藤らの命で各種の意見書の起案をするようになり、また自分の意見を上申し、これを通じて政府要路者と密着するようになった。そして、それを出発点として、明治十四年政変から明治憲法・教育勅語の起草に至って、多大な影響力を発揮したのである。

　藩校を出た後の井上の経歴は以上のようなものであるが、西洋の近代法を学んだ後の井上の国体観の変化を探究しようとすれば、まず留学した後の井上の国際感覚とその東洋観の変化から論じなければならないと思う。

　（2）第二期

　明治五年（一八七二年）ヨーロッパに留学した時の「随筆」に、万國公法の起源について、「万國公法の起原ハ、一曰性法、二曰交誼、三曰欧羅巴均勢、四曰耶蘇同教」（注３８）と書いている。そして、明治七年の台湾事件の問題をめぐって、中国と交渉した時の幾つかの意見書の中でも、しばしば万國公法の言葉を取り上げて、中国が国際交誼に違反することを指摘した。（注３９）この万國公法は、あくまでも欧米の基準に立つものである。したがって井上は『交易論』で強調した孔孟の仁義道徳から、より普遍的且自然的な性法の道徳仁義への変換とともに、孔孟の教化外の「洋夷」を、万國公法を遵守しない「半開化の国」である中国と置き換えるようになったと思われる。

注３８『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ－４、「随筆」（一八七二年）。

注３９明治七年「対清意見案」（『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、二六頁）で、「欧米二州称万國公法者、非定律成書之謂也、即不過于正理直道之菁粋也、既非有成書、則各國交際、必不得不由于此、故西洋諸國、不論平戦、循此条規、莫敢或背、不然、則受請于公議、在于欧州已得公法生于正理直道之上、東洋諸国知而行之、不復仮労才智」と述べている。そして、中国の「彼万國公法用ふるに足らず」（三六頁）という反論に対して、また次のように論説した。「詩云有物有則、夫有國斯有国法、有万國相交、斯有公法、是理之不可已者、且論公法者之言、謂、公法所由而起者有二、一曰、性法、二曰、各國盟約典例是也、在貴国斥為不用、亦無異議、至其出于性法者、則本之於天理之自然、人々相交之情誼不論邦国之遠近、教俗之異同、交際往来必不得不由于是、是猶飢而食、渇而飲者、道徳仁義、亦不外于是、今公法論占有之実権者、則其出于性法者、興欧州専行典例無渉、貴国亦当酌而裁之、今一概斥為不足用、本大臣所不解也」（「台湾事件処置意見」－『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、三六頁）。

　井上の中国に対する印象は次のように述べられている。「支那人の習癖として誇大自尊、好名諱敗、今諸大臣等廟堂において、白昼に議論に屈し、従前の素論を変する事ハ、彼死に至るとも為る事能わざるべし、故に一戦して彼を敗る事ハ易し好意辨法、十分之利を占ル事又易し、彼の宿論を屈せしむる事ハ甚難し、強て其論を敗らんとし、時日を遷延し、彼より洋人の居中を求むるに至らハ、恐ラクは局面又一変すべし、此間取捨に至ては交際家の明智に在て公法家の知らざる所なり、欧州においても人物を挙るに公法家と称するあり、交際家と称するありて、其ノ所用自ラ別なり、況ンや支那の如キ半開化の国ニ対してハ、公法と交際法、尤も並ヘ行ふべし」（注４０）。勿論これは、中国を敵として扱う時の攻撃である。しかし、その内容から井上が、文明開化の点において、西洋諸国と中国を対置させていることが読み取れると思う。また、井上の留学した時の「随筆」で「国政ヲ変易スルコトハ、自己ノ悪習ニ十分ノ一ヲ改変スルヨリモ遥ニ易ルベシ」（注４１）という嘆きも見られる。すなわち、日本の文明開化への大きな阻害は、やはり東洋国家の悪習であることを痛感していたのである。

　その悪習について、井上の著作で初めて触れたのは明治七年の『治罪法備考』での緒言である。井上はまず国法と私法を区別すべきについて、「欧州ニ、成文民法アラザルノ国アリ治罪法、刑法、アラザルノ国ナシ、何ソ耶、民法ハ、私法ナリ、人民開化ノ度何如ト視ル、治罪法、刑法ハ、国法ナリ、治罪法、刑法ナシ、是国ナキナリ」（注４２）と述べた。そして、次は「支那ニ刑法アリテ、治罪法ナシ（中略）我カ治獄ノ法、其源隋唐ノ陋風ニ出テヽ、加フルニ武門苟且ノ政ヲ以テス、捕一手縄ヲ執テ人ヲ束ヌルコト獣ノ如ク（中略）日本支那ノ拷掠法、蓋シニツノ者、明カニ蛮野ノ徴タルコト、猶瘡ノ瘢アリ、病ノ候アリカ如シ、此アリテ、自ラ文明ト称ス、笑ヲ致サザルモ、亦愧ヲ為サザラン乎」（注４３）と述べたように、日本が中国から受けついできた「拷掠法」は野蛮の象徴であり、そして中国と同じように治罪法がないことは国法がないと同じような意味で、国際社会で一つの独立的・開化的国家として認められないのである。

　上述から見られるように、「孔孟仁義ノ道ヲ守」る「宇内第一ノ仁義國」の日本を、もはや孔孟の教化外の「洋夷」と区別しようとするのではなくて、逆に日本をなるべく西洋の近代法に近付かせることが、日本をして西洋先進諸国と並び立たせるための先決の条件となると考えるのである。

　しかし、それは儒学の全面的な否定ではなくて、儒学から受けてきた「治世安民」

注４０『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、三六頁。

注４１同注３８。

注４２『井上毅伝』史料篇第三、一一一頁。

注４３同上。

の政治思想はまだ根強く井上の政治観念の中で生き続けている。国法は西洋諸國と並ぶような近代法でなければならないのに対して、「民法ハ、私法ナリ、人民開化ノ度何如ト視ル」（注４４）ものであるから、「百政急ヲ以テ為スベシ、唯タ民法ハ急ヲ以テ為スヘカラス、何ントナレハ、其ノ民ニ害アルヲ以テナリ、法ヲ作ルモノ慎ンテ又之ヲ慎マサル可ラス」（注４５）、そして「民法刑法ハ大異アリ、刑法ハ上ヨリ下ニ施ス、民法ハ下ノ好ニ出ツ」（注４６）と述べたように、社会秩序を維持するためには、あくまでも民情・慣習を重視しなければならないのであり、ゆえに、西洋はそれなりの「人民開化ノ度」があるが、日本は自らの国情に合わせるような漸進の手段を取るべき、と井上は終始主張していたのである。

その点について、井上は「欧州模倣ヲ非トスル説」（年紀未詳）で、体系的にその主張を述べた。まず「世ノ論者」の、日本の半開化的な孤立状態を打開するため、「鋭意勇進シテ旧来ノ弊ヲ去リ、改進ノ路ニ就キ、文物制度ヨリ日常百般ノ事ニ至ルマテ、悉ク彼国ノ風ニ倣ヒ以テ第二ノ欧州ヲ創造スヘシ」（注４７）という論調に対して、「欧州模倣ヲ非トスル説」を提出し、その理由を次のように説明した。

「其所謂第二ノ欧州ヲ創造スルハ、彼各国ニ就キ全体ノ形貌ヲ学フ乎、若クハ一国若クハ二國其便宜ノモノヲ取リ以テ之ヲ学フ乎、日常百般ノ事ハ如何文物制度ハ如何我邦ノ人民ハ異議ナク旧弊ヲ脱スル乎内乱ノ患ナキ乎」（注４８）とまず国内の安定を懸念している。また、国際的視野から見れば、「欧州ノ有様ヲ観レハ、小国ハ大國ノ間ニ周施シテ制度ヲ移シ、風俗ヲ改メ、其愛情ヲ買ヒ以テ独立ヲ図ルニ急ナルモノナリ、我邦トテモ其智ヲ襲ヒ其轍ヲ踏マハ、何ノ方法カ得難カランヤ、是恐クハ論者カ根拠トスル所ナルヘシ、然リト雖モ彼ハ元来同一ノ種族ナレハ、日ヲ逐フテ交情ノ深密ナルハ道理ノ当ニ然ルヘキ所ナリ、之ヲ我邦ニ移スヲ得サルナリ、（中略）言語ノ勢力ハ、民心ヲ結合シ同一ノ感覚ヲ起スモノナリ、（中略）宗教ノ勢力ハ、各自ノ社会ヲ結合シ、交際ノ路ヲ開キ親睦ノ媒介ヲ為シ、開化ヲ促スノ効アルモノナリ、（中略）要スルニ種族同一ナレハ言語モ宗教モ婚姻モ皆其交際ノ機関ト為リ、以テ愛情ヲ厚クスルニ足ルモノナリ、之ヲ我邦ニ移スヘカラサルヤ勿論ナリ」（注４９）と、日本と欧州の根本的な差異を説明していたのである。すなわち「種族・言語・宗教・婚姻」という四つの要素があるゆえに、日本に第二の欧州を創造することはできないのである。そして、「国民ノ性質ニ本来ノ性質アリ、外来ノ性質ハ其勢力ヲ恋ニスル

注４４同上。
注４５『井上毅伝』史料篇第三、五〇頁。
注４６『井上毅伝』史料篇第三、四九頁。
注４７『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、四七頁。
注４８『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、四七〜四八頁。
注４９『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、四八〜四九頁。

コト能ハス、（中略）国民ノ性質ハ人民ノ勉強ニ由リ数世ノ沿革ヲ経テ、或ハ変シ或ハ移リ或ハ盛衰栄枯シテ一定ノ現象ナシ」（注50）と、漸進の方法を主張している。

　以上から見られるように、井上は欧州の文明開化を見習うことは、独立進化への道として、必ずしもそれを否定していなかった。しかし、日本と欧州との根本的な差異があるために、欧州を倣う時でも、国内秩序の安定と日本の真の独立を求めるために、漸進的な手段を取るべしと強調していたのである。

　ここにおける欧州との根本的な差異は、井上の『交易論』で強調した「風俗人質・言語礼法・教法宗旨・立國の根本」という四つの国体の不同点を想起させられる。すなわち、井上の観念においては、国体というのは慣習・民情に基づいての歴史から築かれたものである。だから、近代化を進めるため、日本の法律や制度などは西洋の政体を倣うことが余儀なくされても、日本の秩序の基である国体は守るべきものであり、急変すると内乱を起こしかねないので、政体を変化する時にも、漸進主義を取るべしと主張した。しかし、その国体は、すでに『交易論』で見られる儒学的国体ではない。西洋文明の発達と東洋文明の半開化状態を認識してきた井上は、国体の精神は「孔孟ノ教」に基づいた仁義にあることを、もはや強調しようとはしなかった。かえって、「孔孟ノ教」の根源地—中国と同等視されないように、自らの活路を見出そうとしたのである。国際社会での独立的な日本をつくるために、政体の変化だけではなく、「国民ノ性質」である国体も伝統的な儒学から国学的国体への転換が考えられるようになったのである。だから、井上の独自の国体論の生成は、西洋の近代法と接触してから自覚した西洋の開化と東洋の遅れの認識というところまで遡れると思う。すなわち、真の脱亜入欧の願望をかなえるために、政体の近代化と国体の国学化が考えられるようになったと言えよう。しかし、井上が国学的国体論を持ち出してきたのは、国際社会的視野から日本の独立を求めるためのみならず、国内の民権運動家の活動もその動機の一つと考えられる。

　明治十四年九月、井上は福沢や交詢社の勢力が全国的に広がっていたことを憂慮していたので、佐々友房・安場保和らと謀り、熊本に紫溟会を結成した。紫溟会という名称は高木紫溟から由来することが推定できると思う。高木紫溟は、熊本藩国学隆興の端を開いた人物であり、肥後の勤王思想は彼から淵源したとも言える熊本の国学の代表的な人物である。ゆえに、彼の名前から名付けた紫溟会の性質も自明である。紫溟会を設立した目的は、民権自由の説を抑えて、勤王国体主義を拡張しようとしたものである。明治十四年末、井上の起草した「紫溟会結党檄文草稿」は、次のように掲げていた。

　「政論ノ過激ナル者、実ニ淵源ヲ欧州ニ発ス社会ハ民約ニ始マルト謂ヒ、君主之権ハ国民ニ存スト謂ヒ、法ハ衆庶ノ好欲ニ成ルト謂フ、其言ノ新奇痛快ニシテ刺激扇動

注50『井上毅伝』史料篇第一、五二頁。

ノ勢ニ便ナルヲ以テノ故ニ、一時人心ニ感漸シ、潰裂奔潰抑遏スベカラズ、（中略）我国久シク東洋ニ孤立シ、新タニ外交ヲ開ク、而シテ欧州過激ノ政論先ツ防ヲ決シテ入リ、数年ノ間非常ノ速力ヲ以テ都鄙ニ漫延シ寝クニ羽翼ヲ成ス」（注５１）と、欧州に発した国民主権論が日本に及んでくることを恐れている。そして、井上の恐れていたことはあくまでも国内秩序の破壊ということである。

「過激ノ政論ハ、実ニ人類相妬ムノ私心ニ生スル者多シ、故ニ過激政論ノ結果ハ、朝野ヲ離隔スルニ始マリ、社会ヲ顛覆スルニ終ル、之ヲ欧州各國ノ成跡ニ徴シ、鑿々証スベシ、今ノ時ニ於テ若シ浮踉過激ノ説、隙ニ投シテ起リ、怨讎相乗シ、内変ヲ醸成シ、分崩離析禍、一朝ニ止マラザルカ如キアラハ、我国ヲ挙ケテ印度ノ覆轍トナスハ、当ニ遠キニ在ラザルベシ、恭テ惟フ、我カ聖天子夙ニ立憲ノ詔アリ、又漸進ノ旨ヲ以テ廟謨ヲ垂レ玉フ、蓋過激ノ政論ハ、我カ聖天子ノ旨ニ非サルナリ（中略）、我輩ハ立憲尊王ヲ以テ主義トス、而シテ雑ユルニ分毫共和ノ説ヲ以テスルヲ好マズ」（注５２）と、過激の政論がもたらす社会の顛覆と国の滅亡を懸念し、また国民主権の共和主義が君主主権の君主立憲主義を破壊するのを憂慮しているのである。

すなわち、井上の政治思想の根底に根強く存在する「治世安民」に基づく井上の慣習法に対する主張と、漸進的な改革方法への執着が井上の君主立憲主義の思想背景であると思う。当時の一部の自由民権運動の母胎は、ルソーその他のフランスの急進的民権論であるゆえに、井上の自由民権運動の対抗者としての性格も、早くから明らかに現れてくるようになった。そしてその憲法思想も、日本の慣習に近いと井上が考えたプロシア憲法へと傾倒したのであるが、その端緒は明治八年に『王国建国法』を刊行してプロシア憲法を日本に紹介した頃から見られるのである。

以上、西洋諸国への接触と近代法の摂取の時期における井上の国体観の変化について述べてきた。その過程での決定的な影響は、やはり西洋観と東洋観の変化にあると思われる。しかし、青年時代から執着してきた「治世安民」の秩序観念は、やはりその政治観念の根底に存在している。だから、新しい時代に対応でき、しかも日本の秩序を保てるような「治世安民」の新方向をさぐるため、日本の独特な国学的国体論に転向したことも不思議ではないと思われる。

井上毅の国学的国体論は、前述した「言霊」の中で強調した、他国の「うしはく」型統治と違った「しらす」型の万世一系の天皇統治である。この「しらす」型統治論

注５１『井上毅伝』史料篇第五、三七二～三七三頁。

注５２『井上毅伝』史料篇第五、三七三～三七四頁。

注５３平田信治編『元田井上両先生事蹟講演録』、一〇頁。伊藤博文だけではなく、伊藤より前に井上はすでに大久保と岩倉のために、多数の意見書を起稿していたのである。ゆえに、井上という人物は常に文章によって、機会をつかんでいる。

への傾向は、明治二十年（一八八七）三月頃、井上が憲法に関する「初稿」（第一試案）作成した際、すでに現われていた。初稿第一章皇室、第一条を「日本帝国ハ万世一系ノ天皇ノ治ス所ナリ」とした。この条についての説明の中で井上は「蓋祖宗ノ國ニ於ケルは其君治ノ天職ヲ重ンシ、國民ヲ愛撫スルヲ以テ心トナシ玉ヘリ、謂ハユル國ヲ治ストハ以テ全國王土ノ義ヲ明ニセラルノミナラズ、又君治ノ徳ハ國民ヲ統知スルニ在テ一人一家ニ享奉スルノ私事ニ非サルコトヲ示サレタリ、此レ亦憲法各章ノ據テ以テ其根本ヲ取ル所ナリ」（注５４）と述べていた。ここで見られるように、井上が「言霊」で表現した国学的国体論は明治二十年のこの憲法初稿の中で、すでに定着していたのである。

　そして、井上は教育勅語の初稿にも、その国体論を持ち込んでいたのである。すなわち「其ノ國ニ在リテハ、万衆心ヲ一ニシ義勇公ニ奉シ、山海八道實ニ祖宗ノ窮物ニシテ、即チ臣民ノ郷土、惟レ守リ惟レ固クシ、以テ天壌無窮ノ皇道ヲ翼戴ス」（注５５）というように述べている。「祖宗ノ窮物」という表現の中に、王土王臣思想が現れていると同時に、ここに万世一系の天皇に対する最大の忠誠と献身も要請されているのである。日本国家は皇祖皇宗の遺物であり、国家の臣民はこの「窮物」を守る義務があるという王土王臣の思想は、井上の国学的国体論の究極的な表現であることが窺われると思う。

　井上は政体の西洋化（近代化）を図ろうとしたと同時に、国内秩序の安定を懸念するために、漸進的な手段を取るべしと強調した。さらに、東洋（中国）の遅れへの自覚は、第一時期の国体論を不十分なものとして認識するゆえに、日本固有の国体への自覚が生まれ、国体観の国学化が図られるようになった。その国体観の国学化に伴って、彼の君主観も変化した。万世一系の天皇制に基づいた神聖性を強調する国学的君主観である。すなわち、儒学的な「仁君」という君主の個人的君徳と違って、国学的君主の「君徳」は万世一系の皇祖皇宗から与えられたものである。天皇の神聖性という君徳は、個人的な聖人の修養に基づくものではなく、天皇家の祖先から与えられた「霊」である。だから、日本の君主としての天皇に対しては、「聖人」の政を要請する必要がない。天皇は当然のこととして、その「君徳」を身に付けているとされたのである。

　幕藩体制に閉じこめられていた青年期の井上においての、その学問の世界にしか存在しえない理想的な伝統の道徳的「仁君」像は、明治維新の変革に際して、大きな変化を遂げてきた。すなわち、まず日本国家の頂点にある君主は、天皇に限られるということを井上は実感してきた。そして、現実の政治に携わった官僚への道、及び西欧との接触などによって、井上が日本の政治状況と、日本が置かれた国際環境を認識し

注５４稲田正次『明治憲法成立史』下冊　、（有斐閣、一九六二年）五〇頁。
注５５稲田正次『教育勅語成立過程の研究』、（講談社出版、一九七一年）一頁。

たうえで、この激動期を処する日本の安定を確保するため、国体の秩序を保つことが政体の近代化と同様な重要性を持っていることを痛感した。この時、政体の近代化と国体の秩序の維持を両方とも図ろうとすれば、その間に生ずるジレンマを解決する役割は、儒学的「仁君」だけでは足りないのである。ゆえに、政体と国体の両方の頂点に位置した天皇に国民統合の役目を果たさせるためには、国学的な君主像の確立が、当時の日本にとって不可欠なこととなるのである。この点も井上の儒学的君主観が、国学的君主観へ転換していく理由のひとつであると思われる。

　しかし、儒学的君主観から国学的君主観へ転換していくと言っても、儒学的君主像を完全に捨て去ったわけではなく、むしろ儒学的君主像と国学的君主像を結合させていくということになる。なぜなら、国学的君主像は天皇の生得の神聖性を強調しても、皇祖皇宗から自然に受け継ぐ「君徳」の内容そのものは、やはり儒学的な「仁君」の道徳である。前述した通り、井上がその「言霊」と明治憲法の「初稿」の中で度々強調しようとしたのは、日本国家の精神的な心の動きによる自然的な統治形態の神聖性と、皇祖皇宗の人民を慈愛する「君徳」は他國にまさる国体であり、また天皇の「私事ニ非サル」という皇室の「しらす」型の統治、すなわち他国に見られない特殊的な統治型であった。しかし、その「君徳」により人民を教化する項目は、教育勅語の内容から見れば、次のようなものである。すなわち、「父母ニ孝ニ、兄弟ニ友ニ、夫婦相和シ、親族相睦シクシ、隣里相保チテ相侵サズ、朋友相厚クシテ相欺カズ、自ラ愛シテ他ニ及ホシ、己レカ欲セザル所ハ以テ人ニ施サズ」である。以上のような内容から見れば、これは明らかに儒学的五倫道徳である。儒学的国体観から国学的国体観に転換していく時、儒学的「仁君」としての聖人の質は皇統一系という神聖性によって置き換えられているが、儒学的「仁君」の人民を教化する役割とその教化の内容はあくまでも儒学的なものであり、それは国学的君主としての天皇にとっても、不可欠のものとなるのである。言い換えれば、君主の個人的道徳性は聖人としての修養から、天皇の絶対的不可侵の神聖性に置き換えられていっても、日本君主としての「治世安民」と人民を教化する任務は変わらないものであった。

　以上の叙述を総合して言えば、明治日本の近代化の必要から、井上の国体的君主像は儒学的君主から国学的君主へ転換していくにも拘らず、その国体的君主像の中で儒学的君主のイメージがまだ色濃く残されていたのである。ゆえに、井上の伝統的君主像は、儒学的君主像と国学的君主像の結合体であることが明らかであると思う。すなわち、人民に「明明徳」せしめるという教化の役割を果たす儒学的理想的な「仁君」像の基盤のうえに、皇祖皇宗「ノ遺訓」という「神性」に基づいた国学的君主像を重ねたものが井上の伝統的君主像であった。

　近代化の課題に直面した明治国家が、政体の変革を急いだ時、国内秩序を乱さないため、日本特有の国体を確立することも当面の急務となっていたのである。こうして、天皇の国学的君主像が要請されてきたのである。さて、国学的君主としての天皇の

神聖性のためには、君主としての政治上の責任をその身に加えることができない。そこで大臣にその責任を背負わせるということにならざるをえない。この大臣の責任の問題について、井上が最初に提出したのは、明治八年に彼が翻訳した『王国建国法』の小引である。そこで「立憲ノ國ニ在テハ、獨リ王ノ身位、得テ侵スベカラズ、其ノ王命ニ至テハ、輔相名ヲ署シ、事、憲法ニ乖ク者アレバ、直ニ人主ヲ責メズシテ、罪其輔相ニ加フ」（注５６）と述べたところから見られるように、大臣の責任制は西洋の近代法を参考にして取り入れたものであるが、それは国学的君主としての天皇の神聖性を維持するために、そのような責任制が日本にとっても必要であったのである。そこで、井上の伝統的治者の観念に、近代的大臣（官僚）の責任制という観念を取り入れることによって、彼の独特な宮府一体論を形成していった。

　前述したように、井上の所謂治者は君主と官僚である。それは、治者の中の治者としての君主と、治者の中の被治者としての臣下である。ゆえに、君主と官僚は、同じ治者でありながら、守る道徳と責任が違う。君主は聖人の道徳を身につけるほか、「治世安民」のために、人民を教化する任務と仁政を行なう責任を有しているのに対して、治者と被治者の二重的な身分を有している官僚は、その道徳と責任も二重的な基準を持つ。すなわち、人民に対しては、君主と同じような仁徳が必要であるが、君主に対して、臣下としての服従と忠誠心が求められている。そして、君主の仁政を輔弼することが、臣下としての官僚の政治的責任となる。君主の輔弼と言えば、人民を管理するための政治上の行政事務だけではなく、「以正君心為進言」（注５７）という君徳の規正もその責任である。ゆえに君主が「失徳」すれば、臣下もその責任を免れないことになる。

　どころで、井上の国体観は儒学的国体観から国学的国体観に転換していくにつれて、その儒学的治者の観念も国学的国体の必要に応じて、修正を加えられなければならなかった。すなわち、近代的政体の成立と相俟って、近代的官僚制度も整備されるようになったが、井上の国学的国体論によれば、その近代的官僚も日本の国体に適応できるような官僚でなければならなかった。前に論証した井上の国学的国体論における天皇統治の正当性は、天皇は公的なものしか意思し得ないという統治原理に根拠をおいているのである。ゆえに、官僚は公共権力である国家の官僚でありながら、天皇の官僚にもなるのである。すなわち、国学的国体に適応するため、近代的国家の官僚だけではなく、天皇の家臣にもなってくるのである。だから、皇室と官府は分けられないものである。そして、彼の伝統的治者の観念から考えても、国体の秩序を維持するために、治者としての君主と官僚は一体にならなければならなかった。

　以上のような井上の伝統的国体論に基づいた治者の観念は、井上の「宮府一体」論

注５６　『井上毅伝』史料篇第五、三七三〜三七四頁。
注５７　『梧陰文庫目録』Ｄ—１（５）、『灯下録』第五冊、一二頁。

の重要な思想基盤と考えられる。

　帝国憲法を制定した時期、井上の国体論はもう完全に国学的国体論に転換していた。ゆえに、井上が独自の国体論を形成してから、彼の一番苦心したことは、このような国体論において近代的明治国家の君主としての天皇を、どう位置づけるかという問題であった。すなわち、政体上の近代立憲君主としての天皇と、国体上の伝統的君主としての天皇は憲法上、どう統一して位置づけられるかの問題であった。

（三）　井上毅の立憲的君主像

　明治十四年の政変を契機として、岩倉－井上－伊藤という政治トリオが、井上を媒介にして形成された。それ以来井上は岩倉の知恵袋として、多数の憲法意見を提出し、また明治十九年以後伊藤を中心として憲法起草が行なわれた時、井上も重要な憲法起草者として加わっていた。これらの意見書を見ると、井上の主張は天皇と内閣の一体性に集中しているのである（注５８）。すなわち、立憲体制の整備にもかかわらず、彼の国体論から築かれた宮府一体論が彼の憲法思想や憲法意見を貫いていた。

　近代的政治体制の整備につれて、「公」と「私」の分離は必然的な傾向となる。皇室財産の設定を始めとし、内閣制度の創設によって、皇室の「公」と「私」の分離は次第にはっきりした形になった。明治十八年十二月二十二日太政官達第六十九号第二項に「内閣総理大臣及外務内務大蔵陸軍海軍司法文部農商務遞信ノ諸大臣ヲ以テ内閣ヲ組織ス」（注５９）とあるように、宮内省は明らかに内閣の外に置かれ、宮中府中の別は機構上において明瞭な形になった。しかし、内閣制度の確立によって、主権者としての天皇がその統治権を行使する際に、内閣の輔弼が必要であるというところから、伝統的統治秩序における「皇＝官」という宮府一体の論理が、「天皇の意思＝政府の意思」という「憲法精神」に置き換えられ得ると井上は考えた（注６０）。

　近代法と接触してから、井上の独自の国体観が徐々に形成され、そして立憲政体のモデルの選択問題に直面した時、天皇と内閣の一体性を妨げるようなイギリス流議院内閣制には反対したのである。

注５８　井上はその一貫した国体観念に基づく「官＝皇」の論理を固執し、天皇と内閣の一体性を強調するのである。すなわち、天皇と内閣大臣の結びつきから議院内閣の専行を抑制しようとする「立憲君主制」の主張である。また、天皇と内閣の関係については、「天皇の内閣」であるべきと主張した。すなわち、行政権の主体は天皇であり、天皇は自分の大臣を選ぶ大権を握り、大臣の責任は憲法で決め、各自に天皇に対してその責任を負うということによって、国家の統一性と政治の安定性を確保しようとするのである。
注５９　鈴木安蔵『太政官制と内閣制』（文松堂書店、一九四五年）一四二頁。

　どころで、近代的立憲体制を整備するあたり、天皇を近代的政治君主にすると同時に、国学的君主でもあることができるような君主像をたてなければならない。近代的政治君主としての天皇は、恣意的な前近代的君主と違って、必ず憲法の規定にしたがってその統治権を行使しなければならない。それは、明治国家を西洋から認められるような近代的文明国家として建てるためには、その国家の頂点に位置する君主も西洋諸国から承認されうるような近代的君主でなければならないからである。そこで万世一系の国体上の天皇が、近代的政治君主にもなれるようなその統治の正当性は、井上の考えた「自然に」近代的統治原理に適応できるような天皇制によって保障されるものでなければならなかった。国体上の天皇はいかに「自然に」近代的統治原理に適応して、その統治権を行使するのか。この点について、井上は「君主循法主義意見」（明治二十五年）（注６１）で天皇の「言法一致」という論説を提出した。

　井上が、この文章でまず提出したのは、「帝室ハ法律ノ内ニ在ルベキヤ、又ハ法律ノ外ニ在ルベキヤ」という法理上の問題である。ついで、法律の語源から「言法一致ハ、我力国ノ歴史上ノ国体ニシテ、而シテ言行ノ違ハザルベキハ、又惟神ノ道ノ『マコト』トイヘルー大主義ニ基クヲ以テ知ルベキナリ」と、天皇の言法一致は日本の国体に基づいた一大主義であることを説明した。そして、外国の例を挙げて、まず中国の聖人の政も言法一致という主義に基づいたものであることを説明し、また「古来君主ハ法律ニ依ルトノ主義ヲ執レリ」であるドイツの「学者ノ説ニ従ヘバ、『君主ハ国

注６０　井上は伊藤の枢密院の設定案に反対した時、枢密院の制度が憲法の精神と矛盾する理由を次のように述べていた。「此の制度ハ憲法の大体の精神と矛盾すといはさることを得ず、何となれハ憲法の精神によれハ、天皇ノ叡慮ハ内閣ノ賛副署ニ由ラザレハ憲法上ノ叡慮ト看做サベル者トス、（第一）故ニ政府ノ意想ハ即チ天皇ノ叡慮ニシテ、政事ニ就テハ内閣ト帝室ノ区別ヲ立ツルコト能ハズ、唯夕然リ故ニ天皇ノ政事上ノ命令ニ就テハ内閣総テ其ノ責ニ任スルニ非ス乎、（第二）今政府と議会との紛議ニ就て天皇更ニ枢密院の輔翼ニより此を裁決し給ふときハ、此レ乃チ政府と天皇トハ判然として其の固有の意想を異ニする事を徴証するものにして独其の紛争事件のミに止まらず、凡ソ政府の所為ハ皆天皇の叡慮之外ニ成立する事と解釈することを得へし、試ニ勅令又ハ裁可を経たる事件ニ就き問題を起したりとせんに、此の時天皇ハ最初ニ内閣之奏上を勅許し給へる叡慮と、後に枢密院の院議を決裁し給へる叡思と矛盾する事あらんには、如何なる結果を生すへき乎」（『井上毅伝』史料篇第二、一五頁）。以上の井上の意見から見れば、天皇を主権者と認める憲法の成立によって、「官＝皇」という宮府一体の論理が「天皇の意思＝政府の意思」の憲法精神によって維持されたと井上が考えたと推測できる。

注６１　『井上毅伝』史料篇第二、五七一〜五七四頁。

ノ上ニ在ラズ、又国ノ外ニ在ラズ、而シテ国ノ中ニ在リテ、国ノ最高機関タリ』トイフ、是即チ君主モ亦法律ノ範囲内ニ在ルベキ主義ノ基ク所ヲ説明スルモノニシテ、我カ憲法ニ国ノ元首トイヘル大義ト正ニ相符合スルモノナリ」と、ドイツの君主主義が日本の憲法における元首の大義と合致することを説明した。

そして、「総テ之ヲ約言スルニ、我カ国ノ国体及ビ憲法ニ於テハ、至尊ノ言行ハ自然ニ法律ニ一致スルモノニシテ、決シテ相矛盾スルコトナシ。而シテ彼ノ英国人ノ法律ノ力ニ倚リ君主ヲ立ツト云ヘル説ハ、固ヨリ我カ国体ト霄壌ノ別アル者ナリト雖、帝室ハ法律ノ外ニ立ツコトヲ得ズ。而シテ法律ト相一致セザルヘカラザルハ、又不易ノ大則ニシテ、彼ノ所謂君主循法ノ主義ト亦相同キ者アリ、故ニ帝室ト法律トノ関係ニ於テ此ノ一大主義ヲ標準トシ、帝室及ビ帝室所属ノ臣僚ハ諸般ノ法律規則ニ従ハザルベカラズ、法律規則ノ禁令ヲ犯スベカラス」と結んでいる。

ここにおいて、井上が最も強調しようとするのは、天皇の言行は「自然に」法律と一致することである。これは井上がその「古言」で強調したように、天皇の支配が「自然に」近代的統治原理に適応できるという、「しらす」型統治原理の考え方と一致している。かくして、国学的伝統君主でありながら、近代的政治君主にもなれるような天皇の言行は、自然に法律と一致するものとされることになったのである。

ところで、明治憲法の発布に続いて、明治二十三年には「教育勅語」も発布されるようになった。憲法の起草と同じように、教育勅語の起草について、井上毅も多大な役割を果たした。周知のとおり、教育勅語の主な役割は、国民統合を強めるための天皇による国民教化である。しかし、このような国民を教化する天皇の言行は、「自然に」法律と一致するのか。そして、このような天皇は井上の君主像において、矛盾を起こさなかったか。起こしたとすれば、井上はこの矛盾をどう解決するのか。次に、この問題を検討して見よう。

(四)　教育勅語の発布と井上毅の君主像の破綻

明治十五年、「軍人勅諭」の発布によって、軍人精神の確立を図ったことを範として、憲法発布後の明治二十三年、召集された地方官会議で国民精神の統合を進めるために、「教育勅語」の発布が検討された。

明治憲法におけると同じように、国民精神を統合するために発布された教育勅語に関しても、井上は重大な役割を果たしたが、しかし天皇が立憲的君主である限り、国民を教化する君主として教育勅語を発布することが、近代的国家の君主として適当であるのか。また、教育勅語の発布は天皇の立憲的君主としての地位を損なう恐れがあるので、大臣は必然的にその政治上の輔弼責任を負わなければならないのではないか。憲法起草者としての井上は、教育勅語を起草しようとする時、起草者という立場で自家撞着の難題に遭遇しなかったのか。そして、近代的官僚としての井上は、教育勅

語における大臣の責任問題について、どう考えていたのか。以上の問題について、ま
ず井上の教育勅語に対する意見から、彼の近代的立憲精神と教育勅語との矛盾及びそ
の解決策を考察し、さらに井上の起草案に現れた国体と倫理の関係から、憲法発布後
の井上の国体観における倫理的君主像をも検討しよう。

　明治二十三年六月二十日、井上は山県に教育勅語の草案（初稿）を提出すると同時
に、中村正直案に対する批判、及び教育勅語の性格と内容はどうあるべきかについて
述べた書簡もあわせて送った（注６２）。その書簡で彼は、勅語の永遠性と絶対性を
強調したほかに、最も興味深い所は「今日之立憲政体之主義ニ従ヘバ、君主ハ臣民之
良心之自由ニ干渉セズ」と述べたこと、及び教育勅語を「政事上ノ命令ト区別シテ社
会上ノ君主ノ著作公告トシテ看ザルヘカラズ」「陸軍ニ於ケル軍事教育ノ一種ノ軍令
タルト同シカラズ」と主張した。

　すなわち、井上が明治憲法の起草者であったという立場から考えれば、政治上の君
主すなわち「立憲君主」として出す教育勅語は、明らかにその憲法の主義に違反する
というのである。しかし、彼が教育勅語の起草者でもある限り、君主の国民を教化す
る機能を認めなければならない。そのような自己矛盾に対して、井上は教育勅語を社
会上の君主の著作として公告すべきという解決法を見いだしたのである。したがって、
政治上の君主の命令とは区別するような発布方式によって、その矛盾を解決しようと
したのである。

　つまり、天皇が政治的君主として教育勅語を発布すれば、近代的立憲主義から見れ
ば、これは明らかに違憲である。しかし、前に述べたように、井上は近代的立憲思想
を持つと同時に、伝統的国体観念をも併せて持ち、そして天皇が近代的政治君主に変
身していくにつれて、その伝統的君主像の確立も不可欠であるとしたのである。そこ
で、井上の持つ二つの君主像が近代的政治体制上と共存し得ない場合、井上はその伝
統的君主像を政治外の「社会」に位置づけようとするのである。これは明らかに、天
皇の「公」的立場と区別して、天皇を「社会」的立場に置くことによって、その政治
上の責任を逃れさせようとする考えである。しかし、ここにおいて井上が近代的立憲
主義上における矛盾をカバーしようとするために、天皇を政治上の君主と区別して、
社会上の君主とすることは、かえって彼の考えた天皇＝公（公的なものしか意思しえ
ない）という天皇の統治原理と矛盾するのではなかろうか（のちに述べている井上の
「神祇院設立意見」によれば、社会上の事務は国務と区別して、「私」的立場に属し
ているのである）。すなわち、天皇が社会上の君主として置かれたとしても、井上の
天皇の統治原理によれば、天皇は公的なものしか意思しえないので、天皇が君主とし
て、臣民の良心の自由に干渉するという事実は変えられないのである。

　教育勅語の発布と立憲政体の主義との矛盾は、それだけではなかった。すなわち、

注６２『井上毅伝』史料篇第二、二三一〜二三二頁。

　立憲政体上の主義によれば、政事上の勅令勅語は責任大臣の輔弼が必要であるが、教育勅語は大臣の意見や勧告と関連すると、勅語の絶対性を損なって、国民の衷心的悦服を得られなくなるということである（注６３）。そこで、明治二十三年十月二十二日元田宛の書簡で井上は、「発布方法之事二付而者、（中略）、生之愚見二てハ内閣之政事二混雑せずして、一二聖主之親衷ヨリ断セラレ、内閣大臣之副署なき勅語、又ハ御親書之体裁二して、広ク公衆へ御下ケに相成候方可然歟、開院式ノ勅語、又ハ陸海軍ノ軍令二ハ内閣大臣ノ副署ナシ、是各國ノ例ナリ若副署アルー之政令となりて発せらるゝ時ハ、國會二而喙ヲ容るゝ所之内閣責任政略之一と見做され、後日二政海之変動と共二紛更ヲ招ク之虞あるべく、却而千載不滅之聖勅之結果ヲ薄弱ならしむへき歟（中略）、此ノ勅語ハ、公衆へ直接二相下付相成ル形二いたし度、文部大臣之紹介なき方尤体を得候歟、蓋此事政事上之関係二あらずして、社会上即君主ハ億兆之師表タル位置二依りて発布せらるべきものなり、或ハ学校へ臨幸之序を以而其學黌生徒二下付せられ、即ち広ク全国之子弟二下付せらるゝ等之手続、尤妙奉存候」（注６４）と主張した。

　要するに、もし勅語に大臣の副署を付ければ、それは政治上の一つ政令と同等視され、国会において内閣の責任として、議員に攻撃される恐れがあるので、かえって千載不滅の聖勅の効果を弱めさせられるようになると苦慮している。そして、発布の方法として、天皇が社会上の君主として、人民の師表である立場で発布する方が無難であると強調する。　井上が考えた社会上の君主としての発布方式については、教育勅語に限らず、彼の明治二十三年十月十日「神祇院設立意見」案においても、次のような主張があった。

　「神祇ノ祭礼ハ、國ノ礼典ニシテ宗教二非サルニ因リ、社寺局ヲ以テ管理スヘカラズ。（中略）礼典ハ社会ノ事物ニシテ国務ノ事物二非ス、君主ハ国務ノ首長タルノミナラス、又社会ノ師表タリ、而シテ国務ノ事ハ之ヲ政府二任シ、社会ノ事ハ（礼典慈善ノ事ノ類）王家自ラ之ヲ變理ス、礼典ハ宜ク王家ノ内事二属スヘクシテ之ヲ国務二混スヘカラズ。（中略）故二祖宗ノ神事ハ、固ヨリ宮内省二属スヘクシテ、国務二属スヘカラズ」（注６５）　つまり、神祇の祭礼は国の礼典であって宗教ではないにもかかわらず、それはまた国務の一部と見做すことも適当ではないと強調し、そして礼典は社会の事物にして、国務の事物に属さないと考えた。ゆえに井上は、神祇の祭礼は社会的君主として皇室自ら掌理し、国務と混ずべきではないと主張したのである。

　以上の教育勅語発布の方式、及び神祇院設立の建議で現れた井上の社会上の君主に関する考え方は、井上の国体上における伝統的君主像の政体上における近代的君主像

に対する妥協から生じたものである。すなわち、憲法発布後、明治日本が一つの近代
的立憲国家として登場する場合に、欧米列強に認めさせられるような近代的立憲君主
は、必然的に近代的立憲体制の主義に従わなければならない。ゆえに、国内における
社会秩序の維持や国民精神の統合という役割を果たさせようとする国体上の君主は、
国務と分離させて、社会上の君主として存在させようと考えているのである。これは、
すなわち井上の国体上の伝統的君主像が憲法の発布と共に、社会上の君主として変身
してきたのである。

　次は、井上の教育勅語の起草案における国体と倫理の関係から、憲法発布後の井上
の国体における倫理的君主像を究明したいと思う。

　井上は明治二十三年六月二十日、山県総理大臣に次の勅語初稿を提出した。（注６
６）「以テ古今ニ伝ヘテ謬ラズ、以テ中外ニ施シテ悖ラザルヘシ」という勅語の絶対
性と永遠性を強調するほかに、冒頭の節における「我カ祖我カ宗國ヲ　ムルコト久遠
ニ、徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚、臣民厥ノ祖考ニ継キ、王室ニ忠ニ、世々厥ノ美ヲ済シ、以
テ邦ノ光ヲ為セリ」という内容を、彼が起草した憲法発布勅語の草案での「惟フニ、
我カ祖我カ宗及我カ臣民ノ祖先ハ、相与ニ心ヲ協ヘカヲ合セテ我カ帝国ヲ　造シ、以
テ無窮ニ垂レタリ、此レ我カ神聖ナル祖宗ノ威徳ト并ニ我カ臣民ノ賦性醇厚ニシテ、
國ヲ愛シ公ニ殉ヒ以テ此ノ光輝アル國史ノ成跡ヲ貽シタルナリ」（注６７）に照らし
て見れば、ほぼ同主旨のものと考えられる。すなわち、国学的国体の説明によって、
日本の皇室と臣民の「忠＝孝」の関係を結ぼうとしたのである。

　また、その内容から明らかに見られるように儒学的五倫道徳について、井上は教育
勅語案起草のころ、五倫を儒学に専属するものではなく、古今・中外を問わず、この
世に生存するあらゆる人間の道徳であると考えていた（注６８）。すなわち、井上は
教育勅語を伝統的道徳君主の教化とするに止まらず、近代的精神及び西洋の道徳にも
適用できるような永遠性と絶対性を立てるために、教育勅語に東洋的なものが現れる
のを否定しようとしたのである。

注６６稲田正次『教育勅語成立過程の研究』（講談社、一九七一年）一九八～一九九
　　　頁。
注６７稲田正次『明治憲法成立史』、下冊（有斐閣、一九六二年）八四八頁。
注６８井上はその「五倫と生理との関係」（稲田『教育勅語成立過程の研究』、二〇
　　　二頁）で、次のように述べている。すなわち「五倫は、人と人たるものゝ世に
　　　生活する為に必履み行ふへき道にして、古今に通し中外に施して遁れむとして
　　　遁るゝこと能はす、避けむとして避ること能はさるものなり。誰か五倫を儒教
　　　一家の主義といふか、又これを東洋一種の旧説とし視るか、海の東西を問はす
　　　、世の古今を論せず、何等の論理も吾人の呼吸生息する生機の原則に抵抗し能
　　　ふへからず。」

　ここでは、前述した井上の「君主循法主義意見」で強調された「天皇の言行は自然
に法律と一致する」という論理と同様に、天皇の教化も「自然に」古今・中外の道徳
に適用できるとされているのである。したがって、憲法発布後の井上の国体上におけ
る倫理的君主をも、近代的倫理道徳に一致できるような国体的君主とするようになっ
てきた。青年時代の井上が、『交易論』（元治元年頃）で述べた「日本ト西洋トハ、
国土ノ区別、格別ニテ、各其風俗人質モ不同、言語礼法モ不同、教法宗旨モ不同、立
國ノ基本モ不同」という日本の国体と西洋の国体の相違、及び日本は「孔孟仁義ノ道
ヲ守」る「宇内第一ノ仁義國」という強調がこの時期になってくると、西洋との「不
同」の強調より西洋との「同」の強調に置き換えられるようになった。

　井上の教育勅語起草案は、元田永孚が修正を加えた後、また井上の修正意見と検討
を経てから、明治二十三年八月文部大臣の中間案として天皇へ奉呈され、その後また
多くの修正が加えられて、同年十月勅語の確定案となった。

　さて、明治二十三年十月三十日、軍人への勅諭の場合の例にならって、宮中におい
て文部大臣に賜わるという方法で、教育勅語が発布されることになった。しかし、こ
こでは井上が主張した教育勅語を「社会上ノ君主ノ著作公告」とする公布方式は、結
局採用されなかった。つまり、臣民の良心の自由に干渉するという教育勅語の矛盾を
カバーするために、教育勅語を社会上の君主の著作公告として公布すべきとの井上の
主張を、明治国家は採用せず、その矛盾を露呈したままに、軍人勅諭と同じような方
式で発布することになったのである。

＜結び＞

　しかし、もし仮に、明治国家が井上の意見を採用していたとしても、彼の考えた「
天皇はただ公的にのみ存在する」とした天皇統治の正当性の論理と矛盾するという問
題は、やはり避けられなかった。

　教育勅語は明らかに、井上の考えた天皇統治の正当性である「しらす」型の統治原
理と矛盾し、また、井上の「天皇の言行は自然に法律と一致する」という論理に即し
て見れば、かえって天皇の言行（「教育勅語」）が法律（井上の考えた憲法）と一致
し得ないという証明になってしまった。

　つまり、教育勅語の発布によって露呈した明治国家の近代化の矛盾は、井上の考え
た理念上のあるべき明治国家においても、解決しえないことだったといえるのである。

幕末の尊皇攘夷に関する思想

陶長君*

摘　要

初期的德川幕府，原本重視貿易並曾積極擴大與其他國家的通商關係。到了一六三三年（寬永十年），卻因基督教的流布等政治上的原因，不得不採行了鎖國政策，以求幕府政權的安定。但此措施僅止於表象而並非徹底地限制與西洋事物的接觸，故對幕末開國的準備提供了良好的基礎。而幕末「佐幕」與「開國」觀念的結合，對國學或水戶學等尊皇思想的倒幕派而言，相對地「攘夷」則成爲必然的趨勢，更形成了一種帶有國粹主義色彩的思想。

本文的目的即欲先透過探討「佐幕」「開國」二思想的形成背景及其構造的特徵，再闡明其相結合的必然性及思想上的展開，進而明確地理解幕末尊皇攘夷思想的本質。

一、はじめに

尊皇攘夷思想とは日本の江戸幕府の末期の時代の、天皇を貴んで、覇者である幕府をしりぞけ、開国を迫る外国人を排撃しようとする一種の国粋思想である。本来はこれは二つのものであった。「尊皇」（註１）思想という国学や水

註　（１）尊皇思想とも書かれる。

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戸学の系譜を引く思想と、「攘夷」思想という鎖国の系譜を引く思想とである。このそれぞれに対概念がある。「佐幕」思想やその背後を支える「武士道」の一派と対になるのが「尊皇」思想であり、「開国」思想と対になるのが「攘夷」思想であった。本論ではまず「佐幕」・「開国」という二つの思想が、如何なる思想構造を持ち、如何に結びついているのかについて検討しようとするものである。

二、幕府における開国思想
（１）鎖国の理由

　江戸幕府において鎖国政策が実施されたのは、１６３３年（寛永十年）のことであった。江戸幕府の初期の外国方針は、むしろ積極的な貿易拡大政策にあった。貿易の利益を重視したものである。江戸幕府の祖、徳川家康は、明や朝鮮に対して国交の回復と通商を求めただけではなく、イスパニア・オランダ・イギリスに対しても平戸に商館を建てさせ通商関係を開こうとした。（註２）そのため、イギリスに対しても多くの優遇措置をとっている。さらに家康はベトナムやシャム（今のタイ）やカンボジアなどに渡航しようとする西国大名・豪商などに対して朱印状を発行してこれを保護した。この方針が転換するのが１６１２年で、まず幕府は直轄地である江戸・大阪・京都・長崎に対して布教の禁止、宣教師の追放を内容とした禁教令を発令した。翌１６１３年には全国に禁教令がだされる。この禁教令と鎖国令とは互いに連関するもので、鎖国の理由をここから読み取ることができるものである。

　　夫れ日本は、元是神国也。……爰に吉利支丹の徒党適日本に来る。啻に商
　　船を渡して資財を通ずるのみに非ず、叨に邪法を弘め正宗を惑わし、以て
　　域中の政号を改め、己が有となさんと欲す。（註３）

註　（２）イギリス平戸商館の開設『異国日記』。家康は、イギリスに朱印
　　　　　状を与えている。
　　（３）『異国日記』慶長１８年１２月２３日。

　まず、前提として、日本は神国であるとの認識がある。又、書かれてはいないが、日本は自分たちのものであるということも十分に意識されている。この二つの前提の上に、吉利支丹の非が述べられる。①邪法を弘め（キリスト教を弘め）②域中の政号を改め（日本の政治を改め）③己が有となさんと欲す（自分のものとしてしまおうとしている）という三点である。これに対し、商船を渡して資財を通ずる（貿易を行なう）ことは、むしろ望まれているのであって、先の三点の非とこの一点の利を比べて、非が大であるとされ、鎖国がとられたことになる。貿易は容認されていることがわかる。さて、先の三点、①のキリスト教を非とする理由は、日本が神国であってキリスト教が神敵・仏敵であるからということになる。②の域中の政号を改めるのが非とせられるのは、幕府の法令を軽んずることであるということになる。③の己が有となさんとするのが非とせられるのは、自分たちの住む国土を守ろうとする点からである。この当時の日本人にとってみれば、この③の事については十分なる反省が加えられているとは言い難い。しかしながら、キリスト教布教の背後にある、西洋人及び西洋諸国の領土拡大の意識を的確に見抜いていると言うことができる。この時、西洋の侵略への対策として日本は鎖国を選んだのであった。この行き方は、中国・朝鮮のとった方策と何ら変わるものではない。貿易を拡大し、西洋から多くの技術を導入し続けようとするなどの方向にはいかなかった。

　こうした鎖国の方針が幕末に到り、「開国」の方針へと変わる。その時、先の三点は如何に解決せられようとしていたかが問題となる。

　（２）開国への状況

　１８５３年、ペリーが浦賀に現われる。このときアメリカはカリフォルニアを手に入れて、太平洋岸に達していた。アヘン戦争の結果としての清との貿易と捕鯨のため太平洋にのり出したアメリカにとっては、難破船の救助や燃料・食料の供給が切実な課題であった。しかも、日本の軍備は、アメリカに比すべくもないことが、海からの認識を通して予測できている。こうして、日本の開国はアメリカの武力威嚇外交による高圧的態度でなされた。日本側も既に１８４０年のアヘン戦争によって西洋の武力が清を破ったことを承知していた。こ

うして、四隻の「黒船」（鉄製軍艦）の恐怖の中で老中阿部正弘は国書を受け取り、翌年に返事をすると約束する。翌１８５４年、日米和親条約が結ばれ、まず、下田・函館の二港が開かれ、同様の条約がイギリス・ロシア・オランダとも結ばれた。こうして幕府は「開国」したのである。

（3）「開国」の意識

しかし、単にアメリカの脅しによって、日本は１８５４年に急に開国されたものであると考えることは、日本幕末の思想状況の理解を誤るものである。実は思想的には日本は始めから「開国」し続けていると言うことができる。

現実のレベルで言っても、オランダ・中国・朝鮮とは交流を続けていたのであって、全く外国との情報交換が無いのではない。これは事実上「開国」され続けているに等しい。質では開国されており、その量と対象が極端に制限されていたと言えるのみである。

思想のレベルで言えば、こうして入ってくるオランダの書物（蘭書）によって蘭学が成立していたのであり、この蘭学によって、オランダ語の原書から直に学び、西洋的精神に通ずる者たちが出現しているのであるから、この意味で「開国」されている。しかも、「開国」を現実のレベルで広げようとの主張までも明確に表れている。

こう考えてみると、日本の鎖国は建前の鎖国であって、極端に制限されてはいるものの、開国され続けており、急に「開国」が改めて決定された際にも大した混乱の生じなかった一因であると言うことができよう。幕府にしてみると、大した転換ということにはならない。勿論、量の拡大は質の変化を生じさせ、ひいては、幕府の在り方を足元から崩すが、単に武力によって「開国」したのではなく、既に準備があった、ということを読み取る必要がある。

とりわけ、西洋の知識・技術の面については、これを自分たちのものとしようとする意識が、継続して存在している。この面について、鎖国は無かったと言っても差支えはない程である。１７１５年には、新井白石の『西洋紀聞』が書かれ、１７１３年にも彼の『采覧異言』という世界の地理・風俗書が将軍にまで献上されている。『西洋紀聞』の西洋技術についての言及は次のようであ

る。

　　天文・地理の事に至りては、企及ぶべしとも覚えず……ここに知りぬ、彼
　　方の学のごときは、ただ其の形と器とに精しき事を。（註４）

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上天子より下万民に至るまで男女外別種なし。」（註6）と述べて、身分制を批判したことにも表れている。

　こうした動きに対して時の権力者、松平定信は次のように言う。

　　寛政四五のころより紅毛の書を集む。蛮国は理にくはし。天文地理又兵器
　　ある内外科の治療、ことに益も少なからず。されどもあるは好奇の媒とな
　　り、またはあしき事などいひ出す。さらば禁ずべしとすれど、禁ずれば猶
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　知識のレベルに止まっていた西洋の技術の秀れていることに関する認識が、現実のこととして迫って来るのは１８４０年のアヘン戦争での清の敗戦であった。それまでの幕府の現実面での政策は、軍備に関する建議が下の者からなされても、これを処罰して来た。１７８７年の林子平の『海国平談』も１７９２

註 （6）杉田玄白『形影夜話』オランダ語から直接学ぶことで、急に開国
　　　　　されても、初めて西洋語と接して見当がつかない、などというこ
　　　　　とは生じない。医学の発達とともに、原書を読むことが教育制度
　　　　　上も確立していたことは福沢諭吉の『福翁自伝』などにも詳しく
　　　　　述べられている。
　　（7）松平定信「宇下人言」。

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註　（６）杉田玄白『形影夜話』オランダ語から直接学ぶことで、急に開国されても、初めて西洋語と接して見当がつかない、などということは生じない。医学の発達とともに、原書を読むことが教育制度上も確立していたことは福沢諭吉の『福翁自伝』などにも詳しく述べられている。
　（７）松平定信「宇下人言」。

年に幕府は咎し、版木も没収している。（註８）１８２５年には幕府は異国船打払令（註９）を出し、これがために１８３７年に米船モリソン号が相模の浦賀と薩摩の山川で撃退されてもいる。そもそも異国船打払令は１８０８年のフェートン号事件、及び、１８２４年の英捕鯨船の乱暴に対する対応措置として出されたものであった。しかし、これらは、あくまで「下の」者が、幕制批判をすること、及び、国内の混乱を恐れるがために行なうことであって、幕府はそれ自体、ますます海防を検討することになる。蛮社の獄の際も、彼らはその言論の故に処罰されたのではなく、幕制批判、特にモリソン号事件への対応に対する批判の故に処罰されたものであるとされる。則ち、幕府への批判が罪であって、開国をすすめること、そのものが死に価する罪となるわけではなかった。開国を言うものは、早くは１７９８年の本多利明の『経世秘策』などもある。（註10）

註　（８）「当時（現在のこと）長崎に厳重に石火矢の備有て、却て安房、相模の海港の其備なし。此事甚不審。細力に思へば江戸の日本橋より唐・阿蘭陀迄境なしの水路也。然るを此に備へずして長崎にのみ備しは何ぞや」林子平『海国兵談』。海防は長崎だけでは効果が無いと言い切る。これが幕制批判に当るとされる。

（９）「異国船乗寄せ候を見受け候ハバ、其所二有合せ候人夫を以て、有無に及ばず、一図二打払ひ、逃延び候ハバ、追船等差出すに及ばず、其分二差置、若し押して上陸致し候ハバ、搦捕り、又は打留め候ても苦しからず候。『御触書天保集成』１８２５年２月１８日、大目付へのお触れ。

（10）「日本は海国なれば、渡海・運送・交易は固より国君の天職最大一の国務なれば、万国へ船舶を遣りて、国用の要用たる産物、及び金銀銅を抜き取て日本へ入れ、国力を厚くすべきは海国具足の仕方なり。」本田利明『経世秘策』本田利明は、貿易を国務という。当時の日本人には、商業と貿易は別の次元と考えられていたことは忘れてはならない。商業自体は、士農工商の「商」則ち、下層の者がするものと、理念的には考えられていた。

　現実のレベルでもアヘン戦争のショックから、１８４２年には「天保薪水給与令」（註11）が出され「打ち払え」との強行姿勢は影をひそめることになる幕府と国を守るためには、西洋諸国と争うのはむしろ得策ではなく、怒りを買わぬようにするという発想であるが、ここまで来れば「開国」はもう目の前である。すでに、西洋と接するもやむを得ないとの意識をそこに見出すことが可能である。

三、幕府の自らを守るための論理

　こうなると、先の「鎖国」を言う、三つの根拠と「開国」の関係について考察することが必要である。そこでまず検討されねばならないのが、幕府が自らを守ろうとする論理・広義の「佐幕」思想である。この考えの端的に表れているのが、山内豊信の上書、及び、「大政奉還」の上表文であろう。

　　……彼ノ策、是ニ於テカ成ルト謂フ可ク候。是ノ如キ事態ニ陥リ候ハ、其
　　　責至境誰ニ帰ス可ケンヤ。……王政復古ノ業ヲ建テサル可カラサルノ
　　　一大機会ト存シ奉リ候。（註12）
　　……況ヤ当今、外国ノ交際日ニ盛ナルニヨリ、愈朝権一途ニ出申サス候テ
　　　ハ、綱紀立チ難ク候間、従来ノ旧習ヲ改メ政権ヲ朝廷帰シ奉リ、広ク
　　　天下ノ広議ヲ尽シ、聖断ヲ仰キ、同心協力、共ニ皇国ヲ保護仕リ候得

註　（11）「異国船渡来の節、二念無く打払ひ申すべき旨、文政八年仰せ出
　　　　　され候。然る処、当時万事御改正ニテ、享保・寛政の御政事に復
　　　　　され、何事によらず御仁政を施され度しとの有難き思召ニ候。…
　　　　　…（中略）……異国船と見請け候ハバ得と様子相糺し、食料・薪
　　　　　水等乏しく帰帆成難き趣ニ候ハバ、望の品相応ニ与へ帰帆致すべ
　　　　　き旨申し諭し、尤も上陸は致させ間敷候。」『天保薪水給与令』
　　　　　１８４２年７月２３日の書付。
　　（12）『維新史』山内豊信の上書。

ハ、必ス海外万国ト並ビ立ツヘク候。（註13）

　山内豊信の上書は１８６７年１０月３日に徳川慶喜に出されたものである。徳川慶喜はこの建白を容れる形で大政奉還に踏み切った。徳川慶喜を中心とする「佐幕」の者たちが意図するものは、上表文にある「広ク天下ノ広議ヲ尽シ」である。これは大政を返上したのち、天皇をいただく公議政体を始めようとの意図を示す言葉である。公議政体とは諸藩の代表会議による政治と解することができる。徳川氏は諸侯の最高位の内大臣の地位にあり、諸侯会議の主導権をにぎることは可能であると考え、名を捨てて実をとる道を選択したのであった。

　大政奉還の上表と同じ日に倒幕の倒幕の密勅が出たが、翌日朝廷によって奉還が認められ、薩長は倒幕の名分を失った。その後、倒幕派は流れを変えようと１２月９日、クーデターを起こすことになる。徳川氏は内大臣を解任され、幕府側の意図は外れてしまうことになるが、しかし、幕府は、幕府という制度を変えてでも、徳川氏の政権を守ろうと動くことに注目されねばならない。名を捨てても実をとるとは、実に徳川氏の政権維持への意志であり、先の②の条件に相当するものである。
　徳川氏が政権を持つ根拠は、昔、天皇の政治が乱れ、藤原氏が摂関家となって権力を握り、保元・平治の乱を機に政権は武家に移り、それ以来、徳川家康にいたり、さらに朝廷の寵愛を受け、二百余年子孫が将軍職を受け継いできたことにある。（註14）このことは上表文の中で徳川慶喜が言っていることである。天皇の政治の乱れという事が第一の前提となっている。次に摂関家から武家への転換が掲げられ、朝廷の寵愛、二百年の時間、徳川氏の血統が根拠となる。即ち、①天皇政治の乱れによる権力の移転、②武家に対しての征夷大将軍の地位の付与、③血統と時間という伝統が、徳川支配の根拠である。天皇の権

註　（13）『大政奉還の上表文』１８６７年１０月１４日の慶喜の上表文。
　　（14）「昔シ王綱紐ヲ解き相家権ヲ執リ、保平ノ乱政権ヲ執リ、保平ノ乱政権武門ニ移テヨリ、祖宗ニ至リ更ニ寵眷ヲ蒙リ、二百余年子孫愛受ク。」『大政奉還の上表文』

威は体裁上犯されていない。但し、徳川幕府初期の「禁中並公家諸法度」を見ると、実質上天皇家は徳川政権によって統制されていることがわかる。（註15）これもやはり、名を捨てて実をとる行き方である。こうして「佐幕」を支えるものが、「武家」と「徳川に依存」しているものたちであることが理解される。これに対して、倒幕を言うものは、武家ではあっても、下級武士たちと公家、及び、その最初から徳川氏に潜在的に敵対する「外様」の藩であることが理念的にも明らかになる。

　　四、「開国」と「佐幕」の考えの結合

　徳川幕府がその発足初期に鎖国をしたのは、その体制の維持の目的もあったからであるが、これが「開国」に変わっても目的は維持されうるのか。以下に検討したい。　まず、①のキリスト教の宣教の恐れについては、これは開国すれば西洋人の布教の機会が増すことになるのは明らかである。しかし、寺請制度の維持とキリスト教信仰者の処罰によってこれを抑えようとする。実はこの方針は明治政府によっても受け継がれ、五榜の掲示にも明言されている。（註16）

　②の幕府の法令を軽んずる恐れについては、交渉相手がポルトガルを中心とした国からイギリスを中心とした国への転換という、世界史的転換の中で考えねばならない。開国後の貿易の主導権をとったのはイギリスであった。初代公

註　（15）　「禁中並公家諸法度」は、１６１５年７月に発令された。朝廷や公家統制の基本であった。崇伝が起草したもので、天皇が修徳すべき教養を学問と限定し、武家に官位を与え改元する権限を幕府が掌握している。さらに紫衣勅許の権限にも規制を加えるなど、幕府が朝廷の権限を形骸化しようとするものである。これは則ち、権威を残し、権力を奪うものであったと理解できる。

　　　（16）　五榜の掲示の第三札には、定として「切支丹邪宗門ノ儀ハ堅ク御制禁タリ。若シ不審ナル者コレ有ラハ、其筋之役所ヘ申出ルヘシ。御褒美下サルヘク事」と明示されている。

使のオールコックは中国での経験も踏まえ、日本の変革は民衆の圧力ではなく、「上層から下層に向かっての浸透課程」としてなされるべきであると考え、対日外交を進める。幕府の政権を保つことが外交の方針として存在していた。このことはアメリカも基本路線は同様であった。法令が軽んぜられる恐れは依然残るが、幕府の権力は残るのである。このことが反幕府の「攘夷」を語らせる一因となるのである。イギリスが「佐幕」を支えるとすれば、「倒幕」を言う者は、反西洋を口にせざるを得なくなるのである。

　③の植民地化への恐れについては、これは潜在的に存し続けたと言えよう。従ってこれに対して幕府は西洋知識・技術の積極的導入をもってこれに応えようとした。反射炉の建築は１８５０年の佐賀藩に続き、各地で造られ、幕府中心にみても、江戸関口に大砲製作所が１８５３年、長崎製鉄所が１８６１年完成、横須賀製鉄所が１８６５年、藩書調所１８５６年、講武所が１８５６年、海軍伝習所が１８５５年など、次々にオランダ・フランスの技術を導入してこれを充実しようとしている。日本の洋務運動と見ることができる。

　こうして鎖国がとられた理由が３つとも解消されてくる。しかもその前提となる、「神国」であるとの認識は、天皇家が存し続け、徳川氏の東照宮も維持されるのであるから、キリスト教が抑えられれば、日本の強兵化はむしろ望ましいものとなる。そして、「佐幕」の故にとられた「鎖国」政策は、それをとり続ければ西洋の攻撃を呼び、かえって滅亡を招く。「佐幕」が維持でき、むしろその強化となる「開国」が西洋との戦争とその延長にある滅亡、植民地化を防ぐとなれば、方針の転換は当然と言えば当然であった。

　五、まとめ

　幕府の権力にとって、その権力の維持が、名をすてても実をとることが顧われる程に重要であった。そもそも「鎖国」がとられる理由は、政権の安定を維持するためであった。貿易の利益が莫大であることを認識しつつも、幕府は政権の安定を選んだのであった。これは鎖国を行なう理由に明らかである。ところが幕末期に到り、西洋は頻繁に日本近海に出没しはじめ、ついにはアヘン戦争を起こして清をも破ったニュースが日本に伝えられる。知識上、西洋の技術

の優位を知っていた幕府の上層も現実として危機を感じ始めた。イギリス船の略奪に「二心なく打払え」としていた法令は、そうすることが逆に西洋に攻撃の口実を与え、政権の維持に障害となることを覚る。こうして、幕府はアメリカの黒船の到来を機に開国に踏み切ることになる。開国することが、むしろイギリスを中心とする西洋から幕府の権力の維持を保障されることになるからである。こうして、「佐幕」と「開国」は結合する。一方、倒幕勢力は「攘夷」を口にせざるを得なくなる。紙面の都合上、このことについては、稿を改めて論ずることにしたい。

　同時に幕府は西洋技術の導入を進める。西洋に対抗しうる武力の整備が急務となるからでもあった。これが急速に進展するのは、既に日本の知識人と幕府上層には西洋の技術の優位が十分に認識されていたからであった。人士の説得に時間がかからない。しかも原書を訳す能力と、それを育てる方策も、既に整えられていたのが日本の「鎖国」であった。則ち、実質上はオランダと通商し原書を購入し、蘭学を成立させているのであるから、「開国」しているのも同然である。ただ、その量が極少であることは言うまでもない。しかし、これが故に、文字の習得から始めるのとは速さが異なる面もあり、技術の導入が早かった。幕府の政策が「鎖国」から「開国」に変わるのも、単に「開国」の量の拡大であると考えれば当然のように理解されよう。つまり、キリスト教を抑え幕府が維持され、国土を保全するために、これまで少しづつでも導入していた西洋技術の導入を拡大することが求められるならば、行なえば良いわけである目的に変化はなく、手段のみが、拡大するということになれば、その政策転換は比較的容易である。これは全くの鎖国に近い朝鮮の対外政策と比較すれば理解されよう。

年に幕府は咎し、版木も没収している。（註8）１８２５年には幕府は異国船打払令（註9）を出し、これがために１８３７年に米船モリソン号が相模の浦賀と薩摩の山川で撃退されてもいる。そもそも異国船打払令は１８０８年のフェートン号事件、及び、１８２４年の英捕鯨船の乱暴に対する対応措置として出されたものであった。しかし、これらは、あくまで「下の」者が、幕制批判をすること、及び、国内の混乱を恐れるがために行なうことであって、幕府にそれ自体、ますます海防を検討することになる。蛮社の獄の際も、彼らはその

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