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Frank Daniels' report on the wartime Japanese courses at SOAS

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Abstract
This article consists mainly of an annotated transcription of a report on the wartime courses in Japanese at SOAS prepared by Frank Daniels in August 1945. An introduction is provided setting his report in context and providing some of the background relating to the attempts by SOAS, well before the outbreak of war with Japan, to persuade the government that training needed to begin without delay. These attempts were unsuccessful, but Frank Daniels and the teachers assembled to help him, including his Japanese wife and some Japanese released from internment in the UK, successfully developed a teaching programme that went on to train many individuals who were to become the first generation of university Japanologists in the UK.
Keywords: SOAS, Japanese, Frank Daniels, Language training, Pacific War

Frank James Daniels (1899–1983), who became the first Professor of Japanese at SOAS in 1961, went to Japan in 1928 after graduating from the London School of Economics. He worked at first for the British Embassy in Tokyo but later he became a teacher of English at Otaru Commercial High School in Hokkaido. In 1939 he was appointed to a senior lectureship in Japanese at SOAS but since war had already broken out in Europe it was not until 1941 that he was able to reach Britain via the United States. Throughout the war he was in charge of the courses for interrogators run in the Japanese section at SOAS, which ran alongside separate courses aimed at translators.[1] In his inaugural lecture as professor in 1962, he referred to the small number of students and the infrequent classes held in 1941, adding: "This life of ease ended in May of the following year when the teaching of Japanese began in earnest for the purposes of the war against Japan".[2] He modestly refrained on that occasion from mentioning his role in the direction and management of most of the wartime Japanese courses at SOAS from 1942 to 1945, but the fortunate survival of a

1 Ronald Dore, "Frank and Otome Daniels", in Ian Nish (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 1 (Folkestone: Japan Library, 1994), 268–78; Sadao Ōba, *The "Japanese" War: London University's WWII Secret Teaching Programme and the Experts Sent to Help Beat Japan*, trans. Anne Kaneko (Folkestone: Japan Library, 1995), 17–9, 24–5.

2 Daniels, *Japanese Studies in the University of London and Elsewhere: an Inaugural Lecture Delivered on 7 November 1962* (London: SOAS, 1963), 19.

photocopy of his report on those courses makes it possible not only to appreciate his contribution but also to grasp the details of these courses for the first time. The main part of this article, therefore, consists of an annotated transcription of the report.

As is now well known, the School of Oriental and African Studies had a significant role to play during the Second World War training young men and women to high levels of competence in Japanese and other non-European languages as part of the war effort. The School was, in fact, aware of the likely linguistic consequences of war with Japan nearly three years before the outbreak of the Pacific War. As early as January 1939, Sir Philip Hartog (1864–1947), a prominent educationist who was a member of the Governing Body of SOAS, wrote to Sir John Simon (1873–1954), then the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hartog was already anticipating the possibility of war with Japan and realized that SOAS was hopeless ill-equipped to deal with the demands that war would create:

> At the School of Oriental Studies we have for Japanese [language teaching] only a single Englishman, aided by a Japanese assistant. In war time this would be quite insufficient. I am told that there is at the present moment one distinguished British scholar with an outstanding knowledge of Japanese, now in Tokio, Mr. Frank Hawley, and that attempts are being made to induce him to go to America.[3] The School of Oriental Studies has not the funds necessary to secure his services. … It is understood that in the event of war there will be special demands on the Japanese department for censorship and intelligence work as well as for instruction, and that there may be a considerable demand from India for persons knowing Japanese. The School with its present staff could not cope with those demands.[4]

He therefore appealed for more funds from the Treasury. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rejected the request, however, suggesting instead that SOAS apply to

3 The Englishman was Isemonger and the "Japanese assistant" was Yoshitake Saburō: see notes 47 and 68, below. Frank Hawley (1906–61) attended Liverpool University and then, after further study in Berlin and at Cambridge, he moved in 1931 to Japan to become an English-language teacher at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. After some time as a teacher at various institutions, he was attached to the British Embassy in Tokyo as Director of the Library of Information and Culture. He married a Japanese woman and acquired a facility with both written and spoken Japanese. He had already accepted a position at SOAS when the Pacific War broke out and he was repatriated in 1942. He taught Japanese at SOAS from November 1942 to July 1943, then worked for the BBC and eventually travelled to Washington DC to work at the British Embassy. As the war neared its end, he applied for a special position at the London *Times*, and returned to Japan in the autumn of 1946 as the head of the Tokyo branch office of *The Times*. Manabu Yokoyama, "Frank Hawley, 1906–1961: scholar, bibliophile and journalist", in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 5 (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005), 409–17.

4 SOAS Archives [hereafter SA] SOAS 19/1 [uncatalogued: temporary code]: Hartog to Simon, 23 January 1939; National Archives [hereafter NA] WO 32/4356, Hartog to French, 31 January 1939.

the Court of the University of London for the funds needed. The Court agreed to provide an additional £2,500 a year for the School to fund five new posts, in Japanese, Arabic and Turkish.[5] Thus the University of London had to meet the costs by reallocating to SOAS some of the funds which had been received from the University Grants Committee for the whole of the University of London: the government did not provide any additional funds for these five new posts.

Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe, the Director of SOAS, Professor Sir Ralph Turner (1888–1983; Director 1937–57), wrote to the War Office with a proposal that "undergraduates and young graduates with special linguistic ability should be sent to the School to study the Oriental languages likely to be of importance in the War".[6] On 13 November 1939 Lord Harlech (1885–1964), Chairman of the Board of Governors of SOAS, wrote in turn to Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield, who was Minister for the Coordination of Defence, making the same points more forcefully and drawing attention to the time it took to acquire a good knowledge of these languages:

> Before the War we were informed by the War Office, Admiralty and Air Ministry that in the event of war we should be required to give instruction to classes of officers of all three services in certain languages, of which the most important are modern Turkish, Japanese, Arabic and Persian. . . . The only students in Japanese now in training are five civilians of whom three are enemy aliens. . . . Professor Turner reports that from his contacts with the Ministry of Labour, the Postal Censorship Department and the Universities, there are not, in this country today[,] any reserves of British subjects with a knowledge of some of these Oriental languages, particularly modern Japanese and modern Turkish. He writes – "It is now clear beyond doubt that if there is any chance of men in the fighting or Government Services being wanted in the next six months with a knowledge of these languages the instruction of a certain number as beginners should commence at once".[7]

Chatfield's reply, when it came in January 1940, must have been disappointing. The Admiralty did not plan to send any officers to the School for training during the War, the War Office was exploring the army's needs for officers with a knowledge of Turkish, and the Air Ministry was planning to send six officers for short refresher courses in Turkish and Japanese. The only consolation was that, in view of the importance of the skills nurtured at the School, the teaching staff would not be called up for military service, thus ensuring the continued

5 NA CO 859/5/3, Macmillan, Chairman of the Court, to Simon, 9 March 1939; School of Oriental and African Studies, *Report of the Governing Body and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st July, 1939*, 15; Ian Brown, *The School of Oriental and African Studies: Imperial Training and the Expansion of Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 83–4.

6 *Report of the Governing Body, Statement of Accounts and Departmental Reports for the year ending 31st July 1942* (SOAS, 1942), 15.

7 NA CO 859/5/5: Harlech to Chatfield, 13 November and 11 December 1939; Turner to Brooks and Turner to Harlech, 9 December 1939; Brown, *The School*, 84.

operation of the School.[8] SOAS thus made efforts at the highest levels to alert the government to the need to begin training immediately, but the School's arguments fell on deaf ears.[9]

In the summer of 1941, still before the outbreak of war with Japan, SOAS apparently made further representations to both the Foreign Office and War Office, and "in view of the threatening posture of Japan pointed to the critical shortage of experts in Japanese and to the long period of training which servicemen would have to undergo to acquire a knowledge of the language". Disappointingly, the response of the War Office in August 1941 was: "we feel we are at present reasonably insured in the matter of officers knowing Oriental languages".[10] Meanwhile, in the course of 1941, Sir Robert Craigie (1883–1959), the British ambassador in Tokyo, wrote several times outlining his concerns about the shortage of language expertise.[11] Well before the outbreak of the Pacific War, then, the linguistic consequences of war with Japan were already being seriously considered both by SOAS and by the Foreign Office, again to no avail.

On 8 December 1941, the Japanese army launched its assault on Malaya. A few hours later, but on 7 December owing to the impact of the International Date Line, the attack on Pearl Harbor took place. The attack on Hong Kong started a few hours later, followed on 10 December by the sinking of the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battlecruiser *Repulse*. Hong Kong surrendered on 25 December, and Singapore in turn on 16 February 1942. It was only at this point that the British government woke up to its woeful deficiencies in Japanese language expertise and its failure to plan for wartime needs. By contrast, the Censorship Office Japanese School in Melbourne had begun operations in August 1940, and in the United States courses in Japanese began in October 1941 for the Navy and in November 1941 for the Army.[12]

Once war had broken out with Japan, SOAS made another attempt to expand its teaching of languages essential for the war effort. On 14 January 1942, Hartog wrote to R.A. Butler, then President of the Board of Education (later known as the Ministry of Education), renewing the arguments made in 1939:

> There is now a great paucity of Japanese, Chinese, Thai and Turkish linguists for the Intelligence and Interpretership Services of the War Office

8 SA SOAS 20/2 [uncatalogued: temporary code]: Chatfield to Harlech, 10 January 1940.

9 On the Director's efforts and of his frustration in the face of the government's poor response to his warnings, see SA SOAS R 24/6, Ralph Turner to Scarbrough, 1 October 1945; Brown, *The School*, 84–5.

10 Sir C.H. Phillips [*sic*: Philips], *The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1917–1967: An Introduction* ([London: SOAS], 1967), 34–5; unfortunately, the sources are not identified and I have so far been unable to trace this correspondence in the National Archives.

11 NA FO 371/27953, Craigie to FO, 24 March, 26 April, 1 July 1941.

12 Colin Funch, *Linguists in Uniform: The Japanese Experience* (Clayton, VIC: Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University, 2003), 39–41; Cameron Binkley, *Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center: A Pictorial History* (Monterey, CA: Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center, 2011), 17–21; see also Roger Dingman, "Language at war: U.S. Marine Corps Japanese language officers in the Pacific War", *Journal of Military History* 68, 2004, 853–83, and NA FO 371/41792.

> and we have had demands not only from the War Office but also from the Air Ministry for linguists in some or all of these languages. . . . Professor Turner, the Director of the School of Oriental Studies and I foresaw more than two years ago that such needs would arise and we made representations asking various Government Departments to take the necessary steps to meet them. We were unsuccessful but I need not go into that.[13]

This time, however, the War Office was interested, and from early 1942 the teaching of Japanese and other languages for wartime purposes began in earnest at SOAS.[14]

The only detailed account of the wartime courses at SOAS is that by Ōba Sadao, which was published in 1988 and appeared in an English translation (with photographs and additional material) in 1995.[15] Apart from interviews, one of the main sources used by Ōba was a work listed in his bibliography as "Frank Daniels, *War-time Courses* (SOAS, 1945)". Searching for this, I found that no such published work seemed to exist, nor did the archives of SOAS contain any such item. It seemed, then, that Daniels' original report had been lost. However, in September 2016 I met Ms Satsuki Ōba, one of Ōba's daughters, in Tokyo, and she kindly extracted from her father's papers a photocopy of Daniels' report and gave me a photocopy of it, which I have deposited in the SOAS archives. It appears that, when preparing his book, her father had obtained this photocopy of the original either from Daniels himself or from SOAS, and he added some annotations to it in Japanese. It is not a complete photocopy for, unfortunately, appendices C, D, E and F, which are referred to in the report, are missing. There are also some handwritten corrections to the typewritten text, probably made by Daniels himself after the report had been typed.

Daniels' report provides valuable information about the various SOAS wartime courses and about those who taught on them. As his list of the staff involved makes clear, almost all the teachers had acquired their knowledge of Japanese either as long-term residents in Japan before the war or as students on the courses who were subsequently retained to expand the number of teachers, but there were also a number of native speakers, either Japanese who had married Britons or Canadian Nisei. After the war, many of the teachers went on to lay the foundations of the academic study of Japan in Britain, including Carmen Blacker, Frank Daniels himself, Ronald Dore, Charles Dunn, Douglas Mills and Yanada Senji; Edwin McLellan, on the other hand, pursued his academic career in the United States.

Daniels' report covers only those who taught in the Far East Department. Simultaneously, the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at SOAS was also providing ten-week courses in the transcription of oral Japanese, probably for the benefit of those in India listening to Japanese airborne communications in

13 NA ED 54/123: Hartog to Butler, 14 January 1942.
14 Brown, *The School*, 85–92.
15 Ōba Sadao 大庭定男, *Senchū Rondon Nihongo gakkō* 戦中ロンドン日本語学校 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1988); for the English translation, see note 1, above.

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the clear, and around 180 students took these courses.[16] Those involved as teachers were listed at the time as follows.:

> Academic: Mr J.R. Firth, Miss B. Honikman, Miss E. Henderson, Miss E. M. Evans, Mr N.C. Scott, Miss H.M. Lambert, Mr J. Carnochan, Mr J.K. Rideout*, Mr B. S. Mackay*
> Service instructors: F/O R.H. Robins,[17] P/O R.F.P. Snelling, P/O O.D. King-Wood, Sgt R.A. Hendrie, P/O D. Lees*, Sub/Lt F. Waind, Mdsn K.L.C. Strong.[18]
> (*=not phoneticians)[19]

Apart from Rideout and Mackay, who are also named in Daniels' report, the other academic teachers were linguists and phoneticians at SOAS with no knowledge of Japanese: John Rupert Firth (1890–1960), for example, was an expert on the phonetics of Gujarati and Telugu and was later to become the first Professor of General Linguistics in Britain, while Beatrice Honikman (1905–97) was an expert on African languages.[20] I have been unable to trace most of the service instructors, with the exception of Robins and Strong, who both later taught at SOAS: they all probably completed courses in the Far East Department and were then retained as temporary teachers until the end of the war.

Daniels' report takes the form of a retrospective account of the wartime work of the Japanese section with a focus on the courses and the teaching. The burden of overseeing all the wartime courses in Chinese and Japanese and administering a vastly expanded department fell upon the shoulders of Evangeline Dora

16 Daniels, *Japanese Studies in the University of London*, 19; the names of those from the three Services who took the courses in 1943–44 are given in SOAS/REG/01/01/05 ("Department of Phonetics and Linguistics: Japanese Phonetics Service Students"). SOAS/REG/01/01/05 also contains lists of the students who took courses in the Far East Department.

17 Robert H. Robins (1921–2000) later completed his studies in Classics at Oxford and then returned to the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at SOAS, where he taught for the remainder of his career.

18 Kenneth Strong (1925–1990) completed a BA in Japanese at SOAS in 1951 and then later taught at SOAS from 1964 to 1980. He published *Ox against the Storm* (1977), a biography of Japan's conservationist pioneer Tanaka Shōzō, and several highly regarded translations of modern fiction.

19 SOAS/REG/01/01/01 "Department of Phonetics and Linguistics: staff engaged on current Japanese Service courses".

20 Obituary of Firth by N.C. Scott in *BSOAS* 24, 1961, 413–8; obituary of Honikman in *The Phonetician* 83, 2001, 23–4. Firth provided further details of the courses taught in the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics in "Wartime experiences in linguistic training", *Modern Languages: A Review of Foreign Letters, Science and the Arts* 26, 1945, 38–46. Here Firth described what he called "the short intensive phonetics course in Japanese" and "the longer intensive *character* course in Japanese" (italics as in the original; presumably Firth means written Japanese), which ran for six months. He implies that the course in written Japanese was taught in the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, but it is not clear if this was a separate course from that run in the Far East Department; he has little to say about it and does not make any mention whatsoever of the courses that are the subject of Daniels' report.

Edwards (1888–1957), who was Professor of Chinese and Head of the Far East Department from 1939 to 1953. During the five years from 1941 to 1945 the department trained 550 students in Chinese, Japanese and Malay.[21] Soon after the end of the war, in late July 1946, she left London on a six-month visit to Southeast Asia, East Asia and Australia "to follow up the training of Service candidates by studying on the spot the results of the training they had received", as her obituary put it.[22] This trip was arranged by the Air Ministry in collaboration with the South East Asia Command in Singapore, and had an official side to it, but in order to evaluate the efficacy of the SOAS training she met a number of former wartime students from SOAS in Singapore and Japan. She embodied her observations and recommendations in a very detailed report, but the only copy of this that I have been able to locate lacks the section giving an assessment of the value of the wartime courses.[23]

Daniels' report was perhaps written too soon after the end of the war to be able to offer any reflections on the strengths and weaknesses of the wartime courses. He does, however, make it clear that the teachers were, until 1944, at odds with the military authorities, who wanted interpreters to be taught only oral skills and translators only written skills. The students, it seems, realized that the official either/or approach was damaging and in their subsequent postings endeavoured to make good the deficiency by acquiring the other skills they needed. Daniels' view all along had been that the best results would be achieved if the written and spoken languages were taught together, and it is this understanding that is now a commonplace in the methodology of Japanese language teaching. On the other hand, the objectives of the wartime courses were understandably determined by military needs, and this had an inevitable impact not only on the range of vocabulary to be acquired but also on the styles of written and spoken Japanese that were taught. Since interpreters put their skills to use either interrogating prisoners of war or intercepting air-to-ground communications, knowledge of colloquial and everyday language was superfluous; similarly, translators needed only to have knowledge of the formal military language used in captured documents and of the abbreviated Japanese used in wireless messages (after being decrypted). These necessary limitations, as well as the obvious urgency in wartime and the military discipline, go some way towards explaining why the wartime courses were so successful in terms of the levels of competence achieved by the students in a relatively short time. Those who were transferred to Japan after the surrender and formed part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force discovered that the courses, limited in scope though they were, provided them with sufficient foundations

21 SOAS/REG/01/01/05: "Far Eastern Department: list of students from 1941 to 1945" (signed E.E. [Evangeline Edwards] and dated 13 February 1945). Obviously, students trained later in 1945 are not included.

22 Obituary by W. Simon, *BSOAS* 21,1958, 219–23.

23 NA WO 208/226, copy of undated telegram from War Office to South East Asia Interrogation and Translation Centre. NA CO129/616/1: "Report on a six months' tour of South East Asia, the Far East and Australia, August 1946–February 1947", dated 18 September 1947; a handwritten note indicates that this Colonial Office copy did not include the part of the report addressed to the Services; Appendix B gives details of the former students she met on the trip.

on which to build for the very different language requirements of peace-time occupation duties.[24]

The teaching techniques developed at SOAS were largely the creation of Daniels and his colleagues. This was because the courses at SOAS, Bletchley Park, Simla, Colorado, Melbourne and elsewhere were each developed independently, on the spot and in haste, and in response to specific needs. Inevitably they tended to focus on military vocabulary, but the US Navy language courses at the University of Colorado used the pre-war Naganuma textbooks, which Daniels rejected on account of the inclusion of literary forms and too much vocabulary of no military relevance.[25] The same is true of the textbook prepared by the linguist Bernard Bloch and his pupil Eleanor Harz Jorden for the US armed forces, which was used at Yale and elsewhere for enlisted men and for officers: it was a sophisticated and thorough guide to the contemporary spoken language but it contained little or no military vocabulary and included dialogues relating to everyday life and even to activities such as visiting a theatre.[26] What is more, it focussed on speech alone and for that reason used romanized script, as Jorden's influential textbook *Beginning Japanese* (1962) was to do. The courses in the SOAS Department of Phonetics and Linguistics were likewise focused on the acquisition of oral skills, and were driven solely by wartime needs; as Firth put it, "The progressive nipponification of the young service man is a systematic process in which he is not encouraged to saunter through groves browsing and picking up tasty little bits of culture. He is put through an intensive course of discipline in every sense of the word".[27] The US Navy courses, by contrast, taught both oral and written skills. This is what Daniels had wished to do from the outset and, as his report makes clear, representations made by him and his colleagues, and the experiences of their students in the field, eventually persuaded the authorities to allow the teachers to follow their instincts in this respect.[28]

24 See, for example, Hugh Cortazzi, *Japan and Back and Places Elsewhere: A Memoir* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 1998), 21 ff.; Peter Bates, *Japan and the British Commonwealth Occupation Force, 1946–52* (London: Brassey, 1993).

25 Dingman, "Language at war: U.S. Marine Corps Japanese language officers in the Pacific War", 857–8; Pedro Loureiro, "'Boulder boys': Naval Japanese language school graduates", in Randy Carol Balano and Craig L. Symonds (eds), *New Interpretations in Naval History* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2001), 366–88. See below for Daniels' remarks on the courses at Colorado.

26 Bernard Bloch and Eleanor Harz Jorden, *Spoken Japanese*, 2 vols (np: Linguistic Society of America and the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, 1945; this wartime edition prepared for the United States Armed Forces Institute was in 1946 republished for sale to the public).

27 Firth, "Wartime experiences in linguistic training", 39.

28 For an account of the teaching methods at the University of Colorado, see Joseph Axelrod, "The navy language school program and foreign languages in schools and college: aims and techniques", *The Modern Language Journal* 29, 1945, 40–47.

[Frank Daniels]

War-time courses

The end of the war in Asia in August 1945 offers a suitable opportunity for reviewing the war work of the Japanese section, which for security reasons could not be dealt with in detail before.

Since the beginning of the war the [Far East] Department has been responsible for five main Japanese courses for the fighting Services:-

(a) State Scholarship (general purpose) course, May 1942–Dec 1943.
(b) Services Interrogators' course, July 1942–July 1945.
(c) Services Translators' general course, July 1942–(still in being)
(d) Services Translators' short course, July 1942–Sept 1943.
(e) Services General Purpose course, June 1944–(still in being)

The lengths of courses (a), (b), (c) and (e) have in general varied between twelve and eighteen months (course (a) a little longer, but the boys on that course took normal school – not university – vacations, whereas all other students have worked for 46 weeks in a year; a few other students have been in the Department for more than eighteen months, but only because the Services were not ready for them on completion of training). Course (d) was for either six or nine months. The length of course (e) has been fixed at eighteen months.

The Department has also at various times during the war given (f) refresher courses to members of the fighting Services and, for the Ministry of Information, to one civilian. Far the greater number of these students have had a pre-war knowledge of Japanese, but some few have been ex-students from one of the main courses who had not used their language for a considerable time; one student now here taught himself Japanese while a prisoner of war in Germany, where he passed an examination set by the School.[29]

The Department further gave (g) a specialized translation course to certain employees of the Foreign Office, and (h) another specialized translation course to certain technical experts of the Admiralty.

Details of the numbers of students entered and trained in the five main courses and on refresher courses are given later in this report.

The main courses – historical and general

Course (a) has been reported on in some detail in the Annual Reports of the School for 1942–43 and 1943–44. This was primarily a civilian course, with some military bias towards the end. Twenty-eight of the thirty boys selected completed the course and entered one or other of the three Services.[30] One ex-student from this course was subsequently seconded by the Army as an Instructor.

29 It appears from this statement, which is repeated below, that British prisoners of war in Germany were able to sit SOAS examinations, presumably with the assistance of the Red Cross.

30 Army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Force.

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Courses (b), (c) and (d) began in July 1942. Apart from course (d) (exceptional because only a translating knowledge of a limited part of the classical literary style was required), the Department agreed only with reluctance, at the insistence of the Services, to give strictly separate courses, teaching Interrogators no characters and Translators no speech; it advocated a grounding in both aspects of the language for all students who are aiming at a fair degree of competency, the approach to be made through colloquial style, with a preliminary period before starting to learn characters. However, the courses were undertaken on the basis of strict separation. In the autumn of 1942 supervisors of studies were appointed, Mr. Daniels for interrogation and Mr. Rideout for translation.

In September 1943, course (d) together with Mr. Rideout and two other members of the staff, was transferred from the Far Eastern Department to the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, which was already at this time conducting classes in a special aspect of Japanese. As the Far Eastern Department was not consulted in regard to these arrangements, which were made on grounds of security, it can express no opinion about them, but it remains in principle opposed to such experiments, believing that full responsibility for all aspects of language teaching should rest with the language Department concerned. After the transfer, Mr. Rideout's place as supervisor of translation studies was taken by General Piggott.

The best students in courses (b) and (c) became aware as their studies progressed that they were handicapped by having only a one-sided knowledge of the language, and in 1943 the Services relaxed their policy of complete separation to the extent of agreeing that the School might teach an Interrogator some characters and a general Translator some speech, but only towards the end of his course if it were satisfied in each case that he would not thereby reach a lower standard in the speciality for which he was required. This still did not admit of teaching in the most rational and economical way. Finally, in 1944, the Services reversed their decision, and in July of that year course (e) was started on the lines all along advocated by the Department. The reason for the change of policy was that the rigid separation of functions had broken down in the field, and it is now known that many of the earlier "illiterate" Interrogators have taught themselves to read after arrival in India and that a number of "dumb" Translators have undertaken interrogations or acted as interpreters. Although the work of most of the students we have trained seems to have given satisfaction, it must be stated that we believe results would have been even better if we had been allowed to train the earlier students as we wished. The first batch of students from course (e) will not be ready until the end of this year [1945].

Five trainees from courses (b), (c) and (d) were retained as Instructors, one each seconded by the Navy and the Army from both course (b) and course (c), and one seconded by the Air Force from course (d). The last-mentioned was transferred with the course, but the other four are still at work in the section. Two of these five have passed the final examination for the B.A. Honours degree in Japanese during their secondment.

At this date (August 1945) there are 78 students on course (e), 12 still remaining on course (c), and four refresher students doing part of course (e). The last of the students on course (b) left in July 1945. Twelve more students for course (e) are expected early in September.

Hours of instruction

All Service students attend from 9 till 12 in the morning and from 2 till 5 in the afternoon on five days a week. As will be seen from the syllabus of course (e), four hours a day of instruction is given for most of the course, the other two hours being used for private study, and conditions have been very similar for all the Service courses. Students have also to do a considerable amount of private study outside the School. Two weekly lectures of an hour each are arranged on background subjects connected with Japan, or with the Far East in general.

General-purpose course – syllabus and material

The syllabus of course (e) is given in Appendix A. Since the other courses are at or near their end, and course (e) embodies experience gained from them all, it seems unnecessary to go into details about them, and in fact, apart from the State Scholarship course which was taken by only one batch of students, the syllabuses were being constantly revised as new material became available.

The preparation of material has taken much labour. It was realised from the start that no published work would give more than a small fraction of the material required, especially on the spoken side. The books which have been used for instruction are:- *Colloquial Japanese* by Dr. W.M. McGovern,[31] former Lecturer at the School, used in all cases as the first textbook, except with one group of Interrogators when Chamberlain's *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*[32] was substituted; and, in the State Scholarship and Translator courses, *Japanese Reading for University Students* by Professor Elisseeff and Mr. Reischauer of Harvard.[33]

31 William Montgomery McGovern (1897–1964) was an American who in 1917 attained a Buddhist qualification at Nishi-Honganji, Kyoto, and subsequently studied at the Sorbonne, Berlin and Christ Church, Oxford, where he was awarded a DPhil in 1922. He was appointed lecturer in Japanese at SOAS in 1919 and taught there up to 1923, but he also made extended expeditions to Tibet and the Amazon basin. From 1927 he taught at Northwestern University, Illinois, which holds his papers. He published many books, including accounts of his travels and studies of Buddhism; extant copies of his *Colloquial Japanese*, published by Kegan Paul & Trench, are undated but it is thought to have been published in 1920; in 1942 E.P. Dutton of New York published a wartime edition. Daniels, *Japanese Studies in the University of London*, 17–18. https://www.soas.ac.uk/news/newsitem104621.html. http://web.archive.org/web/20010706233848/http://www.library.northwestern.edu/archives/findingaids/McGovern_William.pdf.

32 Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935) went to Japan in 1873 and in 1887 he became Professor of Japanese at Tokyo Imperial University. His *Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* was first published in 1888 (London: Trübner & Co.) but a fourth edition was published in 1907 (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh). Richard Bowring, "An amused guest in all: Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935)", in H. Cortazzi and G. Daniels (eds), *Britain and Japan 1859–1991: Themes and Personalities* (London: Routledge, 1991), 128–36.

33 Serge Elisséeff (1889–1975) studied Japanese in Berlin and then at Tokyo Imperial University before taking up a teaching position at the University of St Petersburg. In 1920 he fled to Paris and then to the United States, where he became the founder of the Department of Far Eastern Languages at Harvard and its first chair. Edwin O. Reischauer (1910–1990) studied under Elisséeff and later taught at Harvard; he also served as US ambassador to Japan from 1961 to 1966. Their *Elementary Japanese for University Students* was first published in 1941 and then went through several wartime editions.

For the teaching of the spoken language, neither of the first two books named gave more than part of the material needed for the first seven weeks of the course. The School's peace-time colloquial course, prepared by the late Mr. Yoshitake, gave more material, but because it introduced honorifics and deferential language onlly [sic] half of it was suitable for wartime Service courses. Apart from this existing material, practically everything used for instruction, and a considerable amount of reference material in addition, has been prepared by the staff during the war. An idea of it's [*sic*] amount can be obtained from Appendix B, which lists all the material in use at August 1945. The members of the staff responsible for preparing the various items are shown in Appendix C. It has been a very co-operative undertaking.

Teaching principles

The co-operation has been possible only because of general agreement on certain principles, of which the chief are:-

1. The desirability of limiting (mainly by the criterion of what is essential for idiomatic communication – not by the criterion of "frequency") the vocabulary, the characters, the structural forms, and the style, to be taught during the first thirty or thirty-five weeks.
2. The undesirability of much work on formal grammar. We think it useful to give a rapid bird's-eye view of the structure of the colloquial language at the start, and of the classical literary style when that is first introduced, but to take up points of detail only as they arise in the material being studied or as students come to feel the need for guiding rules in attempting to express themselves.
3. We believe on the other hand that a student should understand exactly what is being said by every specimen of Japanese presented to him. Because of the subtlety of Japanese sentence forms, we favour the provision of very careful idiomatic English translations of early material.
4. We also believe in careful phonetic instruction and in a considerable amount of gramophone drill.

A special feature of all but the pure Translator courses has been the relatively large amount of practice, after a preliminary period, with native speakers. Care has had to be taken that students should not, before their own speech habits become more or less fixed, be given practice with native speakers whose speech diverges rather widely from the Tokyo standard (and only two of the seven native speakers now available can be regarded as fully conforming to this standard) – this not because of prejudice against other modes of speech, but because a multiplicity of modes makes things more difficult for the student.

The abrupt switch in reading in course (e) from pure colloquial to classical literary style should be noted. We believe that this not only obviates the need for explicit instruction in modern literary (DE ARU) style, but lessens the danger that students will talk like a book.

We believe that in all these ways we have achieved a notable advance in economical teaching, even if we have introduced no startling innovations of method. The course does, we believe, concentrate on essentials and

bring students to a stage from which he can go forward with confidence in almost any direction. One of our slogans has been, "Half the art of teaching is knowing what not to teach".

The ideas behind our teaching will be brought into sharper relief by comparing our methods with what might almost be called the American language-school system. Actually we have detailed information only about the courses at the Navy School of Oriental Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, but it is understood that the courses at Army schools in America – earlier under the influence of theories derived from the necessities of linguistic research – now also follow somewhat similar lines.[34] Information about the Boulder course is given in Appendix D. It will be seen that the aim is to teach in fourteen months approximately what pre-war Language Officers were supposed to acquire during a minimum of three years in Japan.[35] This must, in our opinions, result in cramming. The size of the vocabularies of words and characters which students are required to absorb must leave little time or energy for learning much about, e.g. the subtler implications of slightly differing sentence forms, that is to say, for acquiring a "feeling for" the language; and the lack of this cannot, we believe, be compensated for by a wider knowledge of vocabulary. It will be seen, too, that the course leans very heavily on the Naganuma Readers.[36] We considered using these ourselves, but decided against them for four main reasons:-

(a) the examples are inclined to pedantry;
(b) the examples are largely semi-literary in flavour even when the forms are colloquial;
(c) more words and forms are introduced than can be learnt for "active" use in the time available; and
(d) much is introduced that is inessential, especially for war purposes, in both vocabulary and structure.

Numbers of students entered and trained

The numbers of students entered and trained in the various courses are, by Services, as follows [see Table 1]:-

34 William Beasley FBA, who in 1954 became Professor of the History of the Far East at SOAS, was one of five British naval officers who were sent to the US Navy language school at the University of Colorado: W.G. Beasley, *Traveller to Japan: Incomplete and Unreliable Recollections of my Life* (unpublished typescript, 2002; I am grateful to his son, John Beasley, for having provided me with a copy of the relevant parts), 48.

35 From the early years of the twentieth century small numbers of Army, Royal Navy and (after 1918) Royal Air Force officers were sent to Japan for periods of up to three years to acquire a knowledge of Japanese. Kornicki, "A brief history of Japanese studies in Britain from the 1860s to the 21st century", in Cortazzi and Kornicki (eds), *Japanese Studies in the Britain: A Survey and History* (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2016), 7–9.

36 Naganuma Naoe 長沼直兄 (1894–1974) began to publish his *Hyōjun Nihongo tokuhon* 標準日本語讀本, widely known as the Naganuma Readers, in 1931; volume 7 appeared in 1934, completing the series. These and other textbooks produced by Naganuma were reprinted in the United States in 1941–45 for wartime use.

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Table 1. Number of students entered and trained

		Royal Navy	Army	Royal Air Force	Total
Course (a)	entered	–	–	–	30 (civilians)
(State scholarship)	failed to complete course	–	–	–	2 (civilians)
	trained	7	19*	2	28*
Course (b)	entered	13	42	19	74
(Interrogators)	failed to complete course	1	8	4	13
	trained	12*	34*	15	61**
Course (c)	entered	38	51	–	89
(Translators, general)	failed to complete course	5	6	–	11
	trained	32*	34*	–	66**
	still under training	1	11	–	12
Course (d)	entered	11	1	53	65
(Translators, short)	failed to complete course	1	–	10	11
	trained	10	1	21*	32*
	Trans[ferre]d to Dept of Phon[etics]&Ling[uistics]	–	–	22	22
Course (e)	entered	33	41	18	92
(General Purpose)	failed to complete course	5	5	4	14
	still under training	28	36	14	78
Total students trained					
(Ex refresher students)		61	88	38	187
Total students still under training					
(Ex refresher students)		29	47	14	90
Analysis of reasons for failure to complete course:-					
(a) rejected as unlikely to reach a satisfactory standard					33 (9.4% of intake)
(b) withdrawn for medical etc. reasons					16
(c) killed while on course (flying-bomb and rocket)					2
Total (all courses, all Services)					51

* of this number, one retained as Instructor
** of this number, two retained as Instructors.

Refresher students		Royal Navy	Army	Royal Air Force	Total
Trained	4	5	18	27	
Still under training	–	2	2	4	

Results of the courses

Apart from news received in letters and at meetings with persons returned from the war areas, the Department has by and large had detailed news of the competence of its ex-students in the field only as regards those who entered, or were already in, the Army. The other two Services have not so far supplied copies of official reports on individuals, although a favourable report on two Naval ex-students was made to a seconded member of the staff. Appendix E gives both the final School report and the Army report on all Army students who have reached India after taking one of the main courses (except that no reports from India have yet been received on the latest batches of students to leave). The Army authorities twice cabled their appreciation of the ability of the first batches of their students from courses (a), (b), and (c). An extract from a letter from India containing certain criticisms of the courses, together with a copy of our reply to the criticisms, is given in Appendix F.

On the whole it can safely be said that a higher average standard has been reached than was thought possible when the courses began, either by officers in the Services with a pre-war knowledge of Japanese and its difficulties, or by those responsible for planning the courses. That trainees on leaving the School should have a smaller vocabulary and know less of the social and cultural background of Japanese thought than people who have learned the language in Japan is inevitable, but on the average it is possible that these trainees have a clearer grasp of fundamentals and almost certain that they have a better pronunciation than pre-war Language Officers after three years in Japan. They have demonstrated fairly conclusively that a year of concentrated work in this country before going to Japan is more profitable than a year's work in Japan with little or no preliminary training.

Staff concerned

The following is a list of all the past and present members of the staff who have taken part in the training of these war-time courses. Those marked + are still with us.

+Miss C. Blacker, Special Lecturer, former civilian student of the school.[37]	May 45 –
F/Lt. E.B. Cahusac, M.C. R.A.F., seconded (1)[38]	May 44 – Jul. 45

37 Carmen Blacker OBE FBA (1924–2009) had already learnt some Japanese before the war and worked at Bletchley Park before transferring to SOAS. She was later to become University Lecturer in Japanese at the University of Cambridge and published books on Fukuzawa Yukichi and on shamanistic practices in Japan. Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Carmen Blacker: Scholar of Japanese Religion, Myth and Folklore: Writings and Reflections* (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2017).

38 (The numerals in brackets after this and some of the other names in the list refer to Daniels' notes at the end of the list of members of staff). Flight Lieutenant Edmund Barry Cahusac (1895–1968) was awarded the Military Cross during the First World War as a member of the Royal Flying Corps; in 1918 he was posted missing but survived the war as a prisoner in Germany. He was born in Yokohama, where his family lived, and his Royal Air Force record gives his home address as Azabu, Tokyo. *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 11 May 1917, 590; *The Japan Chronicle: Weekly Edition*, Issues 979–1000 (1916), 565; NA AIR 76/72/53.

Mrs. Aiko Clarke, Temporary Lecturer (2)[39]	Nov. 42 – Jul. 43
+Cdr. E.H.M. Colegrave, R.N., seconded.[40]	Dec. 44 –
+Mr. F.J. Daniels, B.Sc. (Econ., London), Senior Lecturer; supervisor of studies, Interrogator and General-Purpose courses.	beginning –
+Mrs. Otome Daniels, Temporary Lecturer.[41]	Mar. 42 –
+Lieut. R. Dore. School trainee seconded as Instructor.[42]	Jun. 44 –
+S/Lt. L. J. [sic: should be C. J.] Dunn R.N.V.R., B.A. (London) School trainee seconded as Instructor.[43]	Jan. 45 –
The Rev. Canon W.F. France, M.A., Occasional Lecturer[44]	Oct. 42 – Jul. 45

39 Aiko Clarke (née Itō Aiko 伊藤愛子; 1912–75) is described as "the exotic beauty Aiko Clarke, immortalized by [Richard Mason] in his novel *The Wind Cannot Read*" in C.A. Bayly and T.N. Harper, *Forgotten Armies: The Fall of British Asia 1941–1945* (London: Allen Lane. 2004), 260. According to Dore, who described his teacher as "the ravishing Mrs Clarke", she divided her time between SOAS and the BBC and after the war became editor of the *Japan Quarterly* under her maiden name. She married D.H. Clarke of the British Foreign Service but divorced him after coming to Britain in 1941; she was apparently interned for a while on the Isle of Man. Dore, "Frank and Otome Daniels"; Ōba, *The "Japanese" War*, 25–6, 45, 117–20; http://hollywoodjapanfile.blogspot.co.uk/2014/04/the-wind-cannot-read-1958.html.

40 Commander Edward Harry Manby Colegrave (1902–69) was a Royal Navy Language Officer in Japan in 1929 and was already engaged in Japanese cryptographic work for the Navy in 1934; in 1941–42 he was working on Japanese codes in Singapore and left just before the surrender. In 1954 he published a translation of *Sunk: The Story of the Japanese Submarine Fleet 1942–1945* by Hashimoto Mochitsura (London: Cassell & Co., 1954). NA FO 262/1733 "Language Officers"; NA ADM 116/3114, "Memo from G.C. Dickens, Director of Naval Intelligence, 6 July 1934".

41 Otome Daniels (née Nishide 西出) was the Japanese wife of Frank Daniels from 1932. During the war she produced *Dictionary of Japanese (Sōshō) Writing Forms* (London: Lund Humphries and Company, 1944). Ōba, *The "Japanese" War*, 17–19, 24–5; Dore, "Frank and Otome Daniels", 268–78.

42 Ronald Dore FBA (1925–) was on the "State Scholarship (general purpose) course". After the war he took a degree in Japanese in 1947 and subsequently taught at Sussex University; he has published many books on Japanese society, starting with *Life in a Tokyo Ward* (1958).

43 Charles J. Dunn (1915–95) graduated from Queen Mary College, London, in 1936 with a degree in French and then worked for the Special Branch of the Metropolitan Police for three years. He was called up in 1943 and joined the Royal Navy; owing to his language ability he was assigned to study Japanese at SOAS and on completion of the course he was retained as a teacher. After the war he took a degree in Japanese and then became a member of staff at SOAS. Hugh Cortazzi, "Charles Dunn (1915–1995)", in Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 8 (Leiden: Global Oriental, 2013), 525–34.

44 Walter F. France (1887–1963) was a missionary in Japan for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from 1910 to 1923; he wrote *Industrialism in Japan* (1928). After the war he was the last Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, a Missionary College for the Church of England. Hamish Ion, "For the triumph of the cross: a survey of the British missionary movement in Japan, 1869–1945", in Gordon Daniels and Chushichi Tsuzuki (eds), *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1600–2000* vol. 5 *Social and Cultural Perspective* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 101, n. 70.

Mr. F. Hawley B.A. (Cantab.), Part-time Senior Lecturer (2)[45]	Nov. 42 – Jul. 43
+Miss A. Henty. Special Lecturer[46]	Jan. 45 –
Cdr. N.E. Isemonger, R.N. (retd.), Senior Lecturer (3)[47]	beginning-Sept. 43
The Rev. Shoki Ko, B.A. (Tokyo). Special Lecturer[48]	Aug. 43 – Jul. 45
Mr. R.I.D. [sic: should be R. T. D.] Ledward, B.A. (Cantab.) Special Lecturer, seconded by the Foreign Office.[49]	Mar. 44 – Jan. 45
F/Lt. A. Lees M.A. (Glasgow & McGill), B.A. (Jap., London), School trainee seconded as Instructor (4)[50]	Jul. 43 – Sept. 43
+S/Ldr. F. Lomas, D.S.M., R.A.F. seconded[51]	Jan. 44 –

45 See note 3, above.

46 Audrey Margarette Henty (1879–1970) worked in Japan as a missionary for the Church Missionary Society from 1905 until January 1941, when she was evacuated to India. She reached Britain in 1944 and retired from the CMS at the end of the year. A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 19, 178–9, 196–7, 252. Archives of the Church Mission Society, Oxford: "Register of Missionaries".

47 Noel Everard Isemonger (1883–1951) was a Royal Navy officer who qualified as a Japanese interpreter in 1909 and reached the rank of Commander in 1918. He joined the School in 1921 as a teacher of Japanese and retired in 1943. NA ADM 196/126/283; *The Naval Who's Who 1917* (Polstead, Suffolk: J.B. Hayward & Son, 1981), 84; Daniels, *Japanese Studies in the University of London*, 18.

48 Shoki Coe (Ch. Huang Zhanghui, J. Kō Shōki 黄彰輝; 1914–88) grew up in Japanese-occupied Taiwan and went to Cambridge in 1937 for theological training. In 1942, unable to return to Taiwan and having a good knowledge of Japanese, he was appointed to a position at SOAS. He later became a pastor in the Taiwan Presbyterian Church. Jonah Chang, *Shoki Coe: An Ecumenical Life in Context* (Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 2012), 62–7.

49 Richard Thomas Davenport Ledward (1915–62) graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1936, spent three years in Japan at the embassy as a probationer vice-consul and then served in Harbin, Manchuria, until the outbreak of war. After the war, he returned to the Diplomatic Service and when he died he was Counsellor at the British Embassy in Washington. NA HW 8/125; obituary, *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 50, 1963, 353–4.

50 He is mistakenly listed as Pilot Officer D. Lees in the list of staff in the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics (see note 19, above). Andrew Lees (1908–66) received an MA in mathematics and natural philosophy from the University of Glasgow in 1930. How he came to know Japanese is unclear, but he may, like his fellow Glasgow graduate Duncan McGhie, have done one of the SOAS courses and then been retained as a teacher.

51 Possibly an error for Lomax (see Cortazzi, *Japan and Back and Places Elsewhere: a Memoir*, 18–20). According to "Lecturers in the Japanese department" (SOAS archives: SOAS/REG/01/01/01), his initial was J., not F.; the *Air Force List* for July 1945 includes both an F. and a J. Lomas but no F. or J. Lomax. Like Sq/Ldr A. Summers (see below), he has no page entry in the *Air Force List*, only an entry in the index (pp. 1671 and 1878, respectively), presumably because he had been seconded to SOAS. Since they were both Squadron Leaders they must have had some experience in the RAF, rather than being students retained as teachers, but I have been unable to trace either of them. Neither of them appears in the lists of Language Officers trained in Japan, so it is unclear how they acquired their knowledge of the language: Antony Best, *British Intelligence and the Japanese Challenge in Asia, 1914–1941* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 94–95, 108.

Mr. B.S. Mackay, B.A. (Cantab), B.A. (Jap., London), Special Lecturer (4)[52]	Feb. 43 – Sept. 43
+Mr. B. Matsukawa. Temporary Lecturer[53]	Oct. 43 –
+W.O.II E. Matsuyama. Instructor, seconded by the Canadian Army[54]	Jul. 42 –
Mr. E. McLellan, Special Lecturer (5)[55]	Jan. 43 – Dec. 43
+S/Lt D.L. McGhie, R.N.V.R., M.A. (Glasgow), School trainee seconded as Instructor.[56]	Sep. 43 –
+Lieut. D.E. Mills B.A. (Jap., London), School trainee seconded as Instructor[57]	Feb. 44 –

52 Barry Sloan MacKay (1922–65) took First Class Honours in Part I of the Classical Tripos at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1942. He was deemed unfit for war service owing to high blood pressure. It seems that he completed one of the SOAS courses and was then employed as a teacher in 1943 before being transferred to the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics where he remained until 1946. He was a schoolmaster from 1947 to 1953, then studied theology at Ridley Hall, Cambridge and was later chaplain there; finally, he was Fellow and Chaplain at Selwyn College, Cambridge, until his death. Selwyn College archives, "Report of the Fellowships Committee", 27 October 1961.

53 Matsukawa Baiken 松川梅賢 (sometimes referred to as Baikin or Byken; ?–1959) came to London in 1915 and was a correspondent in London for the Dōmei Press. His English translation of *Tsugi no sekai sensō* 次の世界戦爭 by Ishimaru Tōda 石丸藤太 (1936) was published in Britain in 1937 as *The Next World War*. Although married to an Englishwoman named Helen Stanford, he was interned on the Isle of Man until released for teaching duties. He compiled the reference tables in Otome Daniels' *Dictionary of Japanese (Sōsho) Writing Forms* (1944). Ōba, *The* "*Japanese*" *War*, 21; Keiko Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain: From Integration to Disintegration* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 98, 163, 184, 195.

54 Matsuyama Eiichi 松山英一 had a Japanese father and a British mother and was serving with the Canadian Army in Britain. On 13 October 1945, the magazine *The Illustrated* carried a photograph of Matsuyama, described as a Sergeant-Major, practising Japanese conversation with one Private Lewis: reproduced in Brown, *The School*, 88; Ōba, *The* "*Japanese*" *War*, 27.

55 Edwin McClellan (1925–2009) was born in Kobe, where his father worked for Lever Brothers; his mother was Japanese but died during his infancy. In 1942 he and his father were repatriated and he taught at SOAS before joining the RAF in 1944. "Edwin McClellan: a biographical note", in Dennis Washburn and Alan Tansman (eds), *Studies in Modern Japanese Literature: Essays and Translations in Honor of Edwin McClellan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997), 1–2.

56 Sub-Lieutenant D.L. McGhie was a teacher before the war. Duncan Livingstone McGhie (1912–92) graduated in 1932 from the University of Glasgow, where he studied French and Italian. He worked as a teacher until the outbreak of war, when he joined the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve. According to his biography on the website of the University of Glasgow, he performed so well on one of the SOAS Japanese courses that he was retained as a teacher (see the page on The University of Glasgow Story website dedicated to him).

57 Douglas Mills (1923–2005) went up to Cambridge in 1941 to read Modern Languages but in January 1943 he joined the Japanese translators' course at SOAS. By the end of the year he had made such progress that he was retained as an instructor. While teaching he also studied for a degree in Japanese. He subsequently did a PhD at SOAS and taught there, at the University of California at Berkeley and finally at Cambridge. Richard Bowring, "Douglas Mills (1923–2005): scholar of Japanese at Cambridge", in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 10 (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2016), 371–3.

Major-General F.S.G. Piggott, C.B., D.S.C., Temporary Senior Lecturer, supervisor of studies, Translator course from Sep. 43[58]	Oct. 42 –
Mr. J.R. Pilcher, B.A. (Cantab) Occasional Lecturer (Honorary), by arrangement with the Ministry of Information[59]	May. 42 – Jan. 43
Mr. H.E. Reynell, Occasional Lecturer (6)[60]	Apr. 42 – Jul. 43
Mr. J.K. Rideout, B.A. (London), Temporary Senior Lecturer, former civilian student of the School; supervisor of studies, Translator course, till transferred (4)[61]	beginning – Sep. 43
+Lieut. A. Russell, B.A. (Cantab), School trainee seconded as Instructor[62]	Sep. 43 –
+Mr. S. Shimizu, Special Lecturer[63]	Mar. 43 –

58 Major-General Francis Stewart Gilderoy Piggott CB (1883–1966) spent some of his early years in Japan when his father was a legal advisor to the Meiji government. In 1904, as a young army officer, he spent two years in Japan as one of the first Language Officers. After WWI, he served as military attaché in Tokyo from 1922 to 1926, and again from 1936 to 1939. He was considered in official circles to be strongly pro-Japanese but once war broke out with Japan he devoted his energies to the SOAS courses. Anthony Best, "Major-General F.S.G. Piggott (1883–1966)", in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 8, 102–16.

59 Sir John Pilcher (1912–1990) joined the Japan Consular Service in 1936 and remained there learning Japanese until in 1939 he was posted to Tsingtao and then London. He served as British ambassador to Japan in 1967–72. Hugh Cortazzi, "Sir John Pilcher, ambassador to Japan, 1967–72", in Cortazzi (ed.), *British Envoys in Japan, 1859–1972* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2004), 202–13.

60 Probably Harold Essex Reynell (1887–1972), son of the identically named founder of the firm of H.E. Reynell & Co., wine and spirit merchants of Kobe. He had evidently grown up in Japan and presumably knew some Japanese; during WWI he was a Captain in the Royal Flying Corps and later transferred to the RAF. *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Sian, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c: With Which Are Incorporated* "*The China Directory*" *and* "*The Hong Kong List for the Far East*" (Hong Kong: Hongkong Daily Press, 1910), 662, 1710; http://www.airhistory.org.uk/rfc/people_index.html.

61 John Kennedy Rideout (c. 1914–1950) studied Chinese and then Japanese at SOAS from 1934 to 1940. After the war he was Professor of Oriental Studies at Sydney University, Australia, from 1948 to 1949; he was then appointed Professor of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong in 1950 but in the same year died there in mysterious circumstances; the newspaper report of his death states that he was an MI5 agent. Brown, *The School*, 88, n. 20; William Sima, *China & ANU: Diplomats, Adventurers, Scholars* (Acton, ACT: Australian National University Press), 12–14.

62 Alan Russell is listed in "Lecturers in the Japanese department" (SOAS archives: SOAS/REG/01/01/01) as Sergeant C.A. Russell and apparently died young. Ōba, *The* "*Japanese*" *War*, 29.

63 Untraced. His name does not appear in the list of seamen internees contained in NA HO 215/251, "Transfer of Japanese merchant seaman from Isle of Man to Knapdale POW camp".

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+S/Ldr. A. Summers, R.A.F., seconded[64]	Oct. 44 –
+Mr. K. Takaira, Special Lecturer[65]	Mar. 43 –
+W.O.II J. Tsubota, Instructor seconded by the Canadian Army[66]	Jul. 42 –
+W.O.II F. Yamamoto - - - - -	Jul. 42 –
+W.O.II S.P. Yamauchi - - - - -	Jan. 43 –
+Mr. S. Yanada, M.Econ. (Tokyo), Temporary Lecturer[67]	Sep. 42 –
+Mr. S. Yoshitake, Senior Lecturer (7)[68]	beginning – Nov. 42

(1) due for demobilization. (2) took up appointment with the B.B.C.
(3) retired. (4) transferred temporarily to Dept. of Phon[etics] and Ling[uistics].
(5) Called up for service in R.A.F. (6) Took up appointment with the Treasury
(7) died.

Other war work

The section has done a considerable amount of translation, mostly of a technical nature, for Government Departments, and since the end of the War in Europe has assisted the postal censorship. It has been consulted by the Service Departments

64 See note 51, above.

65 Probably the merchant seaman named Kuniji Takaira (b. 1898) who was transferred from internment on the Isle of Man to Knapdale POW Camp near Argyll in 1942. His good command of English is apparent from a letter he wrote with K. Shimazaki on 6 April 1942 to the authorities at the camp on the Isle of Man requesting a transfer to Knapdale and expressing their willingness to act as interpreters for their fellow internees, who were not permitted, in spite of their ignorance of English, to write to their families in Japanese. Since they add, "We are quite prepared to live without any distinction with the seamen should the application be granted", they were most likely officers of the Japanese merchant marine. NA HO 215/251, "Transfer of Japanese merchant seaman from Isle of Man to Knapdale POW camp".

66 James Jitsuei Tsubota, Fumi Yamamoto and Peter Shogi Yamauchi all joined the Canadian Army before December 1941. Roy Ito, *We Went to War: The Story of the Japanese Canadians who Served during the First and Second World Wars* (Stittsville, Ontario: Canada's Wings, Inc.: 1984), 153, 158–9.

67 Yanada Senji 簗田銓次 (1906–72) came to Britain in 1933 after graduating from Tokyo Imperial University and spending a year at Harvard; from 1935 to 1941 he was the London correspondent of the *Yomiuri Shinbun*; he was interned on the Isle of Man and was released to begin teaching at SOAS in September 1942. He co-authored *Teach Yourself Japanese* with Charles Dunn (London: English Universities Press, 1958) and *An Introduction to Written Japanese* with Patrick O'Neill (London: English Universities Press, 1963). Brown, *The School*, 89, n. 20; Sadao Oba and Anne Kaneko, "Yanada Senji (1906–1972): teacher of Japanese at SOAS", in Hugh Cortazzi (ed.), *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 9 (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2015), 413–24.

68 Yoshitake Saburō 吉武三郎 (?–1942) was the author of *The Phonetic System of Ancient Japanese* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1934) and *Japanese. A Series of Conversational Sentences in Colloquial Japanese. With Explanatory Notes on the Japanese Alphabet and Pronunciation, Phonetic Transcription, Romanized Transliteration, English Translations and Reproduction in Japanese Script of the Texts, etc.* ([London]: Linguaphone Institute, 1932). He was a teacher of Japanese at SOAS before the war and died in 1942. *Collected Writings of P.G. O'Neill* (Richmond: Japan Library, 2001), 2; Daniels, *Japanese Studies in the University of London*, 18.

on many occasions, both officially and unofficially, in connection with translation problems, books of reference, etc. Early in 1943 two of its Naval students investigated the resources of libraries throughout the country in Japanese publications likely to be of use in the War effort, and their report was of value not only to the School but to various Government Departments. The section compiled a Glossary of Air Terms for the Air Ministry. A number of examination papers were set and marked for Prisoners of War studying Japanese in Germany, one of whom is now on a refresher course and three more of whom are expected in the near future.

Appendix A[69]

Syllabus of general-purpose course
Weeks 1–7 Daily:-

(a) 1 hr. detailed work on phonetics and selected points of syntax – under school trainee. Material not yet [re]produced; it consists of a series of exercises designed to introduce all the sounds of the language (vowels with and without "pitch accent" being regarded as distinct sounds), as well as to illustrate uses of the chief particles: about 200 words are introduced.
(b) 1 hr. bird's-eye view of colloquial grammar – under qualified British lecturer. The text-book is gone through very rapidly, its exposition being amended or expanded as necessary, and its less essential parts pointed out. Memorization of "content" words in the textbook is not required. Questions on (d) are encouraged. Material 1, but the commentary is not yet reproduced.
(c) 1 hr. direct-method and simple translation work – under qualified native Japanese lecturer. Material not yet reproduced, but very few new words are introduced.
(d) ½ hr. pronunciation drill with gramophone – actually under young Canadian-born Japanese, but could be taken by anybody with great patience (the most essential qualification), a good accent and a good ear, and (if possible) a practical knowledge of phonetics. Material 2.

(This preliminary period is purposely not very strenuous, so as to allow time for students whose brains have been deadened or "grooved" by Service life to become acclimatized. It is for this reason that the number of words introduced is so strictly limited. At the same time no attempt is made to minimize the "unlikeness" of Japanese syntax by, e.g., concentrating on examples which have near word-for-word parallels in English or other European languages. Students are forced, e.g. to consider the implications of *kurun'desu* (as distinct from *kimasu*) and the theory of the "direct" and "indirect" passive. Students are told that much drudgery and learning by heart are unavoidable (and of this (d) is an example), but are encouraged at the same time to appreciate the intellectual

69 This is partly included as an appendix to the English version of Ōba Sadao's book, but there are omissions, so the complete text is included here.

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satisfaction in understanding and learning to use the novel system of symbolization which is Japanese. All work in this stage in romanized script.)

Weeks 8–35 Daily:-

(a) 1 hr. instruction in colloquial language – under qualified lecturer, British or Japanese, or School trainee. Exercises and texts form the basis of repetition (with variations), explanation, and, as necessity arises, of further exposition of grammatical points. Material 3–13.
(b) 1 hr. instruction in script – under school trainee assisted by native Japanese instructor (for showing order of strokes etc.) or under qualified Japanese lecturer. Material 14–20.
(c) 2 hrs in four ½ hr. periods of conversation practice with native Japanese instructors or lecturers (sometimes of necessity however with Britishers) or of individual gramophone listening. Students go for conversation practice either in small groups (maximum 5, in later stages usually 2 or 3) or individually; as far as possible every student has one individual ½ hr. a day. No material reproduced for conversation practice except weekly word-lists in the earlier stages. Material for gramophone listening, besides the discs themselves, consists mostly of romanized scripts listed elsewhere.

(By the end of this period the whole of the basic vocabulary and the selected characters are supposed to be learned).

Weeks 36–40 Daily:-

(a) 1 hr. instruction on NARI ("military order") style – under School trainee. Material 21–23.
(b) 1 hr. instruction in colloquial language – under qualified lecturer, British or Japanese, or under School trainee. Texts form the basis of repetition (with variations), explanation, and, as necessity arises, of further exposition of grammatical points. Material 12–13 (and revision).
(c) 2 hrs. in four ½ hr. periods, as above.

(Students are not expected to memorize new characters appearing in Material 23.)

Weeks 45–to end of course. Daily:-

(a) 1 hr. instruction on translation, and/or translation practice – under qualified lecturer, British or Japanese, or School trainee (during the final two months includes scanning and summarizing actual captured documents; work on proper names; and an introduction to *sōsho*, though selected students with a special aptitude for characters may begin *sōsho* instruction earlier and be given more practice in reading it). Material 26–33.
(b) 1 hr. instruction in colloquial language – under qualified lecturer, British or Japanese, or under School trainee. Includes specialized instruction leading up to interrogation – under lecturers who have had experience in the field. Material 34–36 (and interrogation questionnaire etc. not reproduced).
(c) 2 hrs. in four ½ hr. periods, as above (during the final two months certain of these periods may be used for instruction in interrogation).

Appendix B

Since this is reproduced almost in full in the English version of Ōba Sadao's book (pp. 148–51), it will be omitted here. It consists of a number of lists of the teaching materials. Most of the Japanese titles given in the list of "Teaching Material Used in the General Purpose Course" appear to be extracts or passages for classroom use and cannot be traced, but also included are *Kaigun tokuhon* 海軍讀本 ("Naval reader") by Hirata Shinsaku 平田晋策, which was first published in 1932, and *Moyuru ōzora* 燃ゆる大空 ("The burning sky"), which is the name of a film released in 1940 and of a military song featured in the film. The list of "Reference Material Issued to Students in General Purpose Course" includes the following items which were all available in wartime editions:

Daijiten 大字典: compiled by Ueda Kazutoshi 上田萬年, it was first published in Japan in 1917; a wartime edition was published by Harvard University Press in 1942 under the title *Ueda's Daijiten : a Japanese dictionary of Chinese Characters and Compounds.*

Beginner's dictionary of Chinese–Japanese Characters and Compounds compiled by Arthur Rose-Innes was first published by Kyōbunkwan in 1922 but Lund Humphries published a wartime edition in 1942 and Harvard University Press followed suit in 1944.

Rose-Innes' *Vocabulary of Common Japanese Words with numerous examples and notes* was first published in Yokohama by Kelly and Walsh in 1915 but wartime editions were published by Yale University Press in 1943 and by the Government of India in 1944 (for use at the School of Japanese in Simla).

Isemonger's *The Elements of Japanese Writing* (1929) was published in a wartime edition by Luzac & Co. in 1943.

Kenkyusha's Japanese–English Dictionary appeared in wartime editions published by Lund Humphries and by Harvard University Press in 1942.

Sanseido's New Concise English–Japanese Dictionary was published in a wartime edition by Harrison & Smith Co. of Minneapolis in 1944.

Japanese–English Dictionary of Sea Terms, by Lt-Cdr. C. Ozaki (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928) appeared in a wartime edition published by the same press in 1942.

A Dictionary of Military Terms, English–Japanese, Japanese–English, compiled by Major Harry Thornton Creswell, Major Junzō Hiraoka and Major Ryōzō Namba, was first published in 1932 by Kaitakusha but from 1942 onwards there were US and UK editions published by the University of Chicago Press and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, respectively.

Hōtei banri 鵬程萬里: *Japanese Air Terms, English–Japanese, Japanese–English*, compiled by Squadron Leader A.R. Boyce of the South-East Asia Air Command in New Delhi (The Far Eastern Bureau, British Ministry of Information, Calcutta, 1944).

Dictionary of Japanese (Sōsho) Writing Forms by Otome Daniels was published in 1944 by Lund, Humphries & Company of London, with finding tables compiled by Matsukawa Baiken; in 1947 a second revised edition

was published with a preface thanking Edwin McLellan and Ronald Dore for their help.

The list of "Gramophone Records Used in General-Purpose Course" includes *Rakugoka no heitai* 落語家の兵隊, a new *rakugo* narrative created by Yanagiya Kingorō 柳家金語楼 (1901–72), which was published as a 78 rpm record in the 1920s. A *Handbook to the Records* (typescript, 1944) produced by the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics is preserved in the Bletchley Park Archives but the gramophone records themselves do not seem to have survived.

After the lists comes the following paragraph, which is omitted from the English version of Ōba Sadao's book:

The foregoing lists show what is in use as at August 1945. Material used in State Scholarship and Interrogator courses has mostly been incorporated in the General-Purpose Course. Such items as have been dropped have in general been superseded by others considered to be of more use, and it therefore seems unnecessary to list them.

Appendix C

Missing. Evidently gave the names of the members of the staff responsible for preparing the teaching materials.

Appendix D

Missing. Evidently contained information about the courses at the Navy School of Oriental Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Appendix E

Missing. Evidently included both the final School report and the Army report on all Army students who had reached India after taking one of the main courses. Some extracts are included in the English version of Ōba Sadao's book.

Appendix F

Missing. Evidently contained an extract from a letter sent from India containing certain criticisms of the courses, together with a copy of the SOAS reply to the criticisms.