

Elementary School English Education  
in Okinawa under US occupation 1945~1953  
—With a Focus on Mimeographed Elementary School English textbooks—

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米国占領下の沖縄における小学校英語教育1945年～1953年  
—ガリ版刷り小学校英語教科書に焦点をあてて—

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要 旨

米軍は沖縄上陸後まもなくの1945年5月には初等学校を設立し、教科書編纂のための教科書編修所を1945年8月、石川市の軍政本部内に設置している。そこで作られたのがガリ版刷り教科書Let's Learn EnglishとEnglish book 1, English book 2である。本論はそれらの小学校英語教科書について、編修状況、配布状況、教材内容などを調査し、当時の初等学校（小学校）の英語教科書を中心に米軍占領下の沖縄の初等学校（小学校）英語教育を捉えようとするものである。

本論の構成は、1章では戦後すぐに開始された初等学校教育のおおよその状況を描き、2章は編修方針や文教部の組織、編集員など、教科書編修全般について述べる。3章は、編修、印刷されたガリ版刷り教科書の配布状況について記している。4章は1949年から1951年まで沖縄の初等学校（小学校）で使用された英語教科書2冊Let's Learn English とEnglish bookの教材としての特徴やレベル等について考察した。5章は全体のまとめである。本論は教育における重要要素である教材、教科書を通して、米軍占領下の沖縄の小学校英語教育を浮き彫りにしようとするものである。

**キーワード**：米軍占領下の沖縄、小学校英語教育、ガリ版刷り教科書

Abstract

The US military government set up elementary schools in May 1945 shortly after their landing on the island of Okinawa and started textbook compilation in August. The textbooks printed at the textbook compilation office in Ishikawa were mimeographed copies. This paper examines the mimeographed English textbooks—how they were compiled, what they contained, and how well they were distributed.

The first section briefly describes the state of the elementary school education system implemented just after the war. The second section describes the compilation of textbooks, policies surrounding them, their organization, and the members who compiled them. The third section explains difficulties regarding the distribution situation. The characteristics of the two English textbooks used in elementary schools from 1949 to 1951 are briefly described in the fourth section. The fifth section presents conclusions and considerations.

**Keywords**: Okinawa under US occupation, Elementary school English education, Mimeographed textbooks

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## 0 Introduction

With the Nimitz proclamation issued by C.W. Nimitz (Nimitz, Chester William), the Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet (CINCPAC) in 1945, all the powers of the Imperial Japanese government were suspended and the US occupation began in Okinawa. In the educational field, the US military government began setting up elementary schools and compiling textbooks. As a first step in providing elementary school education, the children were collected in each refugee camp. Under the guidance of Lieutenant commander Hanna<sup>1)</sup>, Okinawan educators were gathered from the camps and textbook editing started at the editorial office set up by the US military government. This was where the compilation and printing of mimeographed textbooks began. In Okinawan elementary school education from 1945, the year that the US occupation started, to 1953, a year after the enforcement of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, English was a compulsory subject according to the US policy in Okinawa. In elementary school English education from 1945 to 1953, how were mimeographed English textbooks compiled and distributed, and what were their contents? This paper attempts to answer these questions while describing elementary school education at the time of the US occupation in Okinawa.

With regard to textbooks, Erikawa (2002) wrote about the history of English textbooks in Japan from just after the war to the present and how its history was influenced by the Japanese-American relations and the social situation in Japan. As for the textbooks in the post-war period of Okinawa, Yoshida (2001) studied Japanese language textbooks and Murata (2012) studied elementary school English textbooks. Murata focused on the mimeographed English textbooks at the beginning of the US occupation and wrote about the compilation and the content of the textbooks. However, this paper deals with not only these aspects about mimeographed English textbooks but also the status of elementary school education in the post-war period and conditions of distribution related to the problem of textbook shortages, so that the paper can describe a full picture of elementary school English education in Okinawa under the US occupation.

## 1 Elementary school education in the post-war period

Regarding the situation of elementary schools just after the war, Shinzato (1981) refers to 36<sup>th</sup> issue of *Shiromae-ko*, a school report, submitted by the principal of *Shiromae* Elementary School, Norishige Yamauchi, to Atuo Yamashiro, the head of Bunkyo-bu (Education Department). It says at the time of May 7, 1945, *Shiromae* elementary school was opened with “No building, no textbook, no stationery, no desks and chairs... There is no equipment.” Yamauchi wrote, “There was no school building nor textbooks nor stationery. There existed only the teachers’ burning enthusiasm for education. We did our best to take care of these putty-faced hungry children with unkempt hair and ragged clothes.” Under such circumstances without any materials, their determined mind toward education can be seen in the educational objectives, which were to cultivate (1) the sense of responsibility, (2) the goodness of one’s heart, (3) a well-mannered person, and (4) the ideas about hygiene. (Shinzato, p.58)

Yamauchi says teachers started to educate children with only their “burning enthusiasm for education.” Commenting on such Okinawan teachers’ enthusiasm for education, Shinzato (1981) writes, “Okinawa used to be one of two prefectures keen on promoting education as well as Nagano prefecture. It was a result of the efforts of teachers who believed that the only way for Okinawa to survive with poor natural resources was through education.” We can see these teachers’ enthusiasm for education in the report of Nakasone Seizen in Shinzato (1981), an Okinawan educator who was well known as a teacher of student nurses who experienced the hellish Okinawan war with them, as indicated in the following:

I was shocked most of all when I saw the children swarming in a garbage disposal area. One day when I came across a hill, I saw many children gathered with sacks on their shoulders in the garbage disposal area. . . . One after another, trucks arrived with full loads of garbage and dumped them there. Then the crowd of children with sacks on their shoulders swarmed into the garbage, which gave off black smoke. When I saw it, I thought I could not very well turn my

back on these children. The scene urged me to make textbooks and start their education as soon as possible. p.55 (my translation)

Yamauchi, the principal of Shiromae Elementary School mentioned above, also advocates the necessity of education in *Okinawa no Sengo Kyoikushi* (1978) : “I felt the necessity of education deeply since there were many children who got into trouble in the refugee camps.”

The teachers’ “burning enthusiasm for education” was also shared by the parents. The parents’ enthusiasm for education is discussed in *Okinawa no Sengo Kyoikushi*. The first task for the principals who received the official announcement of appointment from the head of Bunkyo-bu in March 1946 was to collect materials for schools and teachers. Most of all what they needed was schoolrooms so that they would not need to close the school on a rainy day. Such a concern was shared by the parents. Tamashiro Seijin (a teacher of Kochinda Elementary School at the time) remembers that parents offered sweet potatoes in exchange for lumber and built a schoolroom together with the teachers. Nagamine Haru (a female teacher at Miwa Elementary School at the time) writes about the joy when a thatch-roofed classroom was built with the cooperation of teachers and parents:

Parents were simply happy and in high spirits saying “We will not make our children illiterate. We can educate our children now.” The head of the ward, who worked very hard for it stood up and said to the children “As you see, it is a very plain classroom just like a stable; however, please think it a fine one and study hard. p.101 (my translation)

It is found that not only teachers but also parents were enthusiastic about the recovery of education in the post-war situation where they were suffering from starvation.

*Chiho Jichi Nanashunen Kinenshi* (1955) includes a brief history of P.T.A. activity in Okinawa, saying that “In a community where the people are enthusiastic about education, P.T.A. activity is also thriving” (p.307). In the record of 1946-1947, it gives the highest priority to the construction of the school building and explains that ①As soon as the school started at the end of the war, parents collected materials to build school houses by every possible

means and engaged in building them together with teachers. It says these years were the time of organizing school supporters’ association and building of temporary school houses for parents. In 1948, the record says ① Each school supporters’ association was active, putting the first priority on school house building. Also, in 1949, it is written that working continuously over the past year, the P.T.A. put forth unrelenting efforts toward the building of temporary schoolhouses and the improvement of facilities. In 1950 and 1952, the record gives the first objective as ① Building of temporary schoolhouses and fulfillment of facilities. In 1953, it also recorded its first objective as ① Building of temporary schoolhouses, fulfillment of facilities and leveling of the playground. It tells how the schoolhouses were lacking and parents devoted themselves to building them with teachers in these years just after the war. The record ends in 1954 with the following summary:

The parents’ association started as a school supporters’ association and became the present P.T.A. This is a brief history of the association consisting of 100,000 members and each P.T.A. operated a variety of works according to the situation of each school. Education in Okinawa owes a great deal to that P.T.A. of 100,000 members. Parents supported education in Okinawa both physically and spiritually. p.308 (my translation)

## 2 Textbook Compilation

Nakasone Seizen, who was urged to make textbooks and start the children’s education as soon as possible upon seeing the children swarming in the garbage, was a member of a textbook compilation team in Bunkyo-bu. *Kyoikushi-Nenpyo* says that the textbook editorial office was set up on a US government site located at Higakushishi Onna in Misato village in August 1945. (Ryukyuseifu Bunkyo-kyoku p.576)

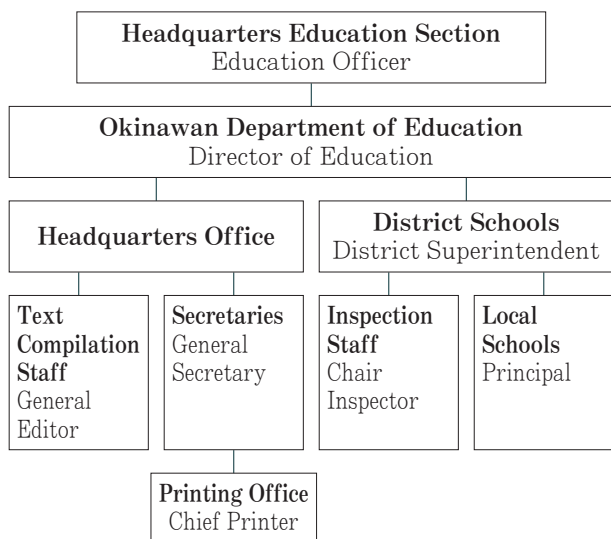
On August 1 in 1945 that Yamashiro Atuo and others started editing textbooks. They were mimeographed textbooks. According to *Okinawa no Sengo Kyoikushi*, Okinawa Shijyunkai (Okinawa advisory council) started on August 15, 1945 and the textbook compilation began a week prior to that. Lieutenant commander Hanna visited Yamashiro

Atuo at the camp of Nodake in Ginowan village and questioned him about the condition of the Okinawan people and asked for his opinion about Japan. Soon after that, Lieutenant Hanna revisited him at the camp of Kochiya in Ginoza village and took him to the textbook editorial office. With the start of Shijyunkai, Yamashiro became the head of Bunkyo-bu, Director of Education, and the textbook compilation became the task of Bunkyo-bu. Regarding Bunkyo-bu, Headquarters Education Section, *Directive Number 86* issued from Deputy Commander for Military Government to Distribution "A" is explained as follows under the subject of "Okinawa Educational System" :

Educational affairs insofar as they concern actual operation of the schools, including planning of curriculum, preparation of texts, appointment and removal of principals and teachers and other personnel, inspection of schools, allocation of personnel, maintenance of records, and general administrative detail are hereby placed under an Okinawan Department of Education, staffed by Okinawans but supervised at the Headquarters level by Military Government personnel who retain final discretion. p.160.

Below is the organization of the department.

**Organization of Bunkyo-bu**



(Laws and Regulations During the US Administration of Okinawa 1945-1972, p.160)

Okinawa Shijyunkai proceedings (1945, p.14) also records that the duty of the head of Bunkyo-

bu, Director of Education, who had responsibility for education administration, was to appoint the District Superintendent. The Headquarters Education Officer worked directly with the Okinawan Director of Education, handling matters of supply from Military Government sources and checking on all matters of policy and procedure. Leonard Weiss, who was in charge of the Economy in the US government at the time, writes about Bunkyo-bu in his report on Okinawan Education as "A native Department of Education was organized to direct Okinawan education, subject to the supervision at the level by Military Government, which handled matters of supply, overall policy, and liaison."<sup>2)</sup> The General Editor was Nakasone Seizen and the Text Compilation Staff worked to set up the curriculum and textbook compilation. The Printing Office was in charge of textbook printing and distribution. The second issue of the Bunkyo-bu report (January 31, 1946) states, "We will focus our efforts mainly on Shoto-gakko education for 6- to 14-year-olds at present and provide the compulsory subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, P.E., and English for these children at least 3 hours a day, 6 days a week. Teaching materials (textbooks) are now being compiled by the military government and will be distributed. Even though they may be lacking in quality and quantity, we are going to publish them properly. We are going to make textbooks for more subjects, and kindergarten and high school education will start when the time comes."

*Okinawa no Sengo Kyouikushi* says the textbook editorial policy was strictly directed by the military government. Ultra-nationalistic, militaristic, or typically Japanese teaching materials were not allowed and the drafts were strictly censored by being translated into English. A detailed warning explained the following: "The word of *Kokugo* (Japanese language) should not be used and *Yomikata (How to Read)* should be used in place of it." Also, it was advised that *Hagoromo*, a Japanese folktale, be changed to one similar to the Okinawan folktale, *Mekarugwa*. It was found that the U.S.A. at the time was implementing a policy to make Okinawa separate from Japan.

Yamashiro became the head of Bunkyo-bu, the Director of Education, with the start of Shijyunkai, and the textbook editing became the job of Bunkyo-

bu. The Text Compilation Staff General Editor, Nakasone Seizen, was instructed to edit original Okinawan textbooks by Lieutenant Commander Hanna in August 1945. He said that the editing policy included (1) getting rid of militaristic materials, (2) getting rid of ultra-nationalistic materials, (3) getting rid of typically Japanese materials. The staff made mimeographed textbooks for the first grade through the eighth grade, such as *Kokugo (How to Read)*, and arithmetic textbooks based on the old textbooks found in the cave or in houses saved from burning. (p.101) *Okinawa no Sengoshi* writes, "The textbooks of a national elementary school attached to Jinjyo koto Syogakko were removed to Ginoza National Elementary School and they were still there and they were a great help to edit the textbooks." (p.8) According to the *Ryukyushiryō 3<sup>rd</sup>* the elementary school textbook editing policy issued in 1946 was as follows:

These textbooks were quickly compiled considering the present situation in which elementary school education needs to be started as soon as possible and minimal standards of skills and knowledge should be provided to all grades. Therefore, these textbooks should be regarded as the temporary ones. We expect to make more complete textbooks after the resolution of various problems in Okinawa. p.246 This reflects what was said in the previous writing in the second issue of Bunkyo-bu: "Even though they are not good enough and sufficient, we are going to publish them properly."

In editing the textbooks, the staff paid attention to the following points: (1) The textbooks should not contain narrow-minded ideas but should provide high ideals and a positive spirit to build the new Okinawa with a burning love for the humanities; and (2) education should be based on Okinawan materials in ethics, tradition, history, geography, industry, hygiene, and engineering for the betterment of Okinawa. It is clear that they had a policy that teaching materials should be taken from Okinawan materials. Regarding English, point no.8 explained that "English is provided to higher graders so that it can be beneficial for their future life." The phrase "so that it can be beneficial for their future life" tells us that they wanted to cultivate practical English for the children. Point no.2 also tells us that it follows

the policy of the military government, as indicated by the Lieutenant's instruction: "Do not use typical Japanese materials."

In an interview with Arasaki (1982), Nakasone was quoted as saying, "We were warned not to use teaching materials which were typical Japanese, militaristic, or ultra-nationalistic. . . . When I suggested using the phrases such as 'Akai Akai Asahi Akai', ('Red Red the Morning Sunlight Red'), I was scolded severely. My superior said, 'Don't you know that Japan lost the war? The morning sunlight is the symbol of Japan!' We debated this for about four days." (p.188) According to Nakasone, the person who debated with him was the person called Bass, an inspector of the US military government, who was sitting beside the textbook editing staff all the time. The editing staff was told to get rid of any Japanese material, and use of the word "Kokugo," which was translated as "Japanese language" was prohibited. This shows that the US military government at the time was taking the policy to separate Okinawa from Japan and it was not the policy to admit Japan's potential sovereignty over Okinawa. Later on, due to the lack of textbooks, Bunkyo-bu requested the import of the textbooks from mainland Japan to the US military government, and the textbooks arrived from Japan. At that time, whether or not to allow the use of the social study textbook whose title was *Our Land* became an issue; as a result, its use was prohibited because the title was too Japanese. Such an episode indicates that the policy to separate Okinawa from Japan was followed even in 1948 when the textbooks from mainland Japan started to be used in place of the Okinawan-made textbooks. (*Okinawa no Sengoshi*, p.102)

The drafts of the textbooks were translated into English to undergo censorship. Every job of translating, printing, bookbinding and distribution was carried out by the editing staff. In March 1946 the mimeographed textbooks made by Bunkyo-bu were distributed to each school; however, the subjects were limited to those of reading, arithmetic, science, and English; and there was just one copy for several children. Regarding the textbooks of science and English, there was only one copy for teachers and none for the children. According to *Okinawa no Sengo Kyouikushi*, the editing staff consisted of the following members:

Chief Editor: Yamashiro Atuo;  
 Chief of the editing section: Nakasone Seizen  
 Japanese Language: Nakasone Seizen, Kamita Syuei  
 Syoto Gakko : Kikuzato Shinsyu;  
 English : the handouts which were made by Asato Gensyu;  
 Roman characters: Tengan Sadatoshi;  
 Translation for censorship: Madanbashi Cyoei; His assistant: Ota Masahide;  
 History: Shimabukuro Zenpatu, Asato En, Shiroma Masao;  
 Science: Higa Tokutaro, Sonohara Sakiya, Tawata Shinjun;  
 Arithmetic : Yamazato Masakatu;  
 Illustration: Ooshiro Koya, Keiichi Yamamoto;  
 Stencil cutting: Kikuzato (or kikusatō) Masahide.  
 (p.9)

### 3 Textbook Distribution

Textbooks greatly influence the effects of education. Senaha Eiki (85), the former President of Meio University in Okinawa said regarding the number of students passed Beiryu (studying in America) that more students from remote islands such as Miyako, Yaeyama passed the test than those from mainland Okinawa, because they were able to study by using the textbooks which escaped from the war damage (Interview of Senaha Eiki, 2014/03/27) Without textbooks, it is difficult for students to learn effectively. How about the situation of textbook distribution in Okinawa just after the war? Leonard Weiss<sup>2)</sup> writes as follows in “The Educational Program on Okinawa” :

As of January 15, 1946, 65,000 Okinawan children were in daily attendance at some 90 schools with about 1,500 teachers, and instructional materials were being prepared and distributed at the rate of 5,000 mimeographed booklets per week.

(Watkin’s paper 3 III-4)

Mimeographed textbooks were not enough for all the children and they copied the textbook in the discarded wrapping paper from rations. In the section “Syusen chokugo no Kakuchiku no Ayumi” in *Chiho Jichi Nana-syunen Kineshi*, the Hentona district is described as follows:

By March 1946, the mimeographed textbooks edited by Byunkyobu in the Civil Administration

office started to be distributed. The textbooks were limited to four subjects, including Reading, Arithmetic, Science, and English. These textbooks were distributed one per several children, but there was no textbook of Science and English for the children except for the teacher. (p.26)

The distribution conditions of the edited mimeographed textbooks, as of the fiscal year of 1947, was recorded as follows. ( Ryukyushiryō, 3, p.44)

1. Printed at each school
  - Arithmetic -- the first semester (1<sup>st</sup> grade-8<sup>th</sup> grade)
  - Reading -- the first semester (1<sup>st</sup> grade-8<sup>th</sup> grade)
  - Geography -- higher than 6<sup>th</sup> grade
2. Printed at Bunkyo-bu
  - English textbooks 14,628 copies
  - For all the teachers 156 copies
  - Reading for Business school for young people 3,546 copies
  - Reading for Syoto gakko (1<sup>st</sup> grade-8<sup>th</sup> grade) 14,141 copies
3. Several copies of other textbooks were distributed to each school from Byunkyobu

As for the distribution condition from the US military government, the following information was recorded:

1. To Bunkyobu
  - Rotary press machines 2
  - Ink for mimeographed textbook 15gal. 2lb.
  - Cardboard 2 cases (960 pieces)
2. To each school
  - Notebooks, pencils etc. 2,021

The number of textbooks printed at Byunkyobu under the situation with only two rotary press machines shows how hard the staff worked with their enthusiasm for education. However, the lack of textbooks was a grave issue.

Uruma Shinpo reported on June 13, 1947, that Honyakubu (the translation section) published and distributed the magazine “Eigakusei no Tomo” (Friend of the students who study English). Shimpo wrote, “Now English is closer to our daily life and everyone feels it is necessary to learn. Especially for young people who study English,

there are few institutions and textbooks; therefore, to meet the demand, the translation section will publish 'English Students' Companion' two times a month and distribute the issues with the permission of the US military government." Regarding the teaching materials to cover the lack of textbooks, the translation section distributed these two pages of materials at 50 cents per copy. (Nahashi-shi, Shiryohen, 3-3, Sengo Shinbun Syusei I)

It was 1948 when the textbook editing by Bunkyoubu ended but without resolving the problem of the textbook shortage. On Jan. 2, 1948, under the heading of "Editing of the textbook, give up at last," Uruma Shinpo reports the end of the textbook editing by the Okinawan side, saying "Even though Bunkyoubu tried to solve the problem of the textbook shortage, there was no way to solve it because of the lack of the materials." If the textbook editing by Bunkyoubu ended in 1948, what about English textbooks after that?

In Arasaki (1982), Nakasone talks about the textbooks imported from mainland Japan.

Nakasone: With just a small number of staff, we made all the textbooks from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade in elementary school to senior high school by cutting stencils and printing. Distributing them was also our job to do. It was too much for us. That is why we staff requested to import the textbooks from mainland Japan. However, the US military government did not respond to our request, and it took three years for our request to be realized.

Arasaki: Then, was it around 1948?

Nakasone : It was June 1948. An official in charge of textbooks in GHQ, the man whose name is Herknes newly arrived in Okinawa, and it was he who began importing the textbooks from mainland Japan. On June 11, there arrived 1,300,000 copies without any notice and they were brought into the large quonset of Bunkyoubu in the civil administration office in Chinen village. They were piled up to the height, nearly reaching the ceiling. I was so happy that I could not sleep that night because we could start our education by supplying the demand from the schools. p.192 (my translation)

Regarding the free distribution of the textbooks published by the Ministry of Education, Yara (1969)

says that since it was not a planned import, some textbooks were in excess or some were in short supply depending on the subject. He was surprised when he found the piled up textbooks imported one year before from mainland Japan in the military storage in Mieshiro in June 1951 and commented, "Neither officers of the military government nor we did not know." He writes that it tells how communication in the organization was lacking and management was chaotic. It describes the disorder of the military, as mentioned in Yonaha (2014).

Bunkyo 228 issue as of Aug. 24<sup>th</sup> in 1948 contains a message from Yamashiro Atuo that the textbooks will be distributed without any mention of English textbooks. Since it refers to the third arrival of the textbooks, the distributed textbooks should be the imported textbooks from the mainland. Uruma Shinpo reported in May 1948 that the first arrival of textbooks from the mainland was 300,000 and there arrived one after another, which made teachers and children happy. With the arrival of the textbooks published by the Japanese Ministry of Education, the textbook problem was resolved. (Ryukyushiryō, 3,1988,p.6)

Uruma Shinpo says the textbook arrival started in March 1948. On June 11, 1948 it says that "Okinawa separated from the mainland Japan by lat.30° N started its recovery from the war relying on the supplies from the US military government. The issues of education, especially the textbook problem, were difficult to solve. Teachers and parents worried about the textbooks since even the mimeographed textbooks were not enough. However, there arrived a great many textbooks from mainland Japan last week. . . . It was a part of 3,000,000 copies which are coming on order of General MacArthur." The import of the textbooks from mainland Japan was realized by the order of General MacArthur, to whom US military government officers conveyed the requests from Okinawan educators. Based on the data of Uruma Shimpo and a chronology of Okinawa's post-war period, the situation of textbook distribution is as below.

The first arrival : May 1948 (300,000 copies)

The second arrival : June 1948 (1,000,000 copies)

The third arrival : August 1948 (Totally 1,221,820 copies divided into 3 deliveries)

The fourth arrival : Sep. 1948 (around 250,000)

copies, mainly Social Studies textbooks)

The above data show that the usage of the mimeographed textbooks edited by Byunkyoubu did not last so long. It was a short history from 1945 to 1948. Regarding English textbooks, since there is no historic fact that compulsory English education was carried out in mainland Japan, there were no English textbooks for elementary school. It can be considered that mimeographed English textbooks were used longer than textbooks for other subjects made by Bunkyo-bu. In fact, under the headline of "Textbooks Arrive," Uruma Shimpo on June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1948, reported "Syotogakko: Reading, Arithmetic, Music, Science and Social Study" and there is no mention about English. The 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of this paper, according to Nahashi-shi (3-2, p.440-475), introduces the mimeographed textbooks which were used from 1949 to 1951. It is considered that from 1945 to 1948, only teachers had the textbook for English classes.

#### 4 Contents of mimeographed textbooks

Despite the social situation disturbed by the US military-related political problems as mentioned above, with the support of the US officials in charge of education and the enthusiasm of Okinawan educators for education, mimeographed English textbooks were made. What did they look like? The Bunkyo-bu-made Mimeographed English textbooks which were used at Syoto gakko from 1949 to 1951 are in Ryukyushiryō, 3 Education section, Shiryo 6, (1988). Bunkyo-bu gave up its editing of the textbooks in 1948 and started to import textbooks by the Japanese Ministry of Education from mainland Japan. However, since there was no curriculum for elementary school English in mainland Japan, it is believed that only the mimeographed textbooks made by Bunkyo-bu were used for English. They are the textbooks entitled *Let's Learn English*. This is the same title as that of the English textbooks *Let's Learn English* (Book1, Book2) for junior high school in Japan, which were managed to be made for the start of the new semester of the fiscal year of 1947, but they are different. In the case of the Japanese textbooks for junior high school, there were three books totally and Norihira (2004) says that they were made in a short time of 3-4 months by the Ministry of Education, since CIE (Civil Information

and Education Section) set the date for the start of the new semester as April 1947, following the advice of the US education mission. Regarding the contents of the textbooks, Book 1 centers on home life, school life, and social life; Book 2 consists of part 1, focusing on reading, and part 2, focusing on conversation; and Book 3 also has part 1, reading, and part 2, conversation. (p.107)

The Okinawan *Let's Learn English* was published by Bunkyo-bu in the civil administration and it starts with the alphabet. In the Japanese *Let's Learn English*, the title of Lesson 1 is "I am Tom Brown" and it starts with the linking verb "be", whereas Lesson 1 in the Okinawan version teaches general verbs with phrases such as "Stand up, Bow, Sit down, including how to count (numbers). Lesson 2 teaches the phrases such as "Go to the door, Come back," and the days of the week as well as proper nouns. It is said that many English textbooks started with "This is a ~ ." in the pre-war period in Japan. The phrase of "This is a ~" appears in Lesson 4 in Okinawan *Let's Learn English*. In the Japanese *Let's Learn English*, the Be verb appears in the latter half of the text, which is in Lesson 23. Mimeographed English textbooks by Bunkyo-bu are handwritten but they have many illustrations to make it easier for children to understand.

Regarding the Okinawan *Let's Learn English*, there is the alphabet and numbers (one-ten) in the beginning. Verbs start from the imperative form such as "Stand up, Bow, Sit down," which are the words used in the beginning of the class as a greeting. The contents of the mimeographed English textbooks show its level and the language presented. As for the level, it could be the junior high school 1st year level before elementary school English education was introduced in Japan or present level of elementary school English education carried out in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades. The words to express colors, numbers, and days of the week are dealt with in present English textbooks at the elementary level. By covering the *Be* verb and the basic verb as *Have*, the level is such that children can introduce themselves in English and know English names of the things around them. Also, the structure of the interrogative sentences should be noted. For example, the interrogative sentence that should be "Do you have two legs? Yes, I do." in the present textbook



is presented as “Have you two legs? Yes, I have” in the mimeographed textbook. And the sentence that should be “Does the dog have two legs, too? No, it doesn’t. It has four legs” is written as “Has the dog two legs, too? No, it has four legs” in the mimeographed textbooks. I wonder if such English expressions that are characteristic of British English were ordinarily used in America at that time.

The word choice in the example sentences in the mimeographed textbooks also reflects the post-war time, e.g., *tent*, *jeep*, *truck* and *Quonset* (Quonset means Quonset hut). In Okinawa under the US occupation these things were the things that children usually saw around them in daily life. The animals that could often be seen in Okinawa at that time (e.g., *pig* and *goat*) also appear in the textbooks. In addition to the word, *teacher*, jobs including *doctor*, *nurse*, and *driver* are used in the textbooks and they seem to have been the professional workers seen frequently in their daily life compared to other workers at the time.

The textbook has both script and block letters and both are taught in the stage of introducing the alphabet. The exercise to have children translate Japanese phrases into English by instructing them to “Say it in English.” is a rather high-level linguistic exercise and rarely seen in today’s elementary school English textbooks. The mimeographed English textbook is the only teaching material for teachers from 1949 to 1951. For the children, another English textbook with more illustrations was printed later. This was the textbook entitled *English Book* and it consists of two books, Book 1 and Book 2. Under the title of *English Book (Eigo Dokuhon)*, it is written in the introductory remark that “English teaching material (handouts for teachers) published by Bunkyoju was expanded and printed out in two parts, Book 1 and Book 2, with more illustrations” (p.450). Compared with the textbook for teachers, the language is much more substantial; however, there does not seem to be much of an increase in illustration. What is different in Book 1 and Book 2, compared with the previous textbook for teachers, is that the textbook for teachers begins with the alphabet while the textbook for children (Book1 and Book2) begins with romaji, alphabetization of Japanese hiragana. Regarding the words, different from *Let’s Learn English*,” Book1 and Book2

introduce not only the meaning of the nouns but also the verbs. As for verbs, similar to *Let’s Learn English*, the Book 1 and Book 2 textbooks begin with the imperative form of verbs, e.g., “Stand up. Sit down.”

Different from the textbook *Let’s Learn English*, for only teachers, *English Book 1* and *Book 2* (published in 1949) show the new words and how to pronounce in Katakana and the meanings of the words are also presented. It is more considerate for children in these aspects. In showing the pronunciation in Katakana, how to read *have* is shown in Katakana as “ハヴ” not “ハブ”, *yellow* is shown as “イエロウ” not “エロウ”, and *sisters* is shown as “スイスターアズ” not “シスターズ”. Consideration to make the pronunciation closer to that of native speaker’s can be seen. However, the description such as *where* “ホエア” *parents* “パーアレンツ” *gate* “ゲート” may sound different from the real pronunciation if they are pronounced as shown here, which shows the limit of Katakana to describe English pronunciation.

As in the textbook *Let’s Learn English*, the words in *Book 1* and *Book 2* are closer to the vocabulary of the daily life of children. As the result, there are words such as *platform*, *broom*, *duster*, *waste-basket*, *water-can* etc. Except the word, *water-can*, the words are the names of the things around the classroom. The number of nouns increased, the verb *Do* is introduced, and interrogative sentences with the auxiliary verb, *Can*, appeared.

*English Book 1* teaches Roman letters, which were not in *Let’s Learn English*. This must be the result of the policy of the US military government, which wanted to spread Roman letters as reported in *Uruma Shinpo*. *Uruma Shinpo*, April 1946, reports MacArthur’s intention as “US education mission’s report was issued and GHQ is making the plan for language reform to use Roman letters as well as the reforms for other classes.” Also the policy of compilation of textbooks in 1946 includes the following statement: “Introduce Roman letters by limiting the use of Chinese characters in order to coordinate with the world situation” (Ryukyushiryō 3<sup>rd</sup> education part 1988). The US military’s paper *Okinawan*, as of June 7<sup>th</sup> in the same year, put the headline of “Roman letters rapidly spread” and reports that “Japan’s seven biggest

newspaper agencies which issue more than 8,500,000 are planning to print out the paper in Roman letters as much as possible.” The paper of Feb. 20 in 1947 reports that teaching Roman letters starts at the new year and its writing way is “Kunrei-shiki.”

These reports are from Tokyo and describe the situation of mainland Japan. In detail, the paper says, “In principle, Roman letters are introduced from 4<sup>th</sup> grade but it can be from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade according to the situation of each school. However, it is not compulsive, so how to conduct the Roman letter education should be decided by each school. The amount of time of the class should be more than 40 hours and use the class of Kokugo, Japanese language or Jiyu Kenkyuu, free activity.” How about in Okinawa? In Arasaki (1982), to the question “Was teaching English the order from the US military government?” Nakasone answers, “Yes, it was. We were also told to teach Roman letters. I thought it was the idea of Yamashiro’s first but found it was not. I heard from Kikusato that it was the order from US military government because they thought it was necessary to understand street signs.” (P.187)

## 5 Consolidation

Elementary school textbook compilation started at houses that escaped wartime fire in US military occupied Okinawa with the guidance of Lieutenant commander Hanna by recruiting Okinawan staff from each camp. The textbooks were mimeographed ones and had the characteristic of Okinawan originality by excluding Japanese elements reflecting the US policy to separate Okinawa from Japan. However, due to the shortage of the paper after the war, there were not enough textbooks for all the children. In the end, in order to meet the needs, Okinawa relied on textbooks from mainland Japan, which were made with funding from GRIOA (Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Area). This meant that education in Okinawa shifted from an Okinawa focus to that of a Japanese focus. It is considered that the shift was brought about not only by economic reasons (shortage of paper) but also by the clarification of the political situation of Okinawa brought about by the conclusion of the San Francisco Treaty. By admitting the sovereignty of Japan over Okinawa, the policy to

separate Okinawa from Japan was relaxed. However, it took more time for Okinawa to revert back to the sovereignty of Japan.

Mimeographed English textbooks made in Okinawa have their originality in that the words referring to common things in Okinawa at the time and original Okinawan proper names are used in the books. Reflecting the US military government’s desire to spread Roman letters, from the second book there appeared Roman letters. In the brief history of mimeographed English textbooks, we can see the US military government’s policy toward Okinawa and the situation at the time and the enthusiasm and endeavors of Okinawan educators who wanted to educate the children deprived of a proper education amid the chaos of the post-war period and the lack of materials.

## Notes

- 1) Lieutenant commander Hanna : In *Okinawa kara Ryukyu e* by Nakasone Genwa (1955) he wrote that “The name of Hanna is remembered still in the hearts of the people as the person who built the basis of the recovery of Okinawa’s education.” “Not only he made his efforts in the recovery of education but he also built the basis of today’s Higaonna Museum by collecting the cultural staff from the half burned houses, caves and graves.”
- 2) At the time when the article was written (Jan.15,1946) He was an economic analyst of Inter American Affairs. He was in charge of the economy for the US military government just after the war. This article is in Watkin’s paper 3<sup>rd</sup> (III-4)

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