

# Sanki ICHIKAWA

(市河三喜)

Father of Historical and Related Studies of English in Japan

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## Childhood years (1886–1903)

Born into a traditional literary family in today's Akihabara area, downtown Tokyo, and drilled in classical sinology and calligraphy from his early childhood, the young Sanki Ichikawa (1886–1970) was first charmed not by ancient Chinese/Japanese written culture, but by living creatures and plants. On Sundays the beginning naturalist would walk around Tokyo collecting plants and insects, especially butterflies, visiting his favorite zoological garden in Ueno and several museums, and spending literally hours watching living beasts and specimens.

Though his first love lasted his whole life long, Ichikawa was then captured by another love — love for English — which was in fact inspired by his first one. The early teenager was eager to know a lot more about natural history and dared to challenge specialized books, first in Japanese, then in English. Ichikawa already knew some English then: he started English at ten, tutored by his brother San'yō (三陽, 1879–1927), seven years his senior, who was destined to give up further study through fragile health. At school Ichikawa began to learn it two years later. But his English then was, as a matter of course, far from good enough to make out those treatises for specialists.

His love for English blazed up. He kept working on those monographs in English literally inch by inch all by himself, looking up almost everything in various dictionaries and related books he could reach. In addition, he did whatever he could to improve his English as soon as possible: he attended Kai-in-gakkan, an after-school English class near by, and a two-month summer course at Seisoku English School, led by the well-known educator of English, Hidesaburō Saitō (斎藤秀三郎, 1866–1929). On his own he learned thoroughly everything available to brush up his English, teaching himself other school subjects through extra-textbooks in English he obtained: mathematics, geology, physics (he read Gauß !) and, needless to say, biology or natural history.

In the meantime, his first and second works in English appeared in the newsletters of the Tokyo Ordinary Middle School (continued by the Tokyo First Middle School and then today's

Hibiya High School): “Exploration of the Limestone Cave,” a report after visiting *Nippara* in the far north-west end of Tokyo prefecture, and “Dearth of Linguistic Knowledge of Our Students,” which stressed the need to learn English intensively in middle school days, after boldly criticizing both incompetent (allegedly) teachers of English and university students lacking (again allegedly) in ambitiousness to improve their linguistic commands. It is clearly seen that Ichikawa took well deserved pride in what he had done and was totally devoted to English already in his mid-teens.

## The First National College (1903–1906)

After finishing the five-year course of middle school, Ichikawa was successfully admitted to the First National College, which roughly corresponded to the last three years of *Gymnasium* in Germany and later constituted the liberal arts curriculum of the University of Tokyo. He joined the humanities course there, i.e. he chose his second love rather than his first one for natural history, since, as he recalled, he was then worried that his eyesight would not be good enough to look through the microscope to study biology.

Ichikawa spent his college days even more deeply soaked in English. Nine English classes per week were just a piece of cake. On his own he read and read whatever interested him: ranging from such heavy literary works as Shakespeare, Hawthorne, Dickens, Swift, Tolstoy (English version, of course), down to lighter ones like Doyle, and to cross-cultural studies by Noguchi, Blackie, etc., etc. He dared to undertake bizarre “midwinter English self-training,” inspired by judoists and kendoists, roommates at the dorm, who engaged themselves in early morning training in the middle of winter. Getting up before dawn, the determined Ichikawa, out on the campus with no one there to listen, would recite at the top of his lungs what he had learned by heart the night before: fragments of Aldrich’s *The Story of a Bad Boy*, Longfellow’s *Evangeline* and *Hiawatha*, Moody’s *Sermons*, Coleridge’s *The Ancient Mariner*, Keats’ *Eve of St. Agnes* and many others.

He was devoted so much that he nearly deteriorated his health. His brother Sanroku (三禄, 1890–1938), later professor of Silviculture at Kyoto, left a note before his premature death that their father, notable sinologist and master calligrapher Sanken (三兼, 1838–1907), also known by his pen name Man’an (萬庵), had been really concerned and used to comment that health was no less precious than English.

Meanwhile, as he noticed the importance of Christianity in grasping English/European culture behind language, chiefly affected by Kanzō Uchimura (内村鑑三, 1861–1930), he spent his first summer holiday of college all alone in his father’s cottage in Mukōjima, eastern rural area of Tokyo then, reading through the English Holy Bible and compiling a glossary of Christianity. Later he got baptized. Regular attendance at several Bible classes, conducted by English-speaking priests, helped him a lot, as he recalled, in improving his listening comprehension.

In his college days Ichikawa had nine hours’ German classes a week. Some professors in

those days were unfortunately not qualified enough to conduct proper classes, but there was nothing to worry about. A few years before, Ichikawa had started German at home, again tutored by San'yō. On his own he learned it rapidly, helped by the nice command of English he got by then. He even made it a highly demanding rule, shared by several ambitious students, to read through a volume from the German *Reclam* paperback series every two weeks !

His love for natural history survived. He spent the next summer holiday on isolated *Jeju* Island, to the south-west of Korean Peninsula, assisting a zoological expedition supported by the Duke of Bedford. Though hired basically as an interpreter, Ichikawa none the less made an unignorable contribution to clarify the fauna and flora there: he found at least four new varieties of insects, one of which, incidentally, was named after him: *Gudea Ichikawana*, a large-sized stinkbug.

### The Tokyo Imperial University (1906–1912)

The School of Letters, the Tokyo Imperial University, had two departments Ichikawa wished to study in: those of English and Linguistics. Though his main interest lay definitely in the former, which exactly was called “the Department of English Language and Literature,” what he chose was the Department of Linguistics chaired by Katsuji Fujioka (藤岡勝二, 1872–1935). Wider range of linguistic knowledge, he expected, would push him to further height in the study of English. His expectation would turn out to be right in the coming years. So he learned Greek and Latin under the famous Raphael von Koeber (1848–1923) and Emile-Louis Heck (1866–1943) in addition to Italian, Russian, Spanish, Dutch, Sanskrit, Korean, Ainu and so forth.

He started French, too, at university and could learn it really rapidly thanks to the prior ample knowledge of English and German (i.e. similar grammatical framework reflecting their common Indo-European background and Latin-based vocabulary in particular). Thus he fulfilled with ease all the BA requirements for linguistic mastery: two languages out of English, German and French were required to finish the undergraduate course of three years then, whereas he passed all of these three languages in his freshman year !

In time he made up his mind to concentrate on the historical development of English, luckily, as he recalled later, having encountered the ideal master, John Lawrence (1850–1916), who joined the university at the same time that Ichikawa was admitted. Lawrence was not a big name in Europe, since he painstakingly pursued his studies in spite of adversity and, accordingly, could not produce plenty of written works: it was only in his forties that he defended his dissertation and started his academic career. He was, none the less, a keen and talented pursuer of the historical development of English as well as a true man of letters, versed in the wide range of English/European literary works throughout the history. Koeber, respected by everyone, highly estimated him as the pride and honor of the university. Ichikawa himself noted in his declining years that Lawrence was by far the very best scholar of English that Japan had ever had and that it would be far

from imaginable to invite a foreign scholar surpassing him in the years to come.

Lawrence had a duty to lecture twelve hours a week, but he soon noticed that it would not be enough. He happened to know there was a vacant room in the School of Medicine building and established his English Seminar, where he spent an extra 24 hours a week instructing each student wishing to improve their language competence.

Ichikawa applied for Lawrence's Seminar, admitted after passing an entrance exam, and voluntarily had, all through his undergraduate years, what he later labeled "really hard training" mainly in Old English and Middle English, which was partly shared by Tsutomu Chiba (千葉勉, 1883–1959), future professor at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. Ichikawa was not released even for summer holiday: invited to Karuizawa to the north, where Lawrence used to stay avoiding the heat in Tokyo, he had intensive phonetics training several hours each day. As a postgraduate student Ichikawa learned Old Icelandic, Gothic and read various old literary works in Greek, Latin, and Old French as well as those Germanic languages: Homer's *Odyssey*, Livy, *Chanson de Roland*, *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, etc., etc. He perfectly learned everything Lawrence provided in the Seminar, with the only exception of demanding Virgil, which Ichikawa gave up halfway, letting his classmate receive regular one-to-one private lessons from the learned Englishman. The lucky man was Hidenaka Tanaka (田中秀央, 1886–1974), who was accepted in the Seminar, thanks to Koeber's kind recommendation, without the entrance exam and would be the first professor of classics at Kyoto.

Ichikawa, Tanaka, and Kōchi Doi (土居光知, 1886–1979), future professor of English literature at Sendai, were housemates for two out of three of their postgraduate years. It all started with Ichikawa, who felt awkward to live on in his late father's house in Akihabara, now that it was inherited by his elder brother San'yō, who, to make it more awkward, got married and began a new life there. Ichikawa fortunately found a nice two-story house to move into: several-roomed, with a sympathetic garden, within walking distance from the university. But it seemed barely possible for him alone to afford everything including the pay for a servant who would do the household chores, as it was necessary to employ such a person in those days. A suggestion to share the house and go Dutch was uttered by Ichikawa, instantly welcomed by Tanaka — a bit like Holmes and Watson —, and after just a little while Doi joined them. This is what brought them together and closer, so their friendship lasted their whole lives long.

Now Ichikawa's hard work with Lawrence bore its first fruit in his BA thesis submitted in April 1909, titled "On the Historical Development of the Functions of 'for'," which consists of vi+256 pages with occasional comments and corrections on the opposite blank pages. It began with an extract from Tennyson's beautiful poem *Flower in the Crannied Wall*: the author intended a sort of pun "for — flower" but it was not properly understood by the adviser, as Ichikawa guessed later.

His thesis, in contrast, was highly estimated and ensured him *summa cum laude*, since it

was truly a valuable contribution in the sense that it covered practically all the uses, living and obsolete, of *for*, which were analyzed in every detail in terms of Germanic and English historical development. Reference was made to Old English, Middle English, Gothic and Old Icelandic evidences, mainly taken from gospels and such monumental literary works as *Beowulf*, *The Canterbury Tales*, various works of Shakespeare, various Sagas, and others, in comparison with Greek, Latin, German, French, and even Japanese (exclusively semantic) data. Lawrence left 18 pages of comment, seemingly praising what Ichikawa had done. However, its detail, I must confess, remains to be clarified as his handwriting is, unlike Ichikawa's, not rarely illegible.

Ichikawa's thesis won a considerable reputation soon. Shintarō Kiyasu (喜安璣太郎, 1876–1955) was one of those early admirers of his talent and achievement. Kiyasu, the famous editor of the English information journal *Rising Generation* or *Eigo-Seinen*, introduced Ichikawa as “a marvelous linguist” who, allegedly, well acquainted with seven languages, had made a tremendous achievement which astonished Lawrence. A year later Ichikawa, definitely persuaded by Kiyasu, made his first contribution to *Eigo-Seinen*. It was, unexpectedly, neither linguistic nor literary, but was his amusing “table speech” delivered at an English speaking assembly, which was so full of puns and jokes that Rintarō Fukuhara (福原麟太郎, 1894–1981) at Tokyo University of Education (today's Tsukuba University), who read it for the first time after Ichikawa's death, was impressed at how very witty and good at English Ichikawa was in his mid-twenties.

It was only after that, i.e. when he was in his second postgraduate year, that his regular contribution of “*Ei-Bunten-Sadan*” (英文典瓊談) or “Nitpicking English Grammar” series began. Strongly influenced by Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), Cornelis Stoffel (1845–1908), Johan Storm (1836–1920), and Eduard Mätzner (1805–1902), in particular, through the years under Lawrence, Ichikawa paid attention to minor grammatical deviations scattered in English, collecting examples through his wide range of reading, and trying to find how those irregular phenomena had come about. In this series he showed the reader those, let us say, non-standard English expressions and their possible explanations. They were later gathered in his first book *Ei-Bumpō-Kenkyū* (*Studies in English Grammar*) which came out soon after he finished his postgraduate course and just before his departure for Europe on a scholarship from the Ministry of Education.

### Three years abroad (1912–1916)

Ichikawa's first destination was Oxford, Lawrence's *alma mater*. He left Shimbashi Station on October 24, 1912, seen off by Lawrence, set sail from Kobe in November (the exact date unknown), and reached London on December 19. He spent three weeks' Christmas holiday there, seeing the sights as well as museums, getting used to the geography including the East End, and repeatedly visiting book sellers all around the city of fog. On January 11 he called, as arranged, on Lawrence's mate Prof. William Ker ([ˈkɛə], 1855–1923) of the University College London and

hurried to Paddington, to move into the city of dreaming spires in time. He came to stay with a private family, natives of Edinburgh, and wrote to his ex-advisor in Tokyo that he was lucky to be able to taste different labels of Scotch each day.

His health, considerably weakened through the years of excessive hard work, was getting better as he became used to Oxford, relaxed without pressure, and adopted a rule of walking in the green every day.

At Oxford Ichikawa gradually got to know people, partly thanks to his attendance at several classes: Arthur Sampson Napier (1853–1916), Walter Alexander Raleigh (1861–1922), Hermann Georg Fiedler (1862–1945), William Alexander Craigie (1867–1957) among others. But soon, as he confessed to Lawrence, those lectures had begun to pall on him since he could learn there scarcely anything more than he had already learned in Tokyo: undergrads at Oxford, allegedly, would not study much and the lectures there were, as a matter of course, basically for them. The honorable Joseph Wright (1855–1930), a real self-made man, announced his intention of holding a class at his own home for discussion of philological problems. Ichikawa thought that would be really interesting and worth attending, but then not a single student wished to attend it, so this had fallen through, although Ichikawa was privately invited to tea from time to time.

Ichikawa may well have thought it wiser to go on with his studies on his own and collect for the future, taking advantage of his stay in Britain, as much material as possible that would be inaccessible elsewhere. Incidentally, this was exactly what Ker had predicted.

So he did what he should do. He knew that libraries in Japan generally, not only the one in his *alma mater*, needed rapid enhancing especially with resources from the West. Even such journals were not there as *Englische Studien* and *Anglia*, indispensable for the philological study of English. Moreover, the books and journals then in print were not enough. Older ones also needed to be obtained second-hand. So every month Ichikawa, cutting all his living costs, spent on those printed matters as much as 100 yen out of 180, the monthly grant sent from Japan. Frequent shortage of funds was each time compensated out of his own purse.

His high-aimed investment was beginning to be rewarded. He accumulated many books he had long wanted to obtain. It was rather acrobatic that he obtained part of the late Henry Sweet's (1845–1912) library from Blackwell before they were catalogued and put to public sale. What Walter William Skeat (1835–1912) left also partially came into his possession. So he had a handsome and precious library towards the end of his stay in Britain, which would, he believed, surely benefit him and his followers.

Ichikawa spent his holiday, energetically travelling and seeing the sights all around the British Isles. For the spring of 1913 he left Oxford northward, visited Warwick, Rugby, Rimington, Kenilworth, Coventry, Lichfield, Birmingham, Manchester, Chester, Liverpool, Southport, and stayed on the Isle of Man. After a while he left Oxford again to stay at Stratford-upon-Avon for the

Shakespeare Day towards the end of April.

For the summer he made, let us say, “a grand Celtic tour.” This time he first headed west for Aberystwyth, Wales, by way of Malvern, Worcester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and climbed up Snowdon, the highest mountain in Wales.

Then he sailed to Dublin, Ireland, turning to the north, visited Burtonport, the Aran Islands, Tory Island, climbed holy Mt. Errigal, and stayed at Donegal to attend a summer Irish course. He was warmly welcomed. Asked to give an address at the opening ceremony, he recited an impromptu poem and received a big hand !

God send the flowers of Erin’s tongue,  
As long as stands Mount Errigal,  
May blossom e’er so wild and fair,  
Upon the hills of Donegal !

Then he made his way north-east to Highlands, Scotland. After staying at Inverness and Thurso, visiting Loch Ness and Dunnet Head, the most northerly point of Great Britain, he climbed up Ben Nevis, the highest mountain in the British Isles. From the summit, unfortunately, he could see nothing but mist. This is what he left behind in the notebook at the cottage just below the peak:

I viewed the mist but missed the view I.

And Ichikawa’s grand Celtic tour was at last over in mid-October, after coming down to England, enjoying the Lake District peaceful scenery, and mountaineering tours to Helvellyn and Scafell as a cooling-down stage.

Not sticking to Oxford, he then moved to Cambridge, and stayed there till Christmas time. He was planning to spend the rest of his time in England in London, then move to Copenhagen to study a term or so under Jespersen, and then to proceed to Germany.

But his plans were suddenly interrupted by World War I that broke out in 1914. There was no alternative but to prolong his stay in London for several months, but it might have turned out fortunate in a sense, because, taking advantage of this extra period of time, he brushed up his knowledge and skill of phonetics intensively with Daniel Jones (1881–1967) as well as those of Old Icelandic with Ker. Ichikawa was thinking of a reform in English education in Japan starting from its phonetic aspect. He must have been affected by George Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion* which opened in London, coincidentally, in 1914 !

Meanwhile, he never failed to travel around. His second spring holiday was spent in the south. He visited, in particular, Land’s End and Lizard Head (the most westerly and southerly points respectively of Cornwall and the British mainland), Exeter, and Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain. That summer he covered the eastern area he had never been: Thorp Arch in Yorkshire, Robin Hood’s

Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere. He left a note that he was now familiar with practically all the geographical names found in *Baedeker's Great Britain* guidebook.

For several months Ichikawa waited for the war to be over in vain. He saw there was no hope left to step on the soil of Denmark and Germany, and to meet his idol Jespersen in person, so changing his mind he decided to see ancient Greco-Roman relics and another English-speaking country, the United States, avoiding the battle area.

Ichikawa left England in March 1915. And another grand tour began to mark the end of his overseas days. First he landed at Nice, in the southern and safer part of France, where he became acquainted, perhaps by chance, with Kōsaku Hamada (濱田耕作, 1881–1938), associate professor of archaeology at Kyoto then, and future president of the university. Happily they hit it off right from the start and became perfect fellow-travelers for several months. They made friends with Archibald Henry Sayce (1845–1933), professor of archaeology at Oxford, who spent his holiday there. They frequently shared their daily tea time and walks along the coast. Of course they did not fail to enjoy the warm sunshine and historic sights along the Côte d'Azur: Tarascon, Beaucaire, Arles, Nîmes, etc.

Then they proceeded to Rome, stayed there ten days trying to see everything though it was far from possible, and moved on to Greece, where they spent a month and a half making a better attempt at seeing everything: Athens, Crete, Delphi, Olympia, Mycenae, Sparta, Tiryns, etc. Ichikawa alone climbed up Ida on Crete and Parnassus, to the north, but unfortunately missed Olympus, on the top of which gods and goddesses are said to live.

After leaving Greece, greatly impressed, they sailed back to Italy, this time to Sicily, where Ichikawa alone saw the historic sights at Messina and Syracuse, and climbed Mt. Etna. In the latter city something extraordinary happened. While looking around, he was abruptly caught by the police, taken to their station, and questioned, definitely suspected of being a spy. He had several plant specimens with tiny flowers, sandwiched in *Baedeker's* guidebook he carried, of which he was questioned then: “E questo fanerogamo o crittogamo?” (= Is this phanerogamous or cryptogamous?) In answer to this elementary question he must have uttered the first word for sure, since flowers are the definite evidence that the plant is phanerogamous. It was a precious as well as disgusting experience for him: this was the first and probably the last time that he used in ordinary conversation those specialized botanical words or their Italian equivalents, to be more exact, that he had learned in his early teens, i.e. in his *first love* days. Anyway, he was soon released, went on to Naples, revisited Rome, this time stayed there as long as he wished, we hope. After a while Ichikawa finally left Europe and his dear friend Hamada for the New World.

Ichikawa landed in the United States in late September. As it appears, he stayed basically in Boston-Cambridge area, Massachusetts, visiting various historic sites in and around the state, and making occasional excursions, for instance, to New York, where he must have visited, perhaps repeatedly, Columbia University in the City of New York, the Natural History Museum, i.e. today's



American Museum of Natural History, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art among other institutions. In November he visited the Niagara Falls. It is not known, unfortunately, how he got to the West Coast and left for Japan, or what and whom he visited on the way.

### Professor of English, the Tokyo Imperial University (1916–1946)

On January 19, 1916, Ichikawa was back in Japan. A month later he was welcomed as an associate professor into the staff of his *alma mater*. It was not the Department of Linguistics he had graduated from, but that of English that Ichikawa now belonged to. He must have been strongly recommended for the post, in his absence, by his master Lawrence and the idea was already approved by Kazutoshi Ueda (上田萬年, 1867–1937), president of the School of Letters. Ichikawa was ready as well as expected to assist his elderly master in instructing students and gradually to take over the latter's mission. But it happened too abruptly. On March 11 Lawrence was hospitalized, seriously suffering from influenza, which developed into critical pneumonia, and he passed away early the next morning.

Now at the age of thirty he filled the chair of English, was to stay there till his retirement, and was in charge of everything concerned. One of his first duties was to examine BA theses submitted that year by those whom he had barely instructed and knew only slightly. It must have been not an easy task, as literary criticism and novel writing were the main interest for most of the English majors in those days; thus they were more inclined to follow their idol Kinnosuke (Sōseki) Natsume (夏目金之助 (漱石), 1867–1916), graduate and ex-lecturer of the department, than to study concrete literary works, old and new, in every detail and in view of the historical development of English, with Lawrence or later with Ichikawa, both of whom basically were pure linguists. Ryūnosuke Akutagawa (芥川龍之介, 1892–1927) and Masao Kume (久米正雄, 1891–1952), semi-professional writers already then, were among those literature-oriented students. Minoru Toyoda (豊田實, 1885–1972), later professor at Fukuoka, was an exception, interested in both literature and linguistics, and went on with his studies with Ichikawa in the postgraduate course. Yet, fortunately enough, everything went right. Ichikawa and Akutagawa, for instance, were on good terms: they respected, spoke and wrote well of each other, even though their interests lay far apart. This mismatch problem was to be solved in a few years when Takeshi Saitō (齋藤勇, 1887–1982) joined the staff. Meanwhile Ichikawa became a full professor in 1920 and successfully defended his doctoral dissertation three years later.

What Ichikawa taught through his thirty years of duty could roughly be classified into five categories. First, general introduction to the history of the English language, sometimes labeled “English etymology” or the like; secondly, English grammar or introduction to English philology/linguistics, chiefly on the basis of Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar* and *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* among others; thirdly, Old English (Sweet's *Primer*) and Middle

English (*The Canterbury Tales*); fourthly, phonetics, following Jones; and fifthly, reading of various literary works, which covered a wide range, reflecting his personal reading and choice: from Shakespeare to such contemporary (in those days) novelists as Dickens, Stevenson, Thackeray, Melville, and to Irish writers Synge, etc. On occasion Ichikawa lectured on Bible English, too.

What was more, he taught even Latin and Greek overtime for a limited period of time. These classical languages were, after the retirement of Koeber and Heck, taught by Tanaka above, their and the late Lawrence's disciple. But, after a few years, Tanaka, headhunted, suddenly left for Kyoto to fill the chair there. Recommended by the aged Koeber, Ichikawa inevitably and perhaps reluctantly made up for the absence of his ex-housemate for several years, until their common disciple Shigeichi Kure (呉茂一, 1897–1977) filled the vacancy. What a relief for him! Nevertheless, it wasn't over yet. After a few years the latter fell ill and resigned. Ichikawa had to fill in again and wait patiently till Kure's post was finally filled by Tateo Kanda (神田盾夫, 1897–1986), who first learned English under Ichikawa for a time, then transferred to Kyoto and studied classics under Tanaka. Kanda's late father, baron Naibu (神田乃武, 1857–1923), was the first man who taught Latin and Greek at Tokyo.

Ichikawa produced or helped produce innumerable human resources during his life time. In the English Department at Tokyo alone, he, together with his colleagues, brought forth over a thousand graduates during his years there, a considerable portion of whom were appointed all over the country, leading English education or its linguistic/literary studies. Among those early students are: Kōzō Hayashibara (林原耕三, 1887–1975), Tamihei Iwasaki (岩崎民平, 1892–1971), Tamotsu Sone (曾根保, 1896–1976), Sakurō Kuno (久野朔郎, 1896–1968), the above-mentioned Kure, Takanobu Ōtsuka (大塚高信, 1897–1979), Akira Tomita (富田彬, 1897–1971), Yasuo Yamato (大和資雄, 1898–1990, also known as Yasōanshujin 夜想庵主人), Kenshō Honda (本多顕彰, 1898–1978), Zenjirō Konishi (小西善次郎, 1900–1971), Yūkichi Nakamura (中村祐吉, 1901–1985), Naosuke Irie (入江直祐, 1901–1991), Shigetake Suzuki (鈴木重威, 1903–1976), Tatsu Sasaki (佐々木達, 1904–1986), Fumio Nakajima (中島文雄, 1904–1999), Giichirō Maejima (前島儀一郎, 1904–1985), Masami Nishikawa (西川正身, 1904–1988), Tsuneo Kitamura (北村常夫, 1904–1995), Tadao Yamamoto (山本忠雄, 1904–1991), Mamoru Ōsawa (大沢衛, 1904–1980), Masayuki Kawarabata (河原畑正行, 1905–2003), Tsutomu Ueda (上田勤, 1906–1961), Natsuo Shumuta (朱牟田夏雄, 1906–1987), Mamoru Shimizu (清水護, 1908–2012), Shōji Kamiyama (神山正治, 1908–?), Ryōichi Inui (乾亮一, 1910–1988), Chiaki Higashida (東田千秋, 1910–1992), Kagetomi Ueno (上野景福, 1910–1996), Ryūichi Kajiki (梶木隆一, 1910–2012), Rintarō Yagi (八木林太郎, 1910?–2009?), Kazuo Nakahashi (中橋一夫, 1911–1957), Hideo Kanō (加納秀夫, 1911–2003), Masao Hirai (平井正穂, 1911–2005), Seiichi Hashiba (羽柴正市, 1913–?), Torajirō Fukumura (福村虎治郎, 1914–2002), Kikuo Miyabe (宮部菊男, 1915–1982), Kenzō Kihara (木原研三, 1919–2009), and many others.

Ichikawa's disciples were not necessarily restricted to English majors. Some of them were graduates of the Department of Linguistics as he was himself. Atsuo Kobayashi (小林淳男, 1896–1978) studied Indo-European languages extensively, with comparative linguistics as his aim, and thus learned from Ichikawa Old English as well as other old Germanic languages. Kobayashi, after graduation and several years' study in the US and Europe, was called back to fill the new chair of linguistics at Sendai. But the chair was abruptly cancelled due to the consequent financial reduction after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923. Kobayashi was to fill the post of English linguistics instead. Anyway, his knowledge of English, especially in its historical aspect, was that of a specialist, so that important roles were often allotted to him in Ichikawa's various projects. Satoru Bandō (坂東省, 1899–1933) was another such promising young scholar, who passed away too early. Ichikawa arranged the publication of his last work (Japanese version of Karl Luick's „Über einige Zukunftsaufgaben der englischen Sprachwissenschaft“), found posthumously in his study, and Ichikawa added a detailed necrology himself. Among other linguistics majors are his ex-housemate Tanaka's nephew Harushige Kōdzu (高津春繁, 1908–1973), devoted to Greek and Indo-European studies, and Shirō Hattori (服部四郎, 1908–1995), basically a phonetician and Mongolicist, who transferred from the Department of English to that of Linguistics at the end of his freshman year. They would help him a lot, after his retirement, in co-editing the two-volume *An Introduction to the Languages of the World* (1952–1955), in which Kōdzu and Ichikawa were in charge of the first volume on Indo-European languages whereas Hattori was practically in charge of the second one on those of Asia.

He did take notice of people and works outside the Tokyo Imperial University. He examined, for instance, *An Outline of English Syntax* (英文法汎論, 1912) in every detail, contributed a review of it to *Eigo-Seinen*, and sent a self-made errata to its author Itsuki Hosoe (細江逸記, 1884–1947), graduate of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and later professor of English at the Osaka Higher School of Commerce (today's Osaka City University). Hosoe, in turn, acknowledged Ichikawa's cooperation in the preface of its later editions. They had known each other, as Ichikawa later recalled, since their early twenties. They had a dispute on some linguistic matter, but they seem to have been on a fairly good terms with each other. Hosoe, after visiting Scandinavia, kindly gave him a copy of a hand-made reproduction of Malmstedt's *Studies in English Grammar* (1898), which was completely out of circulation and Ichikawa had long wanted to obtain in vain. Hosoe had a splendid chance to meet the author in person, borrowed the rare book for a while, and hand-typed everything with surprising accuracy. Ichikawa acknowledged Hosoe's kindness, after the latter's death, and now the valuable reproduction belongs to the University of Tokyo. Unfortunately it is not included in Hosoe Collection of Kansai University.

Jirō Takenaka (竹中治郎, 1910–1976) was another such person to be described as Ichikawa's personal friend. After studying several years at Columbia, he thought it better to study

further under Ichikawa to ensure his career in Japan, who, on the contrary, kindly declined his offer, commenting that he was already highly qualified and should go on on his own. Later he became a professor of English at Meiji Gakuin University and their friendship lasted for the rest of their lives.

Ichikawa persuaded able people to join his various projects, no matter what educational background they had. Among those were the above-mentioned Fukuhara, Shigeshi Nishimura (西村 稗, 1886–1967) from Tokyo School of Foreign Studies, Hakuson Ishii (石井白村, 1902–1969) from Seisoku English School, Chiaki Kizaki (木坂千秋, ?–1945?) from Kyoto, who died in the war, Junzaburō Nishiwaki (西脇順三郎, 1894–1982) and his student Fumio Kuriyagawa (厨川文夫, 1907–1978) from Keio University, Ineko Kondō (近藤いね子, 1911–2008) from the Tohoku Imperial University, Seiichi Sugai (須貝清一, ?–?) and Yoshio Manabe (眞鍋義雄, ?–?) from the Hiroshima Higher Normal School (today's Hiroshima University), Masatoshi Nakauchi (中内正利, 1903–1985) from the Osaka Higher School of Commerce, seemingly Hosoe's student, and others.

### His achievements

Most of Ichikawa's early individual achievements, represented by his maiden monograph *Studies in English Grammar* (1912) above, are on the same line as his BA thesis (1909). He studied the historical development of English focusing on certain curious, exceptional, or even obsolete linguistic phenomena that appeared in various literary works, both old and new. It may be closer to philology in today's terminology, but he called it grammatical studies, which could be justified in that study of those tiny phenomena can sometimes lead to some systematic grammatical change in a long run. In the late nineteenth century, in Germany particularly, the term "grammar" or its German equivalent „Grammatik“ would often imply long historical development of a given language from the proto-language. Strongly affected by his master Lawrence, Ichikawa used the word in a similar, though maybe slightly different, meaning, which was basically shared for instance by his idol Jespersen but is not common today.

As is assumed, the same historical policy underlay his doctoral dissertation "On the language of the poetry of Robert Browning," defended in 1923, though, sorry to say, it was burnt to ashes in the fire after the Great Earthquake.

He never lost his interest in historical linguistics, as is clearly seen, for instance, in his "Grimm and Verner" (1949) and "Umlaut and Ablaut" (1950), contributed to *Eigo-Seinen* after retirement. But the middle-aged Ichikawa rarely touched upon the history of English. Perhaps the need was much greater as well as urgent to edit guidebooks on various aspects of English and related studies for students. So, other than numerous reports, reviews, and comments that appeared chiefly in *Eigo-Seinen* and *Studies in English Literature* (The English Literary Society of Japan), he published in book form: an introductory booklet *The International Phonetic Alphabet* (1920); Stevenson's *Treasure Island* annotated (1921), based on the lecture he gave and Iwasaki jotted

down; *Pronouncing Dictionary of English* (1923) in collaboration again with Iwasaki; the General Prologue of *The Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer with introduction, notes, and glossary (1925), later revised by Tamotsu Matsunami (松浪有, 1924–1995); the Japanese version of Jespersen's *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (1927) in collaboration with Kaku Jimbō (神保格, 1883–1965); *An Introduction to Latin and Greek for Students of English* (1929), partly assisted by his ex-housemate Tanaka; *An Introduction to Old English and Middle English* (1935), later revised by Matsunami; *English Linguistics: Studies and Bibliographical Survey* (1936); *Bible English* (1937); an abridged Japanese version of *Der Bau der englischen Sprache*, i.e. *The Structure of the English Language* by Georg Weber (1937); a booklet *Introduction to the History of the English Language* (1941); and *Eigo-Zakkō* or a compilation of lectures on English he delivered on various occasions (1947).

Ichikawa was a very good coordinator, too, putting into practice various projects which were hardly realizable single-handedly.

To inspire and improve the linguistic or philological studies of English in Japan, he advised promising scholars to briefly introduce in Japanese remarkable achievements in the West and edited the “English Linguistics Pamphlet” (or should we call it “Booklet”?) series (1933–1940), which comprised:

1. R. E. Zachrisson, Grammatical changes in present-day English (Kuno, 1933);
2. M. Schwarz, Alliteration im englischen Kulturleben neuerer Zeit (Maejima, 1933);
3. H. O. Coleman, Intonation and emphasis (Iwasaki, 1933);
4. L. Morsbach, Die geschichtlichen, kulturellen und literarischen Grundlagen der neuenglischen Sprachentwicklung, etc. (Nakajima, 1933);
5. A. Western, On sentence-rhythm and word-order in modern English (Ōtsuka, 1933);
6. K. Luick, Über einige Zukunftsaufgaben der englischen Sprachwissenschaft (Bandō, 1933);
7. T. H. Svartengren, Intensifying similes in English (Sasaki, 1934);
8. H. O. Östberg, Personal names in appellative use in English (Suzuki, 1934);
9. E. Klein, Die verdunkelten Wortzusammensetzungen im Neuenglischen (Hakuichi Shigemi, 1934);
10. W. Horn, Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion (Yamamoto, 1934);
11. L. Pound, Blends, their relation to English word-formation (Hideyoshi Wakabayashi, 1934);
12. E. Rodhe, Transitivity in modern English (Tsuneo Kitabatake, 1934);
13. C. A. Smith, The short circuit in English syntax (Shin'ichi Takaya, 1934);
14. O. Jespersen, Notes on metre (Shimizu, 1934);
15. O. Funke, Jespersens Lehre von den „Three ranks“ (Nakajima, 1934);
16. G. O. Curme, History of the English gerund (Kobayashi, 1935);
17. P. Fijn van Draat, Rhythm in English prose (Takejirō Nakayama, 1935);

18. G. H. McKnight, *Words and culture history* (Kuno, 1935);
19. A. Biard, *L'article «the» et les caractéristiques différentielles de son emploi* (Kuriyagawa, 1936);
20. M. Deutschbein, *Stilistischer Wert der syntaktischen Gebilde* (Higashida, 1936);
21. W. P. Chalmers, *Charakteristische Eigenschaften von R. L. Stevensons Stil* (Iwasaki, 1936);
22. K. H. Collitz, *Verbs of motion in their semantic divergence* (Sugai, 1936);
23. H. Spies, *Der Slang im neuen England usw.* (Manabe, 1936);
24. R. E. Zachrisson, *Ålderdomlig Engelska* (Maejima, 1936);
25. G. Weber, *Der Bau der englischen Sprache* (Ichikawa himself, 1937);
26. T. Dahl, *Shall and Will; Should and Would* (Nakauchi, 1937);
27. E. Sapir, *Sound patterns in language; On the phonological system of modern English*; V. Mathesius, *Zur synchronischen Analyse fremden Sprachguts* (Kizaka, 1940);
28. H. Poutsma, *Preposition from a grammar of late modern English* (Yagi, 1940).

And Ichikawa edited *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Philology* (1940), a monumental as well as voluminous work of nearly 1200 pages, covering virtually everything in the wide range of English philology/linguistics then, thanks to the devoted cooperation not only from his leading disciples but also from other promising scholars with whom he had established trusting relationships in the course of editing the series above.

As was mentioned, Ichikawa had been immensely fond of English literary works as well as their linguistic side ever since his mid-teens. So, together with Yoshisaburō Okakura (岡倉由三郎, 1868–1936), brother of the famous Tenshin (天心, 1862–1913) and professor of English literature at the Tokyo Higher Normal School (today's Tsukuba University), he thought up a highly laborious project to annotate in Japanese all the main notable English literary works of the last four centuries, to let a wide range of people be acquainted with them, and eventually to activate the study of English in Japan. This “English Literature” series started with *King Lear* with Ichikawa's annotation in 1921 and, thanks to the cooperation from many scholars including their direct disciples, produced a surprising 100 volumes within only ten-odd years, covering Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Scott, Byron, Tennyson, Eliot, Hardy, Gaskell, Stevenson, Shaw, Lamb, Carlyle, Pater, Gissing, Holmes, Kipling, Conrad, etc. and such American writers as Hawthorne, Thoreau, Poe, Twain. The two editors-in-chief not only annotated themselves number of works each, but also elaborately checked and corrected, it is said, all the galley proofs before printing.

Incidentally, Ichikawa had been a great fan of *The New English Dictionary* since the days he studied with Lawrence, who had been consulting it all the time. It started in 1888, appeared in many fascicles, was completed at last in 1928, and was later renamed *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Under its influence extensive English-Japanese dictionaries came out one after another. Ichikawa compiled one of them, *Fuzambō's Comprehensive English-Japanese Dictionary* (1931) of nearly 2000 pages, in collaboration with Kaishū Kuroyanagi (畔柳芥舟, 1871–1923) and Kōzaburō Iijima

(飯島廣三郎, 1867–1931).

Strangely enough, he did not touch upon *Kenkyūsha's New English-Japanese Dictionary* (1927), the so-called *Dai-Eiwa*, which Okakura was in charge of. It was certainly not the publisher, but the editorial policy, in all likelihood, that kept him away. The dictionary was then revised in the second edition (1936) by Iwasaki and then completely taken over by him in the third (1953) and fourth (1960) editions, only in the last of which Ichikawa's name appeared as an advisor. And from the same publisher Ichikawa was to bring forth, besides several collections of his carefree essays, *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Quotations* (1952), *An Introduction to the Languages of the World* (1952–1955) above, and *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of Current English Idioms* (1964) and others in collaboration with his fellow scholars of the next generation.

Ichikawa belonged to a number of academic societies in his lifetime. He was among the chief founders of at least three such ones. One of them is *The English Literary Society*, founded in 1917, the second year of his career. It was first a relatively small-sized group of people including alumni inside the Tokyo Imperial University. Ten-odd years later it grew up into a nationwide one and was renamed *The English Literary Society of Japan*, which Ichikawa chaired several years.

Another such one is *The Shakespeare Society of Japan*, founded in 1929, in which he served as the first president, with Shōyō Tsubouchi (坪内逍遙, 1859–1935) as its president emeritus.

The other society he was deeply immersed in was *The Institute for Research in Language Teaching* or *Go-Ken* for short. It was first organized by the Ministry of Education under the name of *The Institute for Research in English Teaching* and Ichikawa was appointed as one of its directors. As its “linguistic adviser” or hopeful key reformer of English education in Japan, they invited Harold Edward Palmer (1877–1949), self-taught phonetician and former private language instructor in Belgium, who got acquainted with Daniel Jones through *The International Phonetic Association* and, back in England, served at first as a part-time assistant, then as a full-time lecturer in phonetic training for foreign students at the University of London.

So in 1922 Palmer came over to Japan and, as the president of the Institute, introduced his oral and phonetics-based method of teaching English. After he left in 1936, Ichikawa practically took over the Institute and contributed a lot to reform language teaching in general in Japan: first as its director in chief (1937–1939), then as the president (1939–1957), then again as the director in chief till his last day.

What he had done was really tremendous. No wonder he was once respectfully called the “King of English in Japan” by Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956), an American journalist, cultural critic, and scholar of American English. For the achievement he had made, Ichikawa was welcomed into *The Japan Academy* composed exclusively of distinguished scholars in 1939, gained the honorific title *Person of Cultural Merit* in 1959, and was awarded *The Order of the Rising Sun* in 1964.

## Married Life and Declining Years (1916–1970)

The first thirty years of Ichikawa's life were filled with loves for natural history and then for English, including its sister languages and written works in them. On the threshold of the next thirty years, 1916 saw Ichikawa, back in Japan and tenured, suffer the sudden loss of his respected master, yet it also saw him find the joy of life. He had his third love — love for the gentle sex and his own family. Now began his family-oriented period of life.

Soon after his return, he was introduced to a young lady of noble birth: Haruko (晴子, 1896–1943), the third daughter of baron Nobushige Hodzumi (穂積陳重, 1855–1926), famous jurist, professor and president of the School of Law, the Tokyo Imperial University. Her grandfather was viscount Eiichi Shibusawa (渋沢栄一, 1840–1931), the father of Japanese capitalism. Haruko's brother Shigetō (重遠, 1883–1951) was a friend of Ichikawa's, for they were fellow-travelers when they sailed for Europe some years before. Soon after Shigetō was back in Japan in late February, 1916, he agreed to couple his youngest sister with his respectable friend, foreseeing that they would make a perfect match. In fact she was a very cheerful, talkative, warm-hearted, and, what was more, smart lady, who instinctively knew how to cheer up people. She was the right woman that not only Ichikawa himself but also all the people around him had long wished there to be.

Ichikawa was a calm-tempered and kind-hearted man, full of Christian charity, but he did not like to talk. “You are a silent man, worse than I am” — that was the comment he received from a “silent” American zoologist when they were engaged in the expedition on *Jeju* Island together. His untalkativeness was often taken for unfriendliness, surliness, and, when exaggerated, even cold-bloodedness. Behind his back some wicked students nicknamed him “惨鬼,” which sounds the same as his first name but the characters used instead mean a “cruel monster.” That was more than a smiling joke.

Their wedding was held at Hibiya Daijingu (continued by Tokyo Daijingu near Iidabashi), on October 15, 1916. And Ichikawa's *third love* life started in their sweet home in Nijikkimachi, to the north of Ichigaya. It was, seemingly, full of love, as it should be. They soon produced two sons San'ei (三栄, 1917–1943) and San'ai (三愛, 1919–1926), and a daughter Mieko (三枝子, 1922–2008). Their names, as well as Ichikawa's, began with the character “三” (three) in accordance with the family tradition, traced back to his grand-grandfather's humor: his son, later nicknamed Beian (米庵), was born at the hour of the *boar* (around 10:00 pm) on the day of the *boar* in the month of the *boar* (October) and thus was named Sangai “三亥” (three *boars*).

“Children are the sun that gives warmth and comfort to us adults” — that is what Ichikawa wrote several years later. He truly loved them. Now they needed a bigger house to live in and moved to a spacious place in Kita-Yamabushi-cho, just a bit to the north. Ichikawa had a perfect study built there: comfortable to work in and large enough to keep his whole library neatly. It was the size of



30–40 tatami mats, that is roughly 50–65 square meters big, as Kuriyagawa reported later.

Haruko was both a devoted mother to the children and a perfect wife to the untalkative scholar. She was very intuitive. A word was just enough for her to grasp the situation her husband was in, to guess what he wanted her to do, and to set everything right. Sometimes she did not even need a word.

And she was a perfect hostess, endowed with an exceptional memory, made friends with literally anyone, instantly learned faces, names, backgrounds with ease, and could recognize anyone that had come around before: her husband's colleagues, students, ex-students, even their wives and children. She was always ready and found it fun to entertain them (and her husband, at the same time) with witty talk.

She saw to it that Ichikawa could work as much as he wished and the children looked up to their untalkative but warm-hearted father. He, once getting out of his study, Mieko recalls, would just keep smiling and enjoy watching his family have a good time chattering, laughing, singing, or playing cards, chess, etc. When he joined those games, he would always lose and still keep smiling. She had never been scolded by him. She had never seen him get angry. No wonder she could not believe that students were afraid of him.

On Sundays the family went out of the megalopolis to their country cottage Shō-San-Rin-Dō (小山林堂), named after his grandfather's taste, in Kinuta or today's Seijō. It was a rural area then, not integrated into Tokyo yet. The children enjoyed nature as he himself used to, whilst he was busy looking after his "Shakespeare garden": he was planning a perfect reproduction of the flora of Shakespeare's world. In summer they would enjoy together hiking, swimming, bicycle riding, playing tennis, ping-pong, collecting plants and insects, as they spent their holiday in Hayama, by the sea, and, from 1933 on, in mountainous Kita-Karuizawa, where they obtained another nice cottage.

The married couple took regular trips for two, visiting hot springs, mountaineering, sometimes taking advantage of invitations from ex-students scattered all over Japan. They went overseas, too. After visiting Korea in 1927, they made a grand tour in 1931 on an Albert Kahn Traveling Scholarship. Ichikawa took a year's leave.

So they left Tokyo on March 20, set sail from Kobe for Tianjin (天津), saw a bit of Beijing (北京), then Mukden (奉天, *i.e.* today's Shenyang 瀋陽), Harbin (哈爾濱), and went through the USSR to Europe on the Trans-Siberian railway. Stopping at Berlin and Paris, they hurried across the strait to Stratford-upon-Avon to be in time for the Shakespeare Day on April 24.

Travelling all over the British Isles for a month, they made their way across the strait back to the Continent, made a quick tour around Belgium and the Netherlands, and, after ten days' stay in Paris, set off to see Iberia.

Now they headed north-east by air and called on the aged Jespersen in Copenhagen, who

warmly welcomed the Japanese scholar known for almost twenty years through correspondence. Ichikawa's dream to see his idol in person finally came true. Jespersen later referred in his autobiography to their visit and Haruko's *Japanese Lady in Europe*, published a few years after that.

And then the Japanese couple went on with their tour around the Baltic Sea clockwise: Oslo, Bergen. Stockholm, Uppsala, Helsinki, Reval (Tallinn), Riga, Kovno (Kaunas), Königsberg (Kaliningrad), Danzig (Gdańsk), Poznań, and Berlin again.

In Switzerland they enjoyed their summer, visiting such famous scenic spots as Interlaken, Zermatt, Lucerne and climbing the Jungfrau and Gornergrat. In the meantime Ichikawa attended the second International Congress of Linguists held at Geneva that year. There he had the second chance to see Jespersen. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Ichikawas visited and had a talk with Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), the first professor of Linguistics at Tokyo, who was spending his retired years at a hotel there. He still spoke fluent Japanese after so many years.

A train ride through the famous Simplon Tunnel took the Ichikawas to Italy where they visited Milan, Genoa, Monaco (next to Italy), Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples and headed north for Vienna by way of Assisi and Venice. Ichikawa apparently avoided the more southern part of Italy, having a bitter memory of the past when he was suspected of being a spy and was nearly put under arrest.

Starting with the Habsburg capital, they opened up another and last tour for two, this time around the Eastern Europe and the East-Mediterranean world: Prague, transiting at Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Bucharest, Constanța, Istanbul. From the old European city belonging to Turkey they set sail to Athens, saw Corinth, Mycenae, etc., and set sail again for Alexandria on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea. On landing on the African continent, they looked around Cairo, Pyramids, Memphis, Luxor, and from Port Said Haruko alone left for Japan on October 20. The ship took its course through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, stopping at Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and finally reached Kobe seemingly in late November.

Ichikawa the grass widower turned back and headed north again via Cairo and Trieste. He wanted to see more of Germany and visited Munich, Berlin again, Dresden, Leipzig, Weimar, Nuremberg (Nürnberg), Heidelberg, Frankfurt-am-Main, Eisenach (Wartburg), Berlin again, and Hamburg. On December 8 he set sail from Cuxhaven for the USA.

He reached New York on December 19, deeply impressed by the considerable increase of skyscrapers and motorcars. While staying there, he visited Columbia University among other institutions and saw Professor George Philip Krapp (1872–1934). Off he went south-west by train, visiting Washington, D.C. and then Richmond, Virginia.

In the latter city he participated in the Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting and was asked to say a few words of impressions about the International Congress of Linguists at Geneva. He met Hans Kurath (1891–1992), professor of English and Linguistics at the University of

Michigan, with whom he had had correspondence. Among those who came into his acquaintance were such esteemed Indo-Europeanists as Edgar Sturtevant (1875–1952), the president of the Society, Hermann Collitz (1855–1935), the first president and the main founder of it, and Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1895–1978), a visiting Professor at Yale then. Ichikawa had an impression of the latter as too self-assertive.

The New Year's Day of 1932 found him on the train for New Orleans, where he arrived on the third. He left it the very next day for Waco, Texas, where he stayed a couple of days to visit Baylor University and professor Andrew Joseph Armstrong (1873–1954), with whom he had had correspondence. Heading west, stopping at Brownwood, Clovis, and Albuquerque, he got to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he spent several days to see the sights including Native American villages.

And he went on with his westward train ride to Los Angeles, California, where the most impressive things for him were the Huntington Library and Aimee Semple McPherson's Angelus Temple, very popular in those days. In San Francisco he visited Stanford University and the University of California, Berkeley, and set sail for home on January 23. On the way he enjoyed his last fortnight in Hawaiian warmth, visiting the University of Hawaii, the volcano, etc. Ichikawa arrived in Yokohama on February 26 safe and sound.

Their great journey was later described in full detail in the Ichikawas' collaboration *Every Corner of Europe and the USA* (1932) and Haruko's *Things in Contemporary Britain* (1933), both in Japanese. 1937 saw the first two-thirds of the the former book published in English. It was Haruko's contribution, edited by William Plomer ([ˈpluːmə], 1903–1973), renamed *Japanese Lady in Europe*, and met with a favorable reception overseas.

Perhaps its positive reputation led the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to persuade Haruko to travel, this time, across the USA, see everything, get acquainted with a wide range of people, and help promote the friendship between the two nations as a civil delegate. She agreed, after some hesitation, and left Yokohama alone in December 1937, seen off by her family. Her tour in the USA began from San Francisco at Christmas time, and took her to Los Angeles, Seattle, and Portland. There she took a transcontinental train all the way to the East Coast, and visited New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, Niagara Falls, and Chicago. Heading south and west then, she got acquainted with Rock Island, Illinois, New Orleans, Albuquerque, a Native American pueblo called Acoma, Santa Fe, Santa Clara Pueblo, Carlsbad, Grand Canyon, Boulder Dam (renamed Hoover Dam ten years later), and came back to California, where she spent some time in Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, on Santa Catalina Island. After all of these visits, she sailed off to Japan via Hawaii, and landed in Yokohama on April 1, 1938.

Everywhere she instantly made friends with people, taking advantage of her innate friendliness and kindness. She made witty impromptu speeches at several assemblies, appeared in some local newspapers, and was interviewed on a radio program in New York. She, as was expected,

must have left a highly positive image of Japan and its people.

Ichikawa was deeply immersed in family happiness. And his way of instructing students was changing for the better or milder, perhaps without his knowing it. But the happiness did not last for ever. First, his younger son San'ai died of diphtheria at the age of eight, to whom Ichikawa and Haruko compiled a tribute booklet *Ai-chan* (1927).

Seventeen years later, in April his dear sister Yone (米, ?–1943) died, who took care of him in his youth in place of his divorced mother. What was more, San'ei died in October. He followed his father's track, studied English, especially its stylistics with Saitō, got engaged with a perfect lady, and started his promising career as an English scholar at Maidzuru. But, after a few months, he suddenly fell ill and came back to Tokyo. He was seized by terrible and persistent headaches, the cause of which was not known. Hospitalized for several months, the unwell San'ei could not stand the pain any longer and took hidden pills to get rid of it. It was the hospital, as Ichikawa believed, that was to blame, for they did not notice that San'ei kept toxicant.

The family suffered a great deal from the deaths of their sons. Ichikawa, on the brink of the retirement age of 60, thought it unnecessary to keep his large-scale personal library any longer, which he expected would be helpful to the children. He made up his mind to donate it so that it might encourage and promote further study of English all over Japan, either in linguistics or literary studies. The valuable library is now divided into several parts and belongs to the University of Tokyo, Keio University, Tsuda University, and Osaka Municipal Library among others. He even opened his spacious house in Kita-Yamabushi-chō for several years to his ex-students and mates who suffered from bombing and lost their houses.

Haruko's despair was even more serious. Psychologically damaged, she insisted that she be hospitalized as soon as possible to overcome the pain. Ichikawa was reluctant to follow her words, expecting time to heal everything. But one sunny day in December she suddenly took tablets. She could not live on without her dearest sons.

Ichikawa was truly at a loss. It took him several weeks, naturally, before he could at last encourage himself to go back to his daily life, and fulfill his duties. Mieko, now the only family member left alive, swore to herself to live on and to let her poor father live on. A year later a booklet *Tamuke-no-hana-tabā* (1945), a heartfelt tribute to Haruko and San'ei, was compiled in spite of every difficulty in wartime and distributed to relatives and close friends.

To cheer him up they persuaded him to remarry. He felt seemingly so lonely that he, just a few months after Haruko's death, agreed to tie the knot with Fuji Kōno (河野不二, 1899–1955), also called Fujiko (不二子), who studied Japanese literature at Tokyo Woman's Christian University, and worked at the library there. She had once married an ornithologist, but she soon ran away because the husband turned out to have a bizarre habit of letting innumerable birds loose all over the house. A bit like the Hitchcock movie.

Fuji was a cheerful woman who enjoyed mountaineering and alpine flower painting, which apparently pleased Ichikawa, who adored the beauty of highlands as well as insects and plants there. Together they would travel, visit hot springs, and go up mountains all over Japan, besides spending every summer in Kita-Karuizawa, in the course of which he slowly regained his strength to go on.

And Mieko never left him. She lived first with him and then, after her marriage, next to him, dismantling his favorite house in Kita-Yamabushi-chō and reconstructing it there. Her bridegroom was Yōzō Nogami (野上耀三, 1918–2008), nuclear physicist, the third son of Yaeko (弥生子, 1885–1985), famous novelist, and Toyochirō (豊一郎, 1883–1950), scholar of English literature and Ichikawa's old mate. Soon Ichikawa had his one and only granddaughter Michiko (三千子, 1946–). Some careless man mistook her for Ichikawa and Fuji's newborn baby. Mieko was glad, rather than annoyed, to hear the false rumor and was about to trick him by telling him that Ichikawa named the baby "Rikuzō" commemorating his age of 63, as the number could be so read.

Friends came around. Doi, the ex-housemate, in particular, kept in close touch and would often come to see if his old friend was in good shape. His favorite bedroom at Ichikawa's was the latter's study upstairs. When his duties at Sendai were over, he moved to live within walking distance so that they could call on each other whenever they wanted to.

Ex-students, too, often dropped in to cheer up their old master. Every new year saw the regular meeting of Shōhachi-kai (昭八会). Graduates in the eighth year of Shōwa era, i.e. 1933, got together at Ichikawa's to celebrate the New Year and his coming birthday in February. Not only the aged Ichikawa but also his whole family had a good time with those compassionate disciples.

Supported and loved by everyone around, Ichikawa accomplished all his duties at the university, kindly declined offers from seven other universities, and started his peaceful retired life. But after ten years of remarriage he suddenly lost Fuji, who chose to poison herself. It was a deliberate act, brought about, as Michiko deduces, by some melancholic sense of alienation that she had accumulated at seeing the perfect harmony that her husband shared with relatives and friends.

He, as a matter of course, must have suffered a great deal from the loss. As a tribute to Fuji he published her writings on mountaineering in two volumes, *Yama-michi-no-tabi* (1956) and *Zoku-yama-michi-no-tabi* (1957), editing all the drafts she left behind.

Deprived of a better half again, Ichikawa was getting lonely, though right next door lived his dearest daughter and her family, who were always ready to help him in any way and came to see him every single day.

He walked and walked. That was what he had forced himself to do since Oxford days. He had no particular destination in mind. Sometimes he called on Doi and others on the way when he happened to find himself near their houses. Dressed in Japanese clothes, with *geta* or wooden clogs on, he did not just stroll around, but marched along at a high pace. Yoshio Ogawa (小川芳男, 1908–1990), who lived in the neighborhood, sometimes caught him walking and cheerfully greeted him

every time, but he, allegedly, would usually walk away without noticing Ogawa.

In his last years he was getting senile and forgetful. He confessed sadly that he did not remember certain plant names any more. During his daily walks he lost his way at least twice, once in Seijō, then in Kita-Karuizawa. After that, whenever he went out, he was accompanied by relatives or students near by. One day in a taxi on the way back from *Go-Ken*, he suddenly asked who his fellow passenger was. The latter was Ogawa, one of his successors in the organization, and they had known each other for several decades. Michiko remembers the evening when the untalkative Ichikawa opened his mouth over his favorite vermouth. People from back in the day, he said, appeared from time to time lately, but soon disappeared. Everybody saw that his days were coming to an end. Surely he longed desperately to see Haruko, San'ei, San'ai, Fuji, San'yō, Sanroku, Yone, Sanken, Lawrence, and deceased schoolmates among others.

Hospitalized for pneumonia, a bit like his master Lawrence fifty-odd years before, the weakened Ichikawa sadly closed his 84-year life, surrounded by relatives, before dawn on March 17, 1970. To the father of English philology in Japan were dedicated two consecutive numbers of *Eigo-Seinen* and a *Bulletin of Go-Ken*, to which over seventy scholars in all contributed, praying for his soul to rest in peace. There appeared two necrologies by Nakajima, his successor at Tokyo, in *Gengo-Kenkyū* and *Studies in English Literature*, edited and published by The Linguistic Society of Japan and The English Literary Society of Japan respectively.

In closing I would like to express my hearty thanks to Ichikawa's one and only granddaughter Michiko Hasegawa (長谷川三千子), professor emeritus at Saitama University, for fully understanding the significance of summing up and surveying the life and achievements of the biggest figure in the study of English in Japan. Without her kind cooperation, this modest work, to be followed by his full life story in Japanese, could have contained inaccuracies.

May Ichikawa live for ever in the further development of historical as well as other studies of English. Requiescat in pace.

April 14, 2019