

The Modern Samurai

Martial Studies & the Modernization of the Japanese School System

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SUMMARY

The focus of this thesis investigates the development and modernization of one of Japan's oldest moral systems known as *bushido* (the way of the warrior) and its incorporation into the Japanese school system during the modern prewar period. Also discussed is the transformation and westernization of modern *budo* (martial arts) in Japan as it was developed to facilitate the dissemination of *bushido* education in schools. The findings of this research will uncover the internal struggles between liberals in favor of modern western-style educational methodologies and conservative nationalist seeking to impose these traditional values onto the youth of Japan. *Bushido* and *budo*, following the exploits of the Japanese military in the late 1800's, would gain the overwhelming support of the Japanese people and in turn the conservative nationalists. The final inclusion of *bushido* as the premise for moral education and *budo* as its primary mode of practical application would lead to an ever intensifying indoctrination of Japan's youth through the ancient martial ways. These actions would lead to a revival of the *samurai* image and a calling for ultimate loyalty to the emperor. Eventually, the instruction of *bushido* and *budo* would come to a halt in 1945 with Japan's defeat to the United States. The occupying forces would impose a ban on all *budo* related studies and transform the Japanese educational system. However, *Budo* and *bushido* did not remain dormant and would finally see a revival a number of years later under a totally new ideology. This transformation would solidify the existence of *budo* and *bushido* as integral components of Japanese society which continue to be practiced to this very day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	4
Introduction	6
- Bushido & Budo	7
Chapter 1 Bushido becomes embedded in Japanese classrooms through Shushin (moral education)	13
- Fukuzawa Yukichi's Vision	13
- Gakusei & Gakumon no Susume Comparison	16
- Motoda Nagazane's Influence on Education	22
- Mori Arinori & Military Education	29
- Inoue Kowashi and the Imperial Rescript of 1890	41
- Conclusion: Shushin is Bushido	47
Chapter 2 The integration, transformation, and philosophy behind budo in the Japanese school system.	52
- Budo's Meiji Revival	52
- Yamaoka Tesshu's Initiative	53
- Takano Sasaburo & Modern Kendo	55
- Kano Jigoro and His Creation	57
- Kano Jigoro before Judo	58
- Kodokan Judo is Born	59
- The Essence of Judo	61
- Judo and Physical Education	62
- Kano, Judo, & the World	63
- Development of Physical Education in Schools	65
- Budo's Transformation & the Japanese School System	67
Conclusion	73
References	76

FOREWORD

Ever since I was a young boy, from the age of five, I had an interest in *budo* (martial arts) and it was through the study of *budo* that I was introduced to Japanese culture. Through my studies in *budo*, I came to meet with many visiting Japanese instructors in the United States. As a result, it was suggested that if I was going to learn directly from them, that I begin courses in Japanese language. Eventually, the study of *budo* became such a predominant part of my life that Japanese studies would become my primary area of study. When I entered Florida International University in Miami, I majored in Japanese with a minor in International Relations. It was also thanks to the study of *budo* that I was able to participate in a one year *Budo* specialization program at the International Budo University located in Katsuura, Japan. This program consisted of twenty foreign students from around the world that were selected based on their Japanese language ability, *budo* experience, and meritorious achievements through the arts. The purpose of the program was to provide foreign students with the proper criteria on how to instruct in either *kendo* or *judo*, depending on the student's major, as well as with an in-depth instruction on the history and philosophy of *budo*.

Now, taking my education one step further, this same *budo* has brought me to Norway to undertake a Master's in Japanese studies. Throughout my studies, I have been fortunate to attend two study abroad programs in addition to my semesters in Oslo. My research took me to the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, and back to the International Budo University in Japan. In addition, I have had the good fortune to have been instructed by some of the most renowned *budo* instructors in the world over the past 25 years. A number of these men have left lasting impressions, not only on my own *budo* career, but on US-Japanese relations as well, in promoting *budo* for the purpose of cultural preservation and friendship across borders.

Aside from the technical lessons they taught on the *dojo* (training hall) floor, my instructors - being avid scholars in Japanese history and education - passed on many lessons on the strict ethical and moral code, known as *bushido* (way of the warrior). Their teachings have influenced my life, and, although I went through some difficult times in my adolescent years, as most do during this time of self-discovery, it was thanks to the values they instilled in me through *budo* and *bushido* that I was able to return to center. Their teachings on *bushido* focused on living a healthy life through the practice of *budo*, and engendering loyalty to one's

family and instructors. Equally emphasized was honor and respect, starting with one's self and extending to others.

My instructors always expressed the importance of my starting from such a young age and how glad they were to train me. I used to smile and wonder if they were being sincere; however, now that I am an instructor myself and have students that are of the same age as I was when I started to train, I am beginning to understand the impact that *bushido* can have on such a young and impressionable mind. The study of *budo*, even if short-lived, will have a lasting impression on their lives, for through the study of *budo* the principles of *bushido* are firmly imbedded. To give a simple but clear example, Gichin Funakoshi, the father of modern karate, demonstrates this when he writes about one of the first principles one learns in *budo-rei* (bow).

“*Rei* is often defined as “respect,” but it actually means much more. *Rei* encompasses both an attitude of respect for others and a sense of self-esteem. When those who honor themselves transfer that feeling of esteem - that is, respect- to others, their action is nothing less than an expression of *rei*.”¹

With this said, I begin my research on the relationship between *budo* and *bushido*, and its integration into the Japanese school system during Japan's modern pre-war period. I have always found it fascinating that *budo* studies were made part of the curriculum in Japanese schools. Although the initial purpose for its integration is clear to me, having received instruction in *budo* studies as a youngster, I would like to take an attempt at uncovering the reasons why and how it came to be integrated. What were the motives? How did history affect *budo* studies within the school system? What metamorphosis did these arts go through? I believe all of these are valid questions, and that little has been done in the West to answer them. It appears that many bypass the actual study of *bushido* and the effects it has had on Japanese society, and disregard how deeply rooted it is in Japanese history. Thus, I would like to provide a perspective on this subject from an insider's point of view, as one who has lived the greater portion of his life through the study of *budo*, and who has experienced firsthand the centuries old teachings passed down from teacher to student regarding this ancient philosophy. I hope that my perspective can shine some light on points that others may have overlooked when analyzing the effects of *budo* and *bushido* on the Japanese educational system during Japan's modern pre-war period.

¹ (Funakoshi 2003)

INTRODUCTION

The Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras were times of extraordinary change in Japanese history. Western influences had become popular amongst the Japanese people, and what once was considered to be the classic and traditional slowly started to slip away, leaving behind only remnants of a rigid samurai-run society. These remnants seemed to be stowed away forever and only to be found between the pages of dusty old history books, and were considered to be antiquated modes of thought, no longer civilized, and unnecessary. The new niche and almost compulsory way of being was all things Western. English became the foreign language of choice over Chinese and Dutch, as trade flourished between Japan and the Western world. Along with this new-found fondness with the West, came new technologies, machinery, weapons, and most importantly, new philosophies on governing and self-reflection.

These events had long lasting effects on Japan as whole and led to radical changes throughout every dimension of society. The Japanese needed to move quickly if they were to establish themselves as an Asian superpower and assimilate their society into the West. Initial steps in this direction led to Japan sending scholars and delegations abroad to learn the ways of the West, and to later return and implement these systems in Japan. This process was carried out on various occasions with great efficiency and accuracy. Upon their return, many of these scholars would be quickly absorbed by the newly formed Meiji government and begin to have a significant effect on national policies. As these advancements progressed, Japan took steps in preparing its youth for this new international Japan. Officials understood that if Japan was going to maintain its upward mobility in the world it needed to provide the necessary tools for its future citizens. As these plans came to fruition, the Meiji government's conservative leaders understood that the Japanese were slowly losing a grip on their identity, as they drifted from East to West in their principles and values. They would need to act if they were going to stop the total westernization of Japan. The conservative nationalists would turn their focus on the children, as they were to become the future of the nation, and needed to be educated on the ways of Japan if they were going to progress as the conservative nationalists saw fit.

In an effort to regain Japanese identity and to instill proper moral values in children, officials would turn to one of the greatest contributions made to Japanese society by the *samurai* of the Edo period - *bushido* (the way of the warrior). Their idea was to incorporate a

system of moral and physical education that would not only physically strengthen the youth of Japan, but also instill in them a correct set of values and an education of Japan's heritage. This would be achieved through both practical and theoretical application. These values were found in *bushido* and were exercised through *budo*, a combination unique to Japan and rarely examined in Western scholarship of Japanese studies.

Therefore, I begin my research with the history and incorporation of *bushido* and *budo* in modern pre-war Japan. The focus of this work is divided into two parts: (1) the development of *bushido* as *shushin* (moral education) in Japanese schools, and (2) the incorporation and transformation of *budo* as a school subject. Although, these two subjects would be derived from different sources in Japanese society, they were eventually incorporated to work in tandem for the purpose of indoctrinating the youth and building a stronger nation under one nationalistic ideology geared towards ultimate loyalty to the emperor. This research will answer the following questions: How and why was *bushido*, under the guise of *shushin*, and *budo* incorporated into the school system? Who were the relevant figures involved? How did their backgrounds affect their ideologies? What changes had to be made to *budo* to allow for its inclusion as a school subject, and what eventual transformations took place after its incorporation? How did these two subjects intensify as Japan headed into war? The answers to these questions will make this research unique as a single, concise work that ties these units together. The correlation between moral education and *budo* has rarely been considered, and this goes for an understanding of *shushin* as *bushido*, as well. In this paper, I hope to demonstrate the clear conflation of these concepts during the period under review. However, before beginning this analysis, we must first understand what *budo* and *bushido* are.

Bushido & Budo

Bushido existed throughout the Japanese feudal system long before the Edo period (1603-1868) as an unspoken code of ethics. The term itself did not appear in writing, however, until the beginning of the period. Prior to the Edo period *bushido* was known as “*tsuwamono-no-michi*” (the way of the soldier), “*yumiya-no-narai*” (the customs of the bow and arrow), and “*kyuba-no-michi*” (the way of the bow and horse). As it entered the Edo period, *bushido* originally came to signify the way in which the professional warrior should live their life in times of disorder and chaos. As the concept of *bushido* progressed through the relatively peaceful times of the Tokugawa shogunate, it began to evolve and was heavily “influenced by

Confucian ideals which emphasized the importance of duty and social harmony”². During this time *bushido* became known as *shido* (the way of the gentleman scholar). These principles become clear and well-formed ideals by the middle of the 17th century and can be carefully studied in the writings by Daidoji Yuzan, who is believed to have written one of the first guides of *bushido* in his book, *Budoshoshinshu (Collection for Beginners in the Way of the Warrior)*³ and by Yamamoto Tsunetomo in *Hagakure*⁴. There were other relevant writings on the subject as well, such as *Go-Rin-No-Sho (The Book of Five Rings)* by Miyamoto Musashi⁵, known as one of the greatest Japanese swordsman and founder of the *Niten-ryu* style of swordsmanship specializing in combat with two swords, and *Heiho Kandensho (The Life-Giving Sword)* by Yagyu Munenori⁶, who was a close adviser and swordsmanship instructor in the *Yagyu Shinkage Ryu* style to the Tokugawa shogunate. Although these last two writings speak from a more psychological perspective on swordsmanship, it is clear that they are deeply embedded in the *bushido* ethos. These are just a few of many publications that appeared during the Edo period and aided in the further development and popularization of *bushido*.

Towards the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, the word *budo*, a term normally interpreted as martial arts, became interchangeable with the term *bushido* or *shido*, and referred to the warrior’s way of life. The terms *bugei* and *hyoho*, on the other hand, came to represent the martial arts. It was also during this time that many of the martial arts changed their suffixes from “-jutsu” (術), referring to the practical application of the art, to “-do” (道), which refers to the way of life through the respective art. (i.e. *kenjutsu*, art of the sword, to *kendo*, way of the sword). This change in suffix and shift in martial philosophy took the primary focus away from the killing nature of the martial arts, and projected them, instead, to be taught as a way of life for which the art was to become an avenue for self-improvement and understanding. This philosophy fell under the concept that “being truly strong was not just a matter of physical strength, but also mental strength.”⁷ Overall, this change in philosophy provided the *samurai* class with a focus that was more on ethics and peace than on war and destruction. Through this union of *bushido* and *bugei*, the *samurai* class was able to develop a sense of dignity while simultaneously learning respect for each other through

² (Nippon Budokan Foundation 2009)

³ (Yuzan 1984)

⁴ (Tsunetomo 2002)

⁵ (Musashi 2012)

⁶ (Munenori 2003)

⁷ (Nippon Budokan Foundation 2009)

arduous training. It was a perfect marriage between the martial and the ethical which not only maintained peace but kept the warrior class in a prepared state as well.

In the year 1868, Japan entered the Meiji period (1868-1912) and was faced with many great influences and innovations from the West. Faced with adversity, Japan was forced to make many changes within its political and social structures. It was during this period that the samurai class was abolished and replaced with a national military force that was manned by citizenry from all walks of life. Despite these foreign influences and internal turmoil, the martial art masters and scholars persevered in a struggle to maintain what had been considered to be the heart of Japan for over hundreds of years - the way of the warrior.

The pioneers in the modernization of *budo* were Yamaoka Tesshu and his student Takano Sasaburo, under the division of *kendo*, and Kano Jigoro through his creation of *judo*. These men would play a significant role in the standardization and ideology of *budo*. They were firm believers of the *-do* philosophy in martial arts as compared to the *-jutsu*. For these men, *budo* was a way of life and a path to self improvement. Their teachings in the arts would eventually trickle down to the rest of the *budo* arts and have great influence on their contemporaries. This would later aid the revival of *budo* after Japan's defeat in 1945.

These *budo* arts gained in popularity, primarily due to Japan's victory over China in 1895, along with the concepts of national unity and pride. During the first decade of the 20th century, they were formally introduced to the Japanese education system after the standardization process of *budo* was complete and deemed safe for practice by individuals of all ages. Takano and Kano were heavily involved in the Japanese education system, and aided in this process. Their ideologies and methodologies would have great influence on the proposed image of Japan through *budo*. Kano believed that it was essential for the youth of Japan to develop strong minds and bodies through the practice of *judo*. Indeed, the practice of *judo* taught such principles as courage, discipline, fortitude, benevolence, and proper ethics, leading the practitioner to become a virtuous human being. Nitobe Inazo, a scholar, educator, and government official who spent much of his time abroad, would write *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* in English in 1899 as a way of educating the West on this ancient *samurai* code. His book would eventually be translated into Japanese in the early 1900's and would have considerable impacts on Japanese society. Nitobe believed that through *bushido* one could learn proper moral values, and he therefore suggested that such teachings should be incorporated into the Japanese educational system. *Bushido* and *budo* would play a significant

role in the revival of the *samurai* image during these times of war, and its continued development through the Meiji period was seen as a positive movement by many of the *kokutai* (national polity).

As Japan entered the Taisho period (1912- 1926), *bushido* started to take on a new form. What was once a way of teaching proper ethics and peaceful morals became a vehicle for Japanese leaders to steer their citizens into a united ultra-nationalistic society by educating the masses in the traditional ideals of “martial virtue”. The way of the warrior was no longer a way of life, but a creed for which to live and fight by. The codes of honor and loyalty from *bushido* were emphasized, and the entire nation was mobilized in this effort. By 1925, *kendo* and *judo* became compulsory courses within the Japanese school system, ensuring that the new generations were properly instilled with the correct precepts to live their lives by and to thus fulfill their duty when called upon by their nation.

In December of 1926, Japan entered the Showa period, which brought with it a fascist government. The Showa period marked the beginning of its warring status with the Manchurian Incident in 1931. By this time, the strict *bushido* ethic had been completely transformed “by the government to instill a sense of national pride and military readiness among the Japanese people.”⁸ This new concept was looked down upon by the original promulgators of modern *bushido* as they believed that *bushido* was to be instated for the purpose of developing a stronger people with proper morals, and was intended for peace rather than war. To further instigate the revival of the *samurai*, Japanese military soldiers were supplied with *katana* (Japanese long sword) known as *gunto* (military sword), a symbol of the Japanese warrior and Japan, which they wore slung from their belts. This further empowered the Japanese, pushing to the forefront the image of the ancient *samurai* and the concept of *bushido* which entailed ultimate loyalty to the emperor and a glorious death with dignity.

As I write, I can recall the swordsmanship master who instructed me when I was living in Japan. His name was Katsuo Yamaguchi (1917 - 2006). He was a 10 *dan*⁹ in *Kendo* and *Iaido* and had been awarded with the title of *meijin*¹⁰ in the 1960's. Yamaguchi *sensei* was a humble, soft spoken man; one could have never of guessed that he was a commander in the Japanese military while stationed in Manchuria. I could only imagine the acts he

⁸ (Nippon Budokan Foundation 2009)

⁹ 10 *dan* is the highest achievable rank in *kendo* and *iaido*.

¹⁰ Meijin is highest title a martial arts instructor can receive.

performed with his sword during those times, as he spoke to me about the ideals of *bushido* within *iaido* (Japanese swordsmanship martial art specializing in the skill of drawing and cutting with the *katana* in one swift motion). He emphasized the polishing of one's spirit through diligent practice, and focused on humility - concepts which, I am sure, were different from those he held when he was on the battlefield. However, he never denied the fact that he carried his sword into battle.

In 1945 Japan was defeated and postwar *bushido* suffered a tremendous blow. American forces occupied Japan for seven years and banned all martial arts and teachings having to do with *bushido*. However, in May of 1950, *budo* experts collaborated and made a formal petition to the occupying forces. *Judo* was the first to be reinstated into the Japanese school system. The petition stated:

“*Judo* now wholly retains the character and content of a democratic sport. The administrative body, operating in a democratic manner, is continually developing in a positive fashion, and any concerns with militaristic affiliation are now a matter of history. As such we request that reinstatement of *judo* in schools be permitted.”¹¹

The petition was eventually accepted and *Judo* was reinstated. *Kendo* would soon follow, although it faced more difficulty due to its association with the Japanese sword and its philosophy. Eventually, *budo* studies and *bushido* made a strong return under a very different ideology.

In closing, today, the promoters of *budo* and *bushido* no longer emphasize the sort of nationalistic characteristics that existed during the pre-war period, but rather focus on the more ethical and moral values for which it was originally intended. The practice of *budo* has become a way of spreading Japanese culture and developing friendships within the international community. For the Japanese, I have notice that it is a source of pride. The Japanese who have received training in modern *budo* clearly show a sense of rectitude, courage, benevolence, respect, honesty, honor, and loyalty which compose the seven virtues of *bushido*, and demonstrate the positive effects this martial ethical code can have on its practitioners and students. There can be little doubt that *bushido* will always remain a part of Japanese society and continue to intrigue the West. How the concept of *bushido* develops in

¹¹ (Nippon Budokan Foundation 2009)

the future and how it affects those that enter its realm should remain a topic of interest to both scholars and martial arts practitioners alike.

CHAPTER 1

Bushido becomes embedded in Japanese classrooms through

Shushin (moral education).

The incorporation of *bushido* under the guise of *shushin* (moral education) took place in the 1880's. Although it was not the original intention of the Ministry of Education (*Monbusho*) to make moral education a primary focal point in Japanese classrooms, it was a result of their actions. In the following sections I will discuss the transformation of the educational philosophy and its incorporation of *bushido* as *shushin*.

Fukuzawa Yukichi's Vision

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) was born into a low-ranking samurai family in Osaka. As a young boy he studied the Confucian classics such as *The Analects*, and the *Tao Te Ching*. When he was 19 in 1854, soon after the arrival of Commodore Perry's ships, he was urged by his family to move to the Dutch Colony of Dejima in Nagasaki to begin his education at the school of Dutch Studies (*rangaku*) for the purpose of studying European gun and cannon designs. He caught on quickly and within a short period of time was able to surpass his teacher, Okudaira Iki. Fukuzawa hoped to move to Edo in order to continue his studies, but was persuaded to stay in Osaka and enroll at the Tekijuku school run by the *rangaku* scholar Ogata Koan. After three years of study, Fukuzawa had become fluent in Dutch and by 1858 he was appointed the official Dutch teacher of his family's domain, Nakatsu, and sent to Edo to instruct the domain's vassals.

In 1859, Japan opened three ports for trade with American and European ships. In lieu of this and fueled by his interest in Western civilization, Fukuzawa headed to the port town of Kanagawa. In Kanagawa, Fukuzawa discovered that the majority of the European merchants were speaking in English, an unfortunate occurrence, since he was only fluent in Dutch. His eagerness to learn led him to seek instruction in the English language. English-Japanese translators were rare at the time, however, and dictionaries were nonexistent, making his progress slow and tedious.

In 1860, the Tokugawa shogunate sent the first diplomatic mission to the United States, for which Fukuzawa volunteered his services to Admiral Kimura Yoshitake. Although the delegation only stayed for a month, it was enough for Fukuzawa to acquire a copy of

Webster's dictionary and begin his intensive study of the English language. This chain of events would eventually lead to Fukuzawa becoming the official translator for the Tokugawa *bakufu* and shortly after to his first publication, an English-Japanese dictionary, marking the start for his series of books to follow. Two years later he would visit Europe as one of the two English- Japanese translators in the *bakufu*'s First Japanese Embassy to Europe, which visited Britain (forty-three days), Holland (forty-three days), France (thirty-nine days), Prussia (eighteen days), Russia (thirty-nine days), and Portugal (nine days).¹² The experience in Europe, combined with his earlier trip to America, rendered Fukuzawa Japan's leading authority on the West in the early 1860's.¹³

The most important result of these two journeys to the West, as Benjamin Duke states in his book *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, was Fukuzawa's conviction that Japan, as result of three hundred years of Tokugawa feudalism, had fallen far behind Western societies in the fields of technology and education. The supremacy of the West in virtually all areas was overwhelming.¹⁴ This realization led Fukuzawa to conclude that his mission in life was to educate the Japanese in new ways of thinking in order to enable Japan to resist European imperialism.

Upon his return from the West at the end of 1862, "the nation was undergoing traumatic anti-western hysteria."¹⁵ Indignant *samurai* were carrying out acts of violence against supporters of the West and foreigners stationed in Japan. Fukuzawa once wrote "All students and interpreters of western languages continually risked their lives. For thirteen or fourteen years I did not once venture out of door at night."¹⁶ Despite the turmoil Fukuzawa was not discouraged, and he continued to organize his notes taken during his travels, compiling them into a book that would shake the foundation of Japanese society. His work was titled *Conditions in the West (Seiyō no Jijō)*, and it sparked one of the most dramatic movements in Japanese history, often called the grand awakening to the West.¹⁷

Fukuzawa's third and final trip to the West during the Edo period would take place in 1867, taking him to Washington and New York for the purpose of settling a purchase of ships from an American company. Fukuzawa would take advantage of this voyage to purchase a

¹² (Tamaki 2001)

¹³ (Duke 2008)

¹⁴ (Duke 2008)

¹⁵ (Duke 2008)

¹⁶ (Fukuzawa 2007)

¹⁷ (Duke 2008)

large number of books for his school. He attributed the subsequent use of the books he purchased in America at his private school as the primary factor in their widespread acceptance in many schools.¹⁸ “Use of American textbooks in my school was the cause of the adoption all over the country of American books for the following ten years or more.”¹⁹

A curious byproduct of the 1867 trip to America occurred when representatives of the Tokugawa government, motivated by the purchase of so many English books by Fukuzawa, hastily made a huge purchase of English books for the government. Unprepared for the endeavor, they hastily requested that the American State Department make the selection. The final shipment weighing ten tons included, among others, 13,000 copies of elementary readers, grammars, and math books, 2,500 copies of Webster’s Dictionary, and 600 history books.²⁰ This event explains how so many English books made their way into Edo Period Japan.

Upon his return to Japan, Fukuzawa would continue to edit and add sections to his first book, *Conditions in the West*. This work would have a significant impact on Japanese society and would quickly become a bestseller. One of the reasons for the success of his first book was that it offered a view of the West through the eyes of a Japanese rather than one filtered through Western sources which were then translated into Japanese. This gave the readers a sense of confidence in what they were reading, since the book was written by one of their own. Aside from commonality, Fukuzawa also made references and comparisons to Japanese society, making the text simple to understand for the Japanese reader.

Among the many sections in *Conditions in the West*, Fukuzawa reveals his interest for education in a section under schools (*gakko*) in volume I. The following excerpt from his book not only startled many of his readers, but also began to set the groundwork for his plan on education in Japan.

In every western country there is not a town or village without a school. The schools are founded both by the government and by private citizens. All children, boys and girls, enter the elementary school at age six or seven. They first learn to read and write and then study such subjects as the history of their country, geography, arithmetic, fundamentals of science, art, and music.²¹

¹⁸ (Duke 2008)

¹⁹ (Fukuzawa 2007)

²⁰ (Tamaki 2001)

²¹ (Fukuzawa, *The Complete Works of Yukichi Fukuzawa* 1926)

Following the completion of *Conditions in the West*, which generated a substantial amount of unexpected revenue, Fukuzawa began writing his second book, *An Encouragement of Learning*, also referred to as *The Advancement of Learning* (*Gakumon no Susume*, 1872). *An Encouragement of Learning* quickly became a bestseller as it outlines the importance of education, its relation to the nation's prosperity, and its potential for achieving equality with the West. It also focuses on the importance of independence and equality among the people. This ideology is clearly stated in his opening lines which read, "It is said that heaven does not create one man above or below another man. This means that when men are born from heaven they all are equal. There is no innate distinction between high and low."²² *An Encouragement of Learning* would set the foundation for what would become the *Fundamental Code of Education* (also known as the *First National Plan for Education* or *Gakusei*) which was also written in 1872.

Despite the impacts Fukuzawa made on Japanese government and society regarding Western thought and education, he made a decision to follow his own writings on independence early on in his career, and not to become a political official in the Meiji government. He would, however, remain as an unofficial advisor to the Ministry of Education during its beginning phases, and play a vital role in its formation. During its development, Ministry of Education officials would frequent his office for guidance on modern education; and among the many was Mitsukuri Rinsho, the man responsible for the composition of the 1872 *First National Plan for Education* (*Gakusei*).

Gakusei & Gakumon no Susume Comparison

The first draft of the *Gakusei* was written in 1871 by Mitsukuri Rinsho. He was known as Japan's first great linguist, attaining proficiency in five languages, including two Asian and three western.²³ His western language training came to him during his childhood. After his father past away he was turned over to his grandfather who was a Dutch language specialist. Being of a samurai class family, he also studied the Chinese classics from an early age. This marked the beginning of his foreign languages training. As the years passed, English became more popular, and this led him to study the language under a private tutor. In 1863, his English proficiency was high enough to be eligible for assignment to the *Kaiseijo* School of Foreign Studies (the forerunner of the Imperial University) by the Tokugawa shogunate.

²² (Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* 1969)

²³ (Duke 2008)

While there, he edited an English Dictionary.²⁴ Three years later, when he was nineteen years old, he collaborated with Fukuzawa on English translations of treaties and various governmental documents for the office of foreign affairs.

While working at the foreign affairs office, a colleague of Mitsukuri's was sent to France by the government to study French. Upon his colleague's return from France, he urged Mitsukuri to study French, as it was the language of diplomacy throughout Europe. This enticed Mitsukuri to master French. When news of the forthcoming Paris International Exposition in 1867 became known, he applied to join the Tokugawa delegation that was to attend, and this consequently further motivated him to continue his studies. On January 12, 1867, he left for France, and fifty days later arrived at the port of Marseilles. Mitsukuri would take full advantage of his experiences in France to further his proficiency while serving the interests of the Tokugawa government. He spent his time translating documents from the Paris Exhibition into Japanese - for example, data on the new Swiss telegraph, a project that later took him to Switzerland for several weeks.²⁵ By the time he returned to France his language skills were so efficient that he even negotiated a business contract in French.

Mitsukuri returned to Japan after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868 and, because of his skills in foreign languages, was quickly approached by the newly formed Meiji government. He initially served as a government translator, mainly of French language documents. It was at this time that he was also appointed as a teacher at his old school, the *Kaiseijo*, a center for foreign study.

In October 1870, he was assigned to the *Gakko Torishirabe Goyogakari* (Committee to Investigate the Schools), the forerunner to the Ministry of Education. This committee was composed of mostly Western studies specialists; among them, one who had recently arrived from his unusual exploits with the Harris colony in New York, and who would develop the initial proposal for the establishment of the Ministry of Education, Mori Arinori. The *Gakko Torishirabe Goyogakari* would draft a proposal to establish a bureau of educational affairs which served as a preparatory office and eventually become the Ministry of Education on July 18, 1871. A *samurai* from the *Saga han* with an appreciation for all things French, Eto Shimpei, would be appointed as temporary director of the ministry (*mumbu daisuke*) on the

²⁴ (Duke 2008)

²⁵ (Duke 2008)

day it began functioning.²⁶ Eto would appoint Mitsukuri to head the ministerial bureau commissioned to draw up Japan's first plan for a national system of education.

As Mitsukuri drafted the first plan for a national system of education, he would often consult with Fukuzawa, who subsequently was just finishing his first edition of the *Gakumon no Susume*. This relationship is of significant importance as it places two of Japan's most respected scholars on Western studies at the forefront, setting the mold for what was to become the modern Japanese educational system; and by Fukuzawa being Mitsukuri's mentor, it is of no wonder why their works are so similar. Below, I have included the *Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei)- Preamble (Oseidasaresho)*, as well as a few excerpts from Fukuzawa's *An Encouragement of Learning (Gakumon no Susume) - Section 1*, so that we can clearly understand the influence Fukuzawa had over Mitsukuri and the intentions they had in regards to moral and technical education.

Fundamental Code of Education (Gakusei)- Preamble (Oseidasaresho)

It is only by building up their characters, developing their minds, and cultivating their talents that people make their ways in the world, employ their wealth wisely, make their business prosper, and thus attain the goals of life. But people cannot build up their characters, develop their minds, or cultivate their talents without education. That is the reason for the establishment of schools. Beginning with speech, writing, and arithmetic in everyday life and extending to military affairs, government, agriculture, trade, law, politics, astronomy, and medicine, there is not a single phase of human activity that is not based on learning. Only by pursuing the path of his natural talents can individuals prosper in their undertakings, accumulate wealth, and succeed in life.

Learning is the key to success in life, and no one can afford to neglect it. It is ignorance that leads people astray, makes them destitute, disrupts their families, and in the end ruins their lives. Centuries have passed since schools were first established, but people have gone off in the wrong direction. Because learning was viewed as the exclusive prerogative of the samurai and courtiers, others- farmers, artisans, merchants, and women- have neglected it

²⁶ (Duke 2008)

completely and have no idea what it is. Even those samurai and courtiers who did pursue learning were apt to claim that it was for the state, not knowing that it was the very foundation of success in life. They indulged in poetry, empty reasoning, and idle discussions, and their dissertations, while not lacking in elegance, were seldom applicable to life. This was due to our evil traditions and, in turn, was the very cause that impeded the spread of culture, hampered the development of talent and accomplishments, and sowed the seeds of poverty, bankruptcy, and disrupted homes. Everyone should therefore pursue learning, and in so doing they should not misconstrue its purpose.

Accordingly, the Office of Education will soon establish and educational system and will revise the regulations related to it from time to time so that in the future, there shall be no village with an uneducated family or a family with an uneducated person. Every guardian, acting in accordance with this, shall bring up his or her children with care and see to it that they attend school. (While advanced learning should be left to the ability and means of the individual, any guardian will be considered negligent if he or she fails to send a young child, whether boy or girl, to elementary school.)

Heretofore, the evil tradition that looked on learning as the privilege of the samurai and courtiers and as being solely for the benefit of the state, caused many to depend on the government for the expenses of education, even including food and clothing; and failing to receive such support, many wasted their lives by not going to school. Hereafter, such errors must be corrected, and everyone shall, of his own accord, subordinate all other matters to the education of his children.

[Adapted from Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*]

An Encouragement of Learning (Gakumon no Susume) - Section 1 [Excerpts]

Yukichi Fukuzawa

It is said that heaven does not create one man above or below another man. This means that when men are born from heaven they all are equal. There is no innate distinction between high and low. It means that men can freely and independently use the myriad things of the world to satisfy their daily needs

through the labors of their own bodies and minds, and that, as long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others, may pass their days in happiness. Nevertheless, as we broadly survey the human scene, there are the wise and the stupid, the rich and poor, the noble and lowly, whose conditions seem to differ as greatly as the clouds and the mud....

Moreover, there are difficult and easy professions in society. The person who performs difficult work is regarded as a man of high station. One who performs easy work is called a person of low station. For work involving intellectual effort is considered more difficult than work done through one's own physical strength. Consequently, such persons as doctors, scholars, government officials, merchants who manage large businesses, farmers who employ many hands, are considered noble and of high station. Being such, their households are naturally wealthy, and they seem to tower above and out of reach of the lower levels of society. But when we inquire into the reason for this, we find that these differences are entirely the result of whether they have or do not have the powers which learning brings. It is not because of some decree of heaven. As the proverb says: heaven does not give riches and dignity to man himself, but to his labors. Therefore, as I have said above, there are no innate status distinctions separating the noble and base, the rich and the poor. It is only the person who has studied diligently, so that he has a mastery over things and events, who becomes noble and rich, while his opposite becomes base and poor.

Learning does not essentially consist in such impractical pursuits as a study of obscure Chinese characters, reading ancient texts which are difficult to make out, or enjoying and writing poetry. These kinds of interests may be useful diversions, but they should not be esteemed as highly as the Confucian and Japanese Learning scholars have esteemed them since ancient times. Among the Chinese Learning scholars, those who have been skilled in practical matters have been few indeed. Rare also have been the *chonin* (merchant) who, if he was well versed in poetry, was also successful in business. Consequently we observe that thoughtful *chonin* and peasants, when they see their own children concentrating on books, fear as good parents that they will eventually bring the family fortune to ruin. This is not without reason.

And it proves that such forms of learning are ultimately without practical value and will not serve daily needs.

Such impractical studies should thus be regulated to a secondary position. The object of one's primary efforts should be practical learning that is closer to ordinary human needs. For example, a person should learn the 47-letter *kana* syllabary, methods of letter writing and of accounting, the practice of the abacus, the way to handle weights and measures, and the like. And there are many additional things to be learned. Geography is the guide to the climates not only of Japan, but of the many countries of the world. Physics is the science which investigates the properties and functions of the myriad things of the universe. Histories are books which study the condition of the countries of the past and present by detailed chronicling of the historical ages. Economics explains the financial management of self, family, and the state. Ethics expounds the natural principles of personal moral cultivation and of social intercourse.

For the purpose of studying each of these areas, a person should investigate translations of Western books. In many cases he can use *kana*. But a lad who is young and talented in letters should be taught to read Western languages. By grasping the practical matters of each science, which vary in subject matter and content, he can search for the truth of things and make them serve his present purposes....

For the pursuit of learning it is necessary that each person knows his capacity. There are no innate bonds around men. They are born free and unrestricted, and become free adult men and women. Nevertheless, many will become selfish and fall into dissipation, if they assert only their own freedom and do not know their place. 'Place' or capacity means to achieve one's own freedom without infringing upon that of others, based on natural principle and in harmony with human feeling. The borderline between freedom and selfishness lies at the point where one does or does not infringe upon the freedom of others....

The important aims should be as follows: to let each person conduct himself correctly on the basis of human nature, then diligently to pursue

learning and broaden his knowledge, and thirdly to possess knowledge and virtue appropriate to his station in life. Both government and people should have common purpose that each function in its proper capacity, so that the peace of the country be maintained, the government smoothly administer the affairs of the state, and the people not suffer under its rule. The learning which I am now exhorting has this sole end in view.

[Adapted from Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning*, trans. Dilworth and Hirano]

After reading these texts, we can clearly see that the vision, as described in Mitsukuri's *Gakusei*, was nothing other than Fukuzawa's own vision on education. The essence of both of these writings places a huge emphasis on academic education and individualism rather than on moral ideals and Confucian principles. The documents even go a step further to criticize the educational teachings of the past, and citing them as next to useless. In the years to come, this educational method would push the limits of the Japanese government's ideology, creating the need for radical changes that would completely reverse the philosophy of the Japanese school system set into place by the *Gakusei*.

Motoda Nagazane's Influence on Education

Only a few short years passed before the newly westernized school system came under strict scrutiny from the conservative traditionalist. At the forefront of this movement was Motoda Nagazane, also known as Motoda Eifu. Motoda was born to a *samurai* family in Kumamoto, and was a student of Yokoi Shonan's pragmatic school of Confucianism.²⁷ Upon completion of his studies he became an authority on Confucius and the Chinese Classics. After years of service to his clan, he was sent to Tokyo on clan affairs, and in 1871 was appointed to the Imperial Household, where he had one supreme goal: to teach Emperor Meiji about the superiority of Confucius teachings.²⁸ He would eventually, with the support of the emperor, become a court advisor in 1886. As the court's conservative faction, Motoda helped establish an educational ideology for the new Meiji government, centering on the values of traditional Japan and the reverence for the emperor.²⁹

²⁷ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

²⁸ (Duke 2008)

²⁹ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

In a lecture to the emperor regarding Confucianism he said, “[it] provides a complete guide in the relationship of daily life. It is the perfection of natural philosophy. It gives the individual self-control and the country peace.”³⁰ He went on to argue that evil could be overcome by “placing all power in the hands of an absolutely autocratic emperor... A ruler of such character would inevitably draw out the best sides of his subjects.”³¹ In regards to the newly established school system, which was under the direction Tanaka Fujimaro, a low ranking samurai and western scholar who had become absorbed by the implementation of a western school system and had pushed for moral education to be a last priority among subjects taught, Motoda had this message to convey via a lecture delivered to the teenage Meiji emperor in 1871: “Education is much discussed now. We are told that it has three divisions styled respectively mental, moral, and physical. I submit however that this classification is western and unsuitable to Japan. A system of education suitable to Japan can be found in Confucius, nowhere, else.”³² He would continue his critique by stating, “Japan promises to become exclusively an imitator of Europe and America, and all because we lack a sense of proportion in determining the aims of education. We must go back to the fundamentals at once... The chief subject of study must be, of course Confucius.”³³

In the summer of 1878, Motoda would accompany the Emperor on a tour that would visit schools in the Tokai and Hokuriku regions. By the conclusion of the tour, Motoda was appalled by the “overemphasis of intellectual training over moral cultivation.”³⁴ The result of this tour would also bring to light the extreme westernization of Japanese schools and set into motion a chain of events that would instill a new educational philosophy that would continue through the Showa period. Disenchanted with the direction the school system was taking, the Emperor instructed Motoda to prepare a statement that would reverse this process and revert schooling to more traditional Confucian values. This statement came to be known as the *Kyogaku Taishi* (The Great Principles of Education), also called *Kyogaku Seishi* (The Imperial Will on Education), and was issued in the form of an Imperial Rescript in 1879. It would become the basic document of conservative counterattack on the liberal school system.³⁵

³⁰ (Motoba 1912)

³¹ (Motoba 1912)

³² (Motoba 1912)

³³ (Motoba 1912)

³⁴ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

³⁵ (Passin 1965)

The Great Principles of Education, 1879 (Kyogaku Taishi)

The essence of education, our traditional national aim, and a watchword for all men, is to make clear the ways of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety, and to master knowledge and skills and through these to pursue the Way of Man. In recent days people have gone to extremes. They take unto themselves a foreign civilization whose only values are fact gathering and technique, thus violating the rules of good manners and bringing harm to our customary ways. Although we set out to take in the best features of the West, and bring in new things in order to achieve the high aims of the Meiji Restoration- abandonment of the undesirable practices of the past and learning from the outside world- this procedure had a serious defect. It reduced benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety to a second position. The danger of indiscriminate principles governing the relations between ruler and subject, and father and son. Our aim, based on our ancestral teachings, is solely the clarification of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety.

For morality, the study of Confucius is the best guide. People should cultivate sincerity and moral conduct, and after that they should turn to the cultivation of the various subjects of learning in accordance with their ability. In this way, morality and technical knowledge will fall into their proper places. When our education comes to be grounded on Justice and the Doctrine of the Mean, we shall be able to show ourselves proudly throughout the world as a nation of independent spirit.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

Motoda's intentions were obvious, and the effects of the *Kyogaku Seishi* were so powerful, as it came with the direct approval of the Emperor, that it overrode the previous year's revisions of the *Gakusei* known as the *Kyoiku-rei* (The Educational Ordinance, also known as, The Second National Plan for Education) which was engineered by Tanaka Fujimaro, director of the Ministry of Education, and Ito Horibumi, the Home Minister at the time. The *kyoiku-rei* primarily called for decentralizing the educational system and gave local boards control of the schools,³⁶ providing them with more leeway to select how and what

³⁶ (Hane 2013)

courses to instruct. This concept was mainly inspired by Tanaka's travels to the United States where he spent an extended period of time at Amherst College in Massachusetts, studying the American education system.

After the *Kyoiku-rei* was promulgated in 1879, it was revised in 1880 with the essence of the *Kyogaku Seishi*. As a result, Tanaka was forced to resign. On February 28, 1880, Kono Togama became his replacement, undertaking the task of enforcing the new revisions. Kono's personal background is of great significance to the reasons why he was appointed. Born to a low-ranking *samurai* family in Kochi, Tosa Province (current day Kochi Prefecture), he was sent to Edo as young man to study under the renowned Confucian scholar Yasui Sokken in 1858. In 1861, he would return to Tosa to join the *Sonno joi* (Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians) movement led by Takechi Hanpeita and Sakamoto Ryoma. He was imprisoned for six years for this act and later released when Emperor Meiji emerged as supreme ruler. Hence, molded by his experiences, Kono's ideology would fall in line with that of Motoda's, making him an ideal candidate to move the new agenda forward.

Under the new imperial order, ethics instruction (*shushin*), which in 1879 had been last in the list of elementary school subjects (after reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history), was moved to first in the 1880 revision.³⁷ Furthermore, structurally, Kono would order the prefectural governors to establish their educational regulations within the framework of the policy laid down by the Ministry, resulting in a centrally controlled system. On December 28, 1880, these revisions would be written into law as the *Kaisei Kyoiku Rei* (*Revision of the Education Law*), although it would more formally be known as *The Third National Plan for Education*.

In April 1881, Kono would leave the Ministry of Education to become the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Fukuoka Takachika, a *samurai* from Tosa, with nearly an identical background to that of Kono's, would replace him and in his first month solidify the instruction of *shushin* in elementary schools by writing the *Guidelines for Elementary School Curriculum* (*Shogakko Kyosoku Koryo*). With this document, the Ministry of Education set a national standardized curriculum for the nation's public schools with the course in morals education at the pinnacle.³⁸ The *Shogakko Kyosoku Koryo*, was inspired and guided by Motoda's 1879 *Kyogaku Seishi*. In addition to the *Shogakko Kyosoku Koryo*, Fukuoka would

³⁷ (Gluck 1985)

³⁸ (Duke 2008)

work with Egi Kazuyuki, who was also of *samurai* lineage, to write the *Shogakko Kyoin Kokoroe (Regulations for Elementary School Teachers)* on June 18, 1881. The intent of this document was to promote the “The Imperial Way” (*kodo shugi*) and become the guiding principle to implement the *Kaisei Kyoiku Rei*.

Regulations for Elementary School Teachers

Article 1

In order to guide people, make them good, give them wide knowledge, and to do this wisely, teachers must particularly stress moral education to their pupils.

Loyalty to the Imperial House, love of country, filial piety toward parents, respect to superiors, faith in friends, charity towards inferiors, and faith to oneself constitute the Great Path of human morality. The teacher must himself be a model of these virtues in his daily life, and must endeavor to stimulate his pupils along the path of virtue.

[Adapted from Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*]

As the *Kaisei Kyoiku Rei* was being implemented by Fukuoka, Motoda would turn his focus onto the regulation of textbooks. His initial step was to appoint Nishimura Shigeki to the position of Director of the Compilation Board of the Ministry of Education. Nishimura’s background, like Kono’s, is of significance as to the reasons why he was appointed. Nishimura Shigeki was born to the samurai chief administrator to the daimyo of the Sakura domain, Shimosa Province (present day Chiba Prefecture). His education would include Confucianism and *rangaku*. Upon completion of his studies he would go on to support the Tokugawa *bakufu* against the Meiji Restoration. Despite his support for the Tokugawa *bakufu*, Nishimura would still be recruited by the Meiji government to educate the Japanese people on the ways of the West. The reasons for Nishimura’s recruitment were attributed to his extensive literary works which mainly pertained to Japan’s traditional moral values as a necessary strength in order to confront the modern world. This principle would set the foundation for the *Nihon Kodoka* (Japan Society for Expansion of the Way) in 1876, a society which he founded and received great support. Other literary contributions would include numerous articles for the *Meiroke Zasshi*, a journal which served as the mouthpiece of the *Meirokeisha*, an organization Nishimura co-founded with Mori Arinori and Fukuzawa Yukichi

amongst other scholars. The *Meirokeisha* (Meiji Sixth Year Society) was an elite group that met regularly to discuss ways to advance modernization in Japan. The *Meirokei Zasshi* would be short-lived, because its sponsors discontinued it in protest against the government's press laws of 1875³⁹ (known as Press Ordinance and the Libel Law of 1875).

As Director of the Compilation Board of the Ministry of Education, and per Motoda's request, Nishimura would place all textbooks under strict scrutiny to determine their appropriateness. Shortly after the review, Nishimura issued a list of acceptable texts to each prefectural education office. Among the texts banned in 1880, were many publications translated by the Ministry of Education during Tanaka's tenure, which included texts such as Wayland's *Wisdom*, enlightenment tracts by Yukichi Fukuzawa, and political treaties on *kokutai* (national polity) and constitutionalism by Kato Hiroyuki.⁴⁰ Clearly, these texts did not fall in line with the hard right idealists and therefore should have never been included in the first place.

Following the censorship of textbooks, the Ministry of Education came to the conclusion that only a text produced from within their own ranks would suffice.⁴¹ In April 1880, Nishimura would complete the *Shogaku Shushin-kun (Elementary School Moral Training)*. The *Shogaku Shushin-kun* would become the basis for all moral texts within the school system, but, according to some, it was still not perfect. Although there could not have been a scholar with better credentials than those of Nishimura, and it was expected that any moral text prepared by him, as a Confucian scholar, would adhere closely to the sentiments contained in *Kyogaku Seishi* (this was reinforced by the fact that he consulted with Motoda frequently in regards to the text), it was still too progressive and a bit unusual for Motoda's liking.

The *Shogaku Shushin-kun* reflects the unique character and complex mind of Nishimura. The text was written in two volumes, the first of which begins with a series of Confucian, and a variety of Chinese, proverbs provided without any explanation. The second part of the text was then balanced with proverbs and sayings from Western texts, which included excerpts from Pestalozzi, Plato, and Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*. Nishimura even went so far as to include writings from the Bible. This strange blend of writings provides a glimpse

³⁹ (Jansen 2002)

⁴⁰ (Gluck 1985)

⁴¹ (Duke 2008)

into Nishimura's complicated mind and personality, which so closely reflected his past education and life experiences.

Discontented with the *Shogaku Shushin-kun* written by Nishimura, Motoda would write his own version in 1881, known as *Yogaku Koyo (Principles for Guiding Children)*, which in November of 1882 was published and circulated for approval. Motoda claimed that the content of the text was approved by the Emperor and directly inspired by the *Kyogaku Seishi*, which he also wrote. The *Yogaku Koyo* praised the basic Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety, as well as friendship and trustworthiness amongst others. There were twenty total. Each virtue was illustrated by a fable or story from ancient China or an historical event chosen from Japanese history, with visual sketches taken from Chinese Classics.⁴² Aside from promoting the Confucian virtues, his text went one strategic step further by applying the identical relationship of loyalty and respect between parents and children to that between emperor and his subjects. By applying this notion the country took on the image of family. Motoda's text would eventually become an instrument of nationalism (*kokka shugi*). By 1884, the *Yogaku Koyo* was fully integrated into the school system and disseminated through newspaper publications for the entire population to read.

The third and final stage in the reform of moral textbooks came in June 1883, when the Ministry of Education printed their own textbook called the *Shogaku Shushin Sho (Elementary School Morals)*, based almost entirely on Confucian writings and Chinese Classics. This text marked the end of what was considered the reverse course, and finally eliminated any trace that was left from Western sources. By 1886, the Elementary School Law required the Ministry of Education's approval on all textbooks and by 1903 they stipulated that all elementary schools had to adopt identical texts, which it itself compiled and distributed.⁴³ Consequently, boys and girls in every town and village not only studied Japanese values and mores but also learned exactly the same stories about the paragons of Japan's past: the public-spirited Ninomiya Sontoku; the compassionate Tokugawa Ieyasu honoring the spirits of deceased comrade-in-arms; a woman from a wealthy family who stoically bore the deprivations of her married life; an industrious soy sauce vendor who, after

⁴² (Duke 2008)

⁴³ (McClain 2002)

becoming well-to-do, went to great trouble to locate and reward a person who had assisted him when he was poor.⁴⁴

Mori Arinori & Military Education

In 1886, Arinori Mori would become the first official Minister of Education under the newly formed cabinet of Ito Hirobumi. During Mori's tenure, between 1886 and 1889, the Ministry would see significant changes take place. Of course, like many of the Meiji leaders, Mori's background was heavily steeped in western training.

Mori was born into a *samurai* family in Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture) and educated at the *Kaiseijo*, School for Western Learning. In 1865, he was secretly sent by his domain to Great Britain, where he studied naval surveying, mathematics, and physics for two years. In 1887, he went to the United States, where he spent a year with the Brotherhood of the New Life, a Spartan religious colony in Brocton, New York, run by the former Swedenborgian spiritualist and sexual mystic, Thomas Lake Harris.⁴⁵ Mori would return to Japan in 1868 to serve the newly formed Meiji government. He would be sent abroad as Japan's ambassador to the United States (1871-1873), to China (1876-1877), and to England (1880-1884)⁴⁶. It was during his period in England as ambassador that he would travel to Paris to meet with Ito in September 1880, who was on assignment in Europe for the purpose of studying the different European constitutions of the time as Home Minister for Japan. The two found themselves in such substantial agreement on the role of education in the development of the state that Ito promised Mori privately to make him Minister of Education.⁴⁷ In December 1885, with the inauguration of the new cabinet system, Ito would become Japan's first modern Prime Minister and in 1886 Mori would be appointed to the position of Minister of Education.

Mori's experiences would mold him to become a passionate nationalist and an advocate for western methods of education and social institutions. He was a strong believer in religious freedom, secular education, the social emancipation of women, and the abandonment of the Japanese language in favor of English. Aside from his exploits in the West, he co-founded the *Meiokusha* in 1873 with Nishimura and Fukuzawa, and founded the

⁴⁴ (McClain 2002)

⁴⁵ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

⁴⁶ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

⁴⁷ (Passin 1965)

Shoho Koshujo (Japan's first commercial college) in 1875, which would later become Hitotsubashi University.

As Minister of Education, Mori would enact several reforms of great significance that would remain in place until the end of World War II. Despite his progressive points of view he would compromise with conservatives by dividing the school structure into three parts, each with separate ideologies. Mori understood that by 1886 the elementary system had achieved a reasonably stable condition and found the emphasis on cultivating character through *shushin* more appropriate than on mere learning⁴⁸. On the other hand, Mori found that the post-elementary system was mostly neglected. It was here where Mori would make his move to instill more progressive views and academic freedom. These principles would initially be outlined in a memorandum titled *Gakusei Yoryo (Essentials of Educational Administration)*, written sometime between 1885 and 1886, and most likely written slightly before the time he became Minister of Education.

Essentials of Educational Administration

Section 1: Policy

Item: The national school system (established at state or public expense) is the predominant element in the school system and should be administrated in accordance with the principle of enhancing the national economy (wealth and power of the state).

Item: The good of the individual and the good of the state are to be promoted equally.

Item: It is essential that those who learn foreign languages become leaders and take control of affairs of state. For this purpose we must immediately provide appropriate education, before any harm is incurred.

Section 2: Higher Learning

Item: Higher learning should be divided into pure science and applied science. Both are essential to the interests of the state. The former has limited applicability and focus, whereas the latter has far broader applications.

⁴⁸ (Passin 1965)

Item: Pure science involves research and penetrates deeply to the essence of matter. Pure science will contribute to the long-range benefit of Japan and of the world in general and should be engaged in by only the most qualified scholars.

Item: Applied science (something like professional education) involves the training of those with specialized knowledge in fields that have immediate practical social applications (business, engineering, law, commerce, medicine). People in these fields are professionals who do practical things to benefit people and meet national requirements. This includes providing appropriate training for those able to qualify as government officials.

Section 3: Basic Education

Item: The purpose of elementary education is to provide training sufficient for children to understand their duties as Japanese subjects, to conduct themselves in an ethical fashion, and to secure their own individual well-being.

Item: The most urgent task of all is to train enough teachers for every elementary school. The prefectures will take responsibility for this, and the central government will provide general oversight.

Item: The character of pupils must first be trained and rectified so that they can make proper use of their studies.

Section 4: School Fees

Item: Expenses for national schools will be paid by local school taxes. When necessary these will be supplemented by national taxes. This will be in accord with local conditions and regulations pertaining to the national economy.

Item: A system of local school taxes will be established separate from other local taxes. While the central government will have oversight, the details will be handled by local authorities.

[Adapted from Hall, *Mori Arinori*]

Using the *Gakusei Yoryo* as his foundation he would implement what came to be known as the Fourth National Plan for Education which consisted of four school ordinances (*gakkorei*): The Imperial University Ordinance (*Teikoku Daigaku Rei*), The Middle School Ordinance (*Chugakko Rei*), The Teacher Training School Ordinance (*Shihan Gakko Rei*), which also encompassed Military Training of Teachers (*Heishiki Taiso*), and finally The Elementary School Ordinance (*Shogakko Rei*) (Listed in order of importance with the *Teikoku Daigaku Rei* being number one). By creating these ordinances Mori could directly target what the focus and curriculum of each level should be. It was by applying this process in which he was able to alleviate pressure applied by conservative traditionalists, who were still centrally focused on maintaining *shushin* at the core of the educational system.

The *Teikoku Daigaku Rei* simply stated that “The Imperial University shall have for its object the teaching of such arts and sciences as are required for the purposes of the state.” In other words, Mori’s primary purpose with this ordinance was quite clear: to create a capable population for the benefit of Japan by providing the students with the education necessary. In essence, the *Teikoku Daigaku Rei*, stems from Mori and Ito’s Paris meeting in 1882, where they both agreed that the purpose of education was to preserve the independence and security of Japan; thus, education would become an instrument to serve the state.⁴⁹

In order to facilitate this process the ordinance called for structural changes to the university system, dividing it in two parts, undergraduate and graduate. The undergraduate school merged the five separate faculties from the old Tokyo University of law, medicine, engineering, natural sciences, and humanities into a unified comprehensive unit called the *Bunka Daigaku*, the College of Culture (Arts) and it would resemble the same structure as that of many universities in the West, with a president administering the entire institution.⁵⁰ The role of the undergraduate school was to teach theory and application of arts and sciences (*gakujutsu gigei*). A research graduate school of arts and sciences topped the new university.⁵¹ In addition to the College of Culture, the *Kobu Daigakko*, dubbed the Imperial University of Engineering as it was not officially recognized as a regular university, was merged into the Engineering Department of the new Imperial University.

The second ordinance put into effect was the *chugakko rei* (The Middle School Ordinance). The *chugakko rei* would formally bridge the gap between elementary school

⁴⁹ (Duke 2008)

⁵⁰ (Duke 2008)

⁵¹ (Duke 2008)

education and universities by providing a system of secondary schools. Prior to the ordinance, Tokyo University was the only institution to provide preparatory schooling for prospective students. This preparatory school was known as the *Tokyo Eigo Gakko* (Tokyo English School), and as the name suggests, specialized in English language instruction, as most of the courses offered at Tokyo University were taught in English.

The ordinance would create and integrate two tiers of Middle Schools, Ordinary Middle Schools (*jinjo chugakko*), which focused on developing students for the workforce by providing what Mori called a “practical education” (*futsu jitsuyo kyoiku*), and Higher Middle Schools (*koto chugakko*), which Mori characterized as “important institutions for the nation” (*kuni ni juyo naru basho*), focused on preparing students for continuing education at the university level. Only students graduating from *koto chugakko* could attend university. The ministry would organize for the creation of five higher middle schools, of which the *Tokyo Eigo Daigakko* would become the First Higher Middle School. It would become known as *Daiichi Koto Chugakko*, as it was the first and most important. The other four were established one by one to become a nationwide network of regional preparatory schools.⁵² They were located in Sendai, Osaka, (later transferred to Kyoto), Kanazawa, and Kumamoto. Ordinary Middle schools would become the responsibility of the prefectures; however their curriculums would still require approval from the Ministry of Education.

Middle School Ordinance

Article 1: The purpose of public middle schools is to prepare students to enter the workforce or the university

Article 2: The middle schools will be divided into two types, the Ordinary Middle School (*jinjo*), and the Higher Middle School (*koto chugakko*) under the control (*kanri*) of the Ministry of Education.

Article 3: The curriculum of the Higher Middle School will include law, medicine, natural science, technology, literature, commerce, and agriculture.

Article 4: Five Higher Middle Schools will be established throughout the country, the sites to be decided by the Ministry of Education.

⁵² (Duke 2008)

Article 5: The Higher Middle Schools will be financed from the national budget.

Article 6: Each prefecture will establish an Ordinary Middle School financed by the prefectural government.

Article 7: The curriculum for the Ordinary Middle School will be set by the Ministry of Education.

Article 8: The textbooks for middle schools will be determined by the Ministry of Education.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

The *chugakko rei*, would finally complete the education system by enabling the Ministry of Education to provide elementary, secondary, and university level education. In addition, it would segregate students in two divisions which would in turn place them into fields most suitable for them to serve the nation. By instating this ordinance, Mori aided in creating a modern Japan that would be governed by an educated elite with a loyal competent literate working class, all serving the needs of the state.⁵³

The day the *chugakko rei* was promulgated on April 10, 1886, Mori would announce the *Shihan Gakko Rei (Teacher Training School Ordinance)*, also known as the *Normal School Ordinance*. The *Shihan Gakko Rei* would become one of Mori's most controversial works and perhaps his greatest legacy, as it called for the introduction of military-style physical training for teachers (*Heishiki Taiso*). Structurally, as in the *Chugakko Rei*, the *Shihan Gakko Rei* would call for a centralized higher teacher training institution overseen by the Ministry of Education, followed by lower prefectural teacher training schools. Mori's first step in this process was to transform the existing *Tokyo Shihan Gakko (Tokyo Teacher Training School)* into the *Tokyo Koto Shinhan Gakko (Tokyo Higher Teacher Training College)*. In regards to moral training, Mori would emphasize three main concepts to instill in teachers, obedience, friendship, and dignity.

Teacher Training School Ordinance

1. The purpose of teacher training schools is to prepare future teachers with the qualities of obedience, friendship, and dignity.

⁵³ (Duke 2008)

2. Teacher training schools will consist of a higher teacher training school (*koto shihan*) under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, and the ordinary training schools (*jinjo*) under the supervision of the prefectures.
3. There will be one higher teacher training school located in Tokyo and one ordinary teacher training school in each prefecture.
4. The budget for the higher teacher training school will come from the Ministry of Education. The budget for the ordinary teacher training schools will come from the relevant prefecture.
5. The Ministry of Education will determine entrance requirements and assignments upon graduation.
6. The curriculum and textbooks will be determined by the Ministry of Education.
7. The higher teacher training school will prepare principals and teachers for the ordinary teacher training schools.
8. The ordinary teacher training schools will prepare principals and teachers for the public elementary schools.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

The concepts of obedience, friendship, and dignity, despite their similarities to some nationalist and even Confucian ideals, actually stemmed from very different origins. As mentioned above, Mori had spent a considerable amount of time at the Brotherhood of the New Life, a Spartan religious colony in Brocton, New York. It was there, having fallen deeply under the influence of the Swedenborgian Thomas Lake Harris, that he would acquire these three principles to live by. Mori would essentially borrow the brotherhood's slogan, "Dignity, Friendship, and Obedience",⁵⁴ for the purpose of setting the foundation of the *Shihan Gakko Rei* and in turn for the *Heishiki Taiso*. It is interesting to note, however, that these three concepts were put into effect by the brotherhood as a way for Christians to develop a deeper connection with God, and that Mori would reinterpret them as a way for the Japanese to develop a deeper connection to the Emperor and country.

⁵⁴ (Passin 1965)

The *Heishiki Taiso* (military-style physical training), despite the implications of the title, was not created for the purpose of developing soldiers. It was primarily designed to instill moral discipline training with the health-building function as secondary. Therefore, the *Heishiki Taiso* was intended to produce not only a new generation of teachers but also a whole new disciplinary framework for everyday school life.⁵⁵

Mori suggested that the new teacher should display three essential traits of character: obedience towards superiors, friendship toward equals, and dignity toward inferiors. For the students, obedience meant conforming to school regulations and following orders, friendship referred to a spirit of mutual assistance, which Mori believed to be the foundation of public morality and the measure of a civilized nation.⁵⁶ Dignity referred to the self-confidence and decency in speech and manners. In the following segment, Mori outlines the close relationship between military exercise and character building.

This military-style physical training is something to be used entirely as a means for promoting the three qualities of character I have just mentioned, as a tool for hammering them into shape. We are not adding it to the curriculum with the thought of producing officers and enlisted men for the defense of our country, on the chance that the nation might someday find itself in need of soldiers. The things we hope to achieve by means of this training are three: first, to instill - with the sense of urgency possessed by actual soldiers - those habits of obedience which are appropriate in the classroom. Secondly, as you know, soldiers are always formed into squads, each squad possessing its own leader who devotes himself, heart and mind and soul, to the welfare of his group. And thirdly, every company has its commanding officer who controls and supervises it, and who must comport himself with dignity. By the same token our students, by trading off the roles of common soldier, squad leader and commanding officer, will build up traits of character appropriate to each of these roles.

[Adapted from Hall, *Mori Arinori*]

⁵⁵ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

⁵⁶ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

In a brief paper titled *Heishiki Taiso ni Kansuru Kengen (Proposals Concerning Military Education)*, Mori would divide education into three categories, intellectual (*chiiku*), moral (*tokuiku*), and physical (*taiiku*). The three categories, it should be noted, are identical to those in the title of one of the most famous books on education by Mori's British philosopher friend, Herbert Spencer - *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*.⁵⁷ In Mori's view, intellectual and moral education were prioritized over, *taiiku*, leaving an imbalance in the system. Therefore, he believed, that for the enhancement of the nation (*kokka fukyo*), the spirit of love of country and the emperor (*chukun aikoku*) was essential and to attain this goal, the physical component of teacher education had to be given a fundamental role.

In order to ensure the proper dissemination of the *Heishiki Taiso*, Mori would appoint General Yamakawa Hiroshi as president and Takamine Hideo as head teacher of the *Tokyo Koto Shinhan Gakko*. Both men were from *samurai* lineage, and coincidentally, both from the Aizu-Wakamatsu Domain (current day Fukushima Prefecture) where they attended the same school for *samurai*, Nisshinkan. Yamakawa's appointment most likely came about due to his family's connections. Yamakawa's brother, Kenjiro, who graduated from Yale University, had become the first physics professor at Tokyo University. Furthermore his sister, Sutomatsu, was the first Japanese woman to graduate from a western college, Vassar, and was the wife of General Masao Oyama, commander of the Japanese army and her brother's commanding officer.⁵⁸

The first step in implementing the new system was to transform the *shihan gakko* (teacher training school) into the *shikan gakko* (military officer school). The second was to restructure the student body. Freshmen were divided into platoons of six students each. Second-year students were placed in charge of the platoons. Third-year students commanded several platoons as companies. And finally, senior students were responsible for several companies such as battalions.⁵⁹ In addition, students wore military style uniforms with insignia depicting their rank and class facilitating the usage of the *sempai-kohai* (senior-junior) system between students. Dormitories were remodeled as military barracks and were managed by active army soldiers in order to insure that correct discipline and spirit was being instated as commanded by the Imperial Rescript for Soldiers. Inspections were carried out frequently ensuring that the required standards were being met. Yamakawa would receive

⁵⁷ (Duke 2008)

⁵⁸ (Duke 2008)

⁵⁹ (Duke 2008)

daily progress reports by an appointed student in every class. This reporting system was known as *Himitsu Chokoku Ho* (*Confidential Reporting Rule*).

The curriculum at the *shikan gakko* consisted of two main parts: physical education and practical education. Yamakawa would head the physical education division, which consisted of marches, military drills, and shooting. This military-style physical training consumed 14 percent of the entire curriculum, and was considered the most important subject.⁶⁰ The curriculum in the classrooms, which was headed by Takamine, consisted of the study of English, which was considered the second most important subject, followed by physics and chemistry. This unique blend of courses would mold the first generation of modern elementary school teachers, well endowed with the disciplinary skills of the military and the tools to create an international Japan.

The final education reform was the *Shogakko Rei* (*The Elementary School Ordinance*). Although structurally little would change, Mori would impose strict regulations on government approved textbooks and would setup the first nationwide system for the standardization of textbooks. This was taken one step further in 1903, when the Ministry of Education eliminated selection altogether and would require that all elementary schools adopt identical, state-approved texts.⁶¹ It was also the first school law to use the word compulsory (*gimu*).

Elementary School Ordinance

1. The elementary school will be divided into the lower and upper divisions, each of four years duration.
2. Children between the ages of six and fourteen are eligible to attend school.
3. Parents are responsible (*gimu*) for sending their children to complete the lower division of four years.
4. Parents are responsible for paying the fees set by the prefecture.
5. The curriculum and textbooks will be set by the Ministry of Education.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

⁶⁰ (Duke 2008)

⁶¹ (Jansen and Rozman, *Japan in Transition From Tokugawa to Meiji* 1986)

In addition to the strict textbook regulations, Mori would make a several changes regarding moral education in elementary schools. Mori believed that *shushin* based on Confucian ideals, as Motoda had once designed it, was impractical for a modern Japan. Therefore, in line with his textbook reforms implemented by the *Shogakko Rei*, all textbooks incorporating traditional Confucian moral teachings became prohibited, and were replaced by a new eight volume series of readers. The texts included the first attempt to systematically teach the Chinese characters used in the written form of the Japanese language⁶², in which 2,000 characters were selected in order of difficulty and used throughout the text. The contents of the text stressed the theme of “*Iwae Wagakuni*” (“Celebrate Our Country”) and began with the history of Japan starting with the first mythical emperor Jimmu and continued on through to the emperor of the day. Mori also emphasized that Japan had been under the consecutive reign of 122 emperors over the span of 2,550 years, the longest historical tradition in the world. Therefore each Japanese child should love “our country” (*wagakuni*) and respect “our emperor” (*wagakimi*).⁶³ Mori also incorporated a series of stories and tales for the purpose of instructing moral education. These stories were mostly contemporary in nature, fairly simple to understand, and easy to for children to incorporate into everyday life, which subsequently were in stark contrast to Motoda’s teachings, steeply rooted in Confucian and Chinese classics, highly complex, and not easily transferrable to daily life. An excellent example of one of these stories that has lasted the test of time is “The Ant and the Pigeon” (*Ari to Hato*) summarized below.

The Ant and the Pigeon

A pigeon spots a helpless ant that has accidentally fallen into a pond. To save the ant the pigeon picks a leaf from a tree, dropping it near the ant, which climbs aboard and survives. Later the same ant comes across a scene in which a hunter is quietly stalking the very pigeon that saved the ant, now searching for food unaware of the danger. The ant quickly climbs up the hunter and bites his hand just as he fires the gun. The bullet misses the mark. The pigeon escapes death through the efforts of the ant, repaying one kind act for another, the moral of the story.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

⁶² (Duke 2008)

⁶³ (Kaigo 1965)

In 1888, Mori would take his theory of moral education one step further. Since he was completely opposed to traditional Confucian moral teachings as a foundation, and did not agree with the western Christian teachings as the basis of morality, he needed to create a system of ethics that was absent of any cultural, political, or religious associations, and that in turn, would benefit a modern society. Finally, after consulting with various scholars, the ministry was prepared to unveil a new textbook on moral training. He would outline his new theory on moral education in the preface of the book, which he made available to English-speaking readers of the period.

The object of all who teach Ethics by means of this book should be to reveal to their scholars a standard that shall suffice to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, what is right and what is wrong in such actions as result from the feelings with which human beings regard each other.... The object for moral teaching is the distinguishing between good and evil in the hearts of man, the enabling of men to seek virtue and to forsake vice; and, in the case of the young the cultivation of virtuous habits by the impression that the citing of real cases of virtuous living are calculated to produce.⁶⁴

Mori's theory on moral education avoided philosophical systems from both the East and West, and focused primarily on bridging the gap between the two by forging a simple moral code. This simple moral code most likely stemmed from the Christian golden rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Mori would call his simple outlook on moral education *jita no heiritsu*, basically, mutual respect and assistance among freestanding equals.

Aside from these four primary ordinances, Mori would incorporate a variety of reforms into the educational system in Japan setting in place a truly modern form of educational structure under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Education. Mori would be assassinated on February 12, 1889 by an ultranationalist the very day the new Meiji Constitution was promulgated. It has been said that the reason for his assassination was due to his misconduct during a visit to the Ise Shinto Shrine two years earlier. He allegedly failed to follow religious protocol by not removing his shoes before entering and pushing aside a sacred veil with a walking stick, in essence, disrespecting the emperor. Despite his death, however, his legacy lived on to impact the lives of countless youth in Japan.

⁶⁴ (Japan Weekly Mail 1888)

Inoue Kowashi and the Imperial Rescript of 1890

After Mori's assassination, Motoda would make one final push to develop moral education as he saw fit for the future of Japan. The process would take five months of deliberations and involved four predominant figures in addition to himself: Yamagata Aritomo, Prime Minister; Inoue Kowashi, then director of the Legislation Bureau; Nakamura Masanao, Professor at the Imperial University in Tokyo and advisor at the Ministry of Education; and Yoshikawa Akimasa, minister of education. The result came in the form of an Imperial Rescript in 1890, which would finally root moral education in Confucian principles, instilling in the people ultimate loyalty to the emperor and love for country. The Imperial Rescript of 1890 would play a vital role in the indoctrination of Japan's youth and remain in place until the end of World War II, making it one of the most significant documents in modern Japanese history.

Of those involved in the development and writing of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyoiku Chokugo*), Inoue Kowashi was the one to leave the greatest lasting impression. Like Motoda, he was born to a *samurai* family in Kumamoto and was also a student at Yokoi Shonan's Confucian School. Upon completing his Confucian studies in Kumamoto, he would be sent to Edo (current day Tokyo) by his domain to study French. Between December 1867 and April 1868 he would also travel to Yokohama in order to continue his Confucian studies under the reputed scholar Yasui Sokken. In April 1868, he returned to Kumamoto to fight for the Imperial side when the Boshin War broke out against the Tokugawa *bakufu*. After the war, Inoue would once again travel to Tokyo to continue his studies in French and western learning.

In 1871, Inoue began his government career by enlisting his services with the Ministry of Justice. It was here that he met with Eto Shimpei, who in 1872 would take him to Europe, most likely for his French fluency, to study European legal systems. Upon his return from Europe, he published *Okoku Kenkoku (Monarchical Constitutions)* in two volumes, which primarily were translations of the Prussian and Belgian constitutions accompanied by his own commentaries. Eventually, in lieu of his expertise in legal systems and understanding of western ideologies, he would be asked to work with the Ministry of Education by Ito Hirobumi and Mori Arinori, where he would draft a variety of documents.

When it came to education, Inoue successfully walked the line between the statist politicians like Mori and Ito Hirobumi and the traditionalist like Motoda.⁶⁵ Although, he was an advocate for Confucianism in education, he was also concerned with new technical knowledge and new educational methods.⁶⁶ As mentioned above, his educational background was identical to that of Motoda's; however, his contact with foreign languages and ideals contributed to his open-mindedness towards change and new trends, placing him more in line with Mori and Ito's views than those of Motoda. Evidence of this can be found in the *Kyoiku Gi* (*The Educational Affair*), which he wrote in 1879, per Ito's request, in response to Motoda's *Kyoiku Taishi*.

The Educational Affair, 1879 [Excerpts] – (Kyoiku Gi)

The destruction of our traditional ways, however, had its own cause... At the time of the Restoration, an unprecedented reform took place, accompanied by changes in our customs... The isolation of the country had constrained human minds in a static condition and limited the range of communication. The feudal ruler proclaimed it virtuous to cultivate simple living and to die for honor... These customs came to an end barely ten years ago. The world changed suddenly for us.

Our government boldly took matters in hand to correct the defects of the seclusionist, feudal past. Now for the first time our people have been able to follow their own will, go out beyond their usual bounds, and exercise freedom of action and speech. Because of the intensity of this change, many of the elegant and beautiful things in our tradition have also disappeared. This I take to be the greatest single cause of our present moral disarray.

The damage to our customs has come from the excessiveness of the change and it was inevitable. Therefore we should not blame the new educational system for everything. Since education is not the principle cause of our failure, it can be no more than an indirect cure... Present teaching rules should remain in effect, and those in charge of teaching ethics should select the proper text books.

⁶⁵ (Bary, Gluck and Tiedemann 2006)

⁶⁶ (Pittau 1965)

Moreover our students usually come from Confucian schools, and whenever they open their mouths it is to babble political theory and argue about the world situation... In order to remedy this situation we should spread the study of the industrial arts... After all it is science that, together with politics, brings about prosperity. If we are to blend the new and the old, and take the classics into consideration, and establish a single national doctrine, we are in an area that is not proper for government to control; for this we must wait for a sage.

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

In the *Kyoiku-Gi*, Inoue basically attributes the failures and inconsistencies in the educational system to the rapid change in societal structure and defers from directly placing blame on the educational system. In regards to school curriculum, Inoue suggests that no changes be made to the teaching rules, implying that Western-style education in the classrooms should continue. However, he also goes on to stress the importance of proper ethics training, in other words, the incorporation of Confucian moral education, and that proper textbooks should be issued to that effect. The final section of the *Kyoiku Gi* reflects Inoue's disdain for government's desire to centrally control education, a view which would change in the years that followed.

Like Mori, Inoue would come to believe that the fundamental principle of education should be to serve the purposes of state, therefore what was done in the administration of the school was not done for the sake of the pupils but for the sake of the country.⁶⁷ It was under these pretenses that the concept of teaching western-style technical courses in the classrooms combined with the ultra-nationalistic moral education developed for the betterment of the *kokutai* (national polity) emerged. Inoue would work closely with Mori to develop and write the ordinances discussed above in order to ensure the agenda was put into immediate effect. Inoue was in such agreement with Mori's educational plan and methods of instilling the proper moral principles in the nation that he would write *Kokutai Kyoiku (Public Education and the National Substance)* after Mori's assassination.

⁶⁷ (Pittau 1965)

Kokutai Kyoiku (Public Education and the National Substance)

The fundamental principle of Mori's educational policy was education based on the *kokutai*. Education does not mean merely to collecting and explaining the materials of textbooks. The most important thing in education is to build up the character and orient the students by showing them the spiritual way. This is an extremely difficult task. The education which was practiced two thousand years ago during Shun's reign cannot be used today. Europe has a religion that serves to confirm the spirit of the young. There is no such creed in our country. I think that it is very difficult to achieve a sense of unity among the people through education. Fortunately, in our country we have a beautiful treasure that cannot be compared with that of any other country. This is the *kokutai* based on the imperial line unbroken for ages eternal. Nothing but the *kokutai* can be the keynote of education. No other country has a history like ours: our people have been loyal to the emperors of an unbroken line from the beginning of the country, and they will be loyal to all future emperors as long as the national land continues to exist. Therefore we should make the *kokutai* the first principle of our education. Nothing else can be the basis of our educational system, and this was the first principle of late Mori.

[Adapted from Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi," pp 272]

The points deliberated in Inoue's *Kokutai Kyoiku* consequently corresponded with those of the constitution he helped write in 1889, which stated that since Japan did not have a central religion to unite the spirit of the people, emphasis had to be placed on the *kokutai*. This logic would place loyalty to the emperor, the living symbol of the *kokutai*, as the main priority to be instilled into the minds of the people. Therefore, the main purpose of education was to nurture the spirit of nationalism, in turn making the state absolute in education and politics. It was on this point that Inoue and Yamagata Arimoto, the prime minister, would come to agree upon in the preparation of the *Kyoiku Chokugo (Imperial Rescript on Education)*, a document which became one of the most significant works in modern Japanese history.

The drafting of the *Kyoiku Chokugo* began in May 1890 under orders from the emperor to the newly appointed Minister of Education, Yoshikawa Akimasa, to stress moral

training as the fundamental policy and to edit proverbs suitable as a basis of moral education.⁶⁸ Yoshikawa would turn to Nakamura Masanao to begin drafting the Rescript. Although, Nakamura was a professor at the Imperial University in Tokyo and advisor at the Ministry of Education, his religious affiliations would play a significant role in his draft of the *Kyoiku Chokugo*. Born to a *samurai* family he would undergo the traditional Confucian education at *Shoheizaka Gakumonjo* (official school of the Shogunate). Following his studies, he was sent to England by the shogunate, where he mastered English and became interested in Christianity. Eventually, he was baptized and became one of the first prominent Japanese philosophers to convert to Christianity. Nakamura viewed Christianity as the foundation for the military and economic strength of the western nations, and stated that Japan needed to discard its traditional beliefs as a necessary step in strengthening the nation. It was with these beliefs in mind that Nakamura would begin to draft the Imperial Rescript.

By June 1890, the first draft was complete; however, it would come under heavy criticism from Inoue. In a letter to Prime Minister Yamagata, Inoue expressed concern with the references to God and the Christian overtones regarding loyalty and filial piety throughout the draft. In addition, he asserted that an Imperial Rescript should not show support or criticize any particular religion, political affiliation, or demonstrate any bias towards East or West, but rather portray the Emperor's desires and prospective. In response to this letter, Yamagata requested that Inoue prepare a draft of his own to submit to the Ministry of Education, which he did within a remarkably short time frame.

Throughout this process, Motoda would write a draft of his own based on the three virtues and the five ethical relationships of Confucianism. Although most of the credit is attributed to Inoue for the final writing of the Imperial Rescript, it cannot go without notice that Motoda's draft was probably taken into consideration and without it the final draft may have most likely been rejected. Upon review of the Rescript there is a clear correlation between the final draft of the Imperial Rescript and Motoda's where he writes the following:

The objective of national education shall be the indoctrination of the three virtues wisdom, benevolence, courage, and the five relations, ruler and subjects, father and son, elder and younger brothers, man and wife, friends, for the

⁶⁸ (Pittau 1965)

cultivation of the Japanese subjects who would devote themselves to the glory of the Empire.⁶⁹

On June 20, 1880, Inoue would submit his first draft of the Imperial Rescript to Yamagata. This act set in motion an intense process of revisions running through twenty-three drafts over a four-month period before a final version was approved.⁷⁰ Throughout this process, Inoue worked closely with Motoda on the revisions of the Rescript. According to Japanese education historian, Kaigo Tokiomi, Inoue sent each draft to Motoda for a reaction, which he gave freely in the form of revisions and additions penciled in at the margins.⁷¹ By comparing each of Motoda's recommended changes with any subsequent revision by Inoue, Kaigo was able to determine precisely how much influence Motoda exerted on Inoue during the tedious process. Despite the finds mentioned in the latter, Kaigo concludes that the original version of "The Imperial Rescript on Education," independently written by Inoue although revised nearly two dozen times, ends up essentially unchanged.⁷² The final draft, however, does demonstrate a transformation in Inoue's beliefs, finally incorporating Confucian principles with nationalistic ideologies, falling closer in line with those of Motoda's.

Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890 – (Kyoiku Chokugo)

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and had deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance the public good and promote

⁶⁹ (Abe 1969)

⁷⁰ (Duke 2008)

⁷¹ (Kaigo 1965)

⁷² (Duke 2008)

common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise. Offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890)

[Adapted from Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*]

The *Kyoiku Chokugo* marks the end of moral education reform in pre-war Japanese education, culminating in a complex blend of basic Confucian ideals and nationalistic imperial sentiments, which called for complete loyalty to the emperor and country with total disregard to any sacrifice necessary to one's own person. A copy of the *Kyoiku Chokugo* accompanied by a portrait of the emperor was displayed in every classroom throughout Japan, where students were obligated to recite the Rescript before the start of each school day. This ritual was performed in schools until Japan's defeat in 1945.

Conclusion: Shushin is Bushido

For many Japanese studies scholars in the West, *bushido* is a relatively modern concept as described by Karl Friday in his article, *Bushido or Bull? A Medieval Historian's Perspective on the Imperial Army and the Japanese Warrior Tradition*,

“Hanging the label of bushido on either the ideology of the Imperial Army or the warrior ethic of medieval Japan involves some fairly overt historian's sleight-of-hand. In the first place, the term was not used to designate a code of warrior behavior until the early modern era and was only rarely used in this context prior to the late nineteenth century. (In fact the word was so unusual that Nitobe Inazo, whose 1899 tract, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, probably did

more than any other single book to popularize the idea of bushido in both Japan and the West, was able to believe that he had invented it himself!) ”⁷³

However, nothing could be further from reality, as the term *bushido* existed long before the Meiji period. One of earliest references to *bushido* can be found in the *Koyogunkan (Martial Records of Koyo)*, a collection of texts recording the tactics of Takeda Shingen compiled around 1656, and establishes *bushido*'s existence well before the modern period. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, *bushido* principles become clear and well-formed ideals by the middle of the 17th century. These principles can be carefully studied in the writings by Daidoji Yuzan, who wrote one of the first guides to *bushido*, *Budoshoshinshu (Collection for Beginners in the Way of the Warrior)*⁷⁴ and in the writings by Yamamoto Tsunetomo in *Hagakure*⁷⁵. Therefore, with misunderstandings such as these it may be difficult for scholars in the West to even begin to imagine how this ancient warrior code of ethics, known as *bushido*, could ever be transformed and modernized for the purpose of moral education (*shushin*) in Japanese schools.

After reviewing the precepts of *shushin* and its metamorphosis through the Japanese school system, we can find a common thread through all of its interpretations - the *samurai*. *Shushin* was created by men of samurai lineage who, despite their desire to westernize, came to the conclusion that if they were going to maintain a universal moral code for the nation to live by, as they were accustomed to, then *bushido* would need to remain and serve as the foundation for moral education. The alternative of incorporating Christian teachings as a basis for moral guidance was unacceptable as it went against the sentiments and loyalty one should have towards the emperor and in turn for the country. In the following excerpt by Nitobe Inazo, he touches directly upon this topic. Nitobe was also of *samurai* lineage, a scholar on all things western, and an avid literary contributor during the turn of the 20th century. Nitobe would write these words in 1899, just a few short years after the *Imperial Rescript on Education* was implemented.

The great statesmen who steered the ship of our state through the hurricane of the Restoration and the whirlpool of national rejuvenation, were men who knew no other moral teaching than the precepts of *Bushido*. Some writers have lately tried to prove that the Christian missionaries contributed an appreciable

⁷³ (Friday 1994)

⁷⁴ (Yuzan 1984)

⁷⁵ (Tsunetomo 2002)

quota to the making of New Japan. I would fain render honor to whom honor is due; but this honor can as yet hardly be accorded to the good missionaries. More fitting it will be to their profession to stick to the scriptural injunction of preferring one another in honor, than to advance a claim in which they have no proofs to back them. For myself, I believe that Christian missionaries are doing great things for Japan - in the domain of education, and especially of moral education:- only, the mysterious though not the less certain working of the Spirit is still hidden in divine secrecy. Whatever they do is still of indirect effect. No, as yet Christian missions have affected but little visible in molding the character of New Japan. No, it was *bushido*, pure and simple, that urged us for weal or woe. Open the biographies of the makers of Modern Japan- of Sakuma, of Saigo, of Okuto, of Kido not to mention the reminiscences of living men such as Ito, Okuma, Itagaki, etc.,- and you will find that it was under the impetus of samuraihood that they thought and wrought.

[Adapted from Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*]

In addition to Nitobe's confirmation on the origins of *shushin*, we as scholars must also take into account Japan's militaristic advances at the beginning of the Meiji period and on through the Showa period. Japan's military involvement would eventually lead to a revival of the samurai spirit and an appreciation for *bushido*. These sentiments would first be felt after Japan's victory over China in the First Sino- Japanese War in 1895. Evidence of this is found in Nitobe's reaction to Read Hearn's comments on Japan in the 1890's.

Read Hearn, the most eloquent and truthful interpreter of the Japanese mind....The physical endurance, fortitude, and bravery that "the little Jap" possesses, were sufficiently proved in the China-Japanese war. "Is there any nation more loyal and patriotic?" is a question asked by many; and for the proud answer, "There is not," we must thank the Precepts of Knighthood (*bushido*).⁷⁶

Similar reactions to Japan's victory were disseminated by the press. The war had inspired a spirit of national unity (*kyokoku itchi*) which the Meiji leaders had sought through their policies, but only came to fruition by means of acquiring a tangible victory. As the tone

⁷⁶ (Nitobe 2002)

of swaggering national assurance that suffused *minkan* (journalists, intellectuals, and public figures who represented the people's interest) commentary was echoed in the schoolyards and local celebrations around the country, Japan's victory was ascribed to *bushido*, the Japanese spirit (*Yamato damashii*), and to the patriotic willingness for self-sacrifice enjoined by the *Imperial Rescript on Education*.⁷⁷ Consequently, Japan's victory solidified *bushido*'s presence, not only in schools, but in the nation as a whole.

As Japan's empire grew, along with its military presence, so did the emphasis on *bushido*. By the 1930's the image of the *samurai* had become a predominant figure in Japanese society, as *bushido* was believed to be the moral conduct that contributed to Japan's many military successes. It also aided in reviving a deep connection to Japan's *samurai* warring past, giving the nation a sense of pride and dignity, as anyone regardless of class, age, or gender could relate and participate in the practice of *bushido*. During this period little reference is actually made to *shushin*, as the term primarily stood for moral ideals and had little significance to actual military combat other than its code of conduct. Subsequently, *bushido* began to appear more frequently in place of *shushin*, as it better suited the militaristic demands of the times, being of a direct martial background.

In 1937, the Ministry of Education would write *Kokutai no Hongi* (*Fundamentals of Our National Polity*), which set the ideological course for the Japanese people and placed the martial spirit of *bushido* at the forefront. The *Kokutai no Hongi* delves into many of the basic principles found in the earlier works of the Meiji period, such as loyalty and filial piety, but there is no mention of *shushin*. Instead, there are two sections that explain the significance of *bushido* in great detail. Below is an excerpt titled "*Bushido*" from the *Kokutai no Hongi*, which clearly depicts the vital role it played.

Bushido

Bushido may be cited as showing an outstanding characteristic of our national morality. In the world of warriors one sees inherited the totalitarian structure and spirit of the ancient clans peculiar to our nation. Hence, although the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism have been followed, they have been transcended. That is, although a sense of obligation binds master and servant, it has developed into a spirit of self-effacement and of meeting death with perfect

⁷⁷ (Gluck 1985)

calmness. In this, it was not that death was made light of so much as that man tempered himself for death and in a true sense regarded it with esteem. In effect, man tried to fulfill true life by way of death...

... Yamaga Soko (1622-1685), Matsumiya Kanzan (1686-1780), and Yoshida Shoin (1830-1859) all were men of the most devout character, who exercised much influence in bringing *bushido* to perfection. It is this same *bushido* that shed an outdated feudalism at the time of the Meiji Restoration, increased in splendor, became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and evolved before us as the spirit of the imperial forces.⁷⁸

[Adapted from Hall and Gauntlett, *Kokutai no hongii*, pp 52-183]

As one can see, *shushin* was simply a watered down version of *bushido*. It was a system that was created and imposed by *samurai*. The turmoil of the times led to a militaristic and nationalistic surge creating the opportune moment for the revival of the ancient *samurai* spirit, bringing the nation together under one ideology. Eventually, martial arts would become compulsory courses within the school system further facilitating the link between citizen and *samurai*. Military soldiers would carry the symbol of the *samurai* into battle, the *katana* (Japanese sword), as a reminder of their warrior ancestors, and employed them without hesitation. These soldiers became the face of the modern *samurai*, embodied by the righteousness of *bushido* and empowered with the support of a nation at their back.

⁷⁸ (Hall and Gauntlett 1949)

CHAPTER 2

The integration, transformation, and philosophy behind budo in the Japanese school system.

From the start of the Meiji Period and on through the Showa Period, *bushido* dominated the moral education scene; therefore, it seemed logical to incorporate *budo* as a vehicle to promote this ideology. Although initially the inclusion of *budo* in Japanese schools was met with heavy resistance by liberals and modernists in early Meiji Japan, it would soon find its way through the bureaucracy and into the educational curriculum. However, like moral education in Japan, *budo* would go through a lengthy modernization and westernization process before it would finally be included. In the following sections, I will discuss how and why *budo* was incorporated in Japanese schools, as well the transformation it had to undertake.

Budo's Meiji Revival

While Japan headed into a period of westernization and modernization during the time of Meiji, there were a number of internal movements which sought to preserve the ancient ways of Japan as they existed just prior to this period. The most significant of these movements was driven by the martial artists, many of whom were of *samurai* lineage and experienced the benefits from the study of *budo*, not only physically, but mentally and spiritually as well, leading them to believe that *budo* would have the same effect on Japanese society. These martial arts specialists, who came from all walks of life (i.e. farmers, educators, statesmen, merchants, etc.), would come together in 1895 to form the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* (Great Japan Martial Virtues Association), an organization whose primary goal was the preservation of classical *budo*. Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese war served to arouse nationalistic feelings, and increased interest in the traditional martial arts. Although in its inauguration year the *Butokukai* had less than 1,800 members, its membership would grow to exceed a million after only a decade.⁷⁹ Four years later, in 1899, the *Butokukai* would establish the *Butokuden* (Martial Virtues Hall) in Kyoto, which served as their headquarters and facilitated the free exchange of ideas between *budo* practitioners under one central location.

In the *Butokukai's* prospectus, it states how Emperor Kammu (737- 806 AD) transferred the capital and built the *Butokuden* (Martial Virtues Hall) to encourage the martial

⁷⁹ (International Budo University 2010)

arts, and governed the land in accordance with the “spirit of martial virtue”. The *Butokukai*’s goal was to revive and promote Japan’s martial arts which had waned in the immediate post Restoration period, and instill “martial spirit” in the Japanese people.⁸⁰

These *budo* practitioners, understanding the rapid changes sweeping through Japan, realized that *budo* would also need to modernize if it was going to survive. The result of their collaboration would become known as *shin-budo* (new martial arts). *Shin-budo* would establish a standardized system that simplified the martial arts for the purpose of dissemination to the common population. This standardization would primarily affect *kendo* (Japanese fencing) and *judo* (grappling) initially, and emphasized the basic virtues of *bushido* which embedded a moral code into the martial arts. The purpose of these efforts was to stress the importance of keeping the classical disciplines alive, as well as to prepare *budo* for its initial introduction into the education system.

In addition to these advances in the martial arts, the *Butokukai* would set out to develop instructors who could disseminate the martial arts to the wider community. The first specialist teacher’s training school established in 1905 was called the *Bujutsu Kyoin Yoseisho* (Martial Arts Instructor Development Center) and would undergo various name changes before finally becoming the *Budo Senmon Gakko* (Budo Specialist School) in 1912.⁸¹ The *Budo Senmon Gakko* and the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* were to produce many of Japan’s leading martial arts instructors.

The leading pioneers in this endeavor were Yamaoka Tesshu and his student Takano Sasaburo, who led in the restructuring of *kendo*, and Kano Jigoro, who paved the way for the transformation and modernization of *jujutsu* by founding *judo*. These men all came from extensive martial arts backgrounds and were close associates with officials in the newly formed Meiji government. In addition, they were firm believers in the benefits of the martial arts and its educational and moral value for children.

Yamaoka Tesshu’s Initiative

Yamaoka Tesshu was born to a samurai family in Edo as Ono Tetsutaro in 1836. His father was a retainer for the Tokugawa shogunate and his mother was the daughter of a Shinto priest from Kashima Shrine. Tesshu would begin his study of swordsmanship at the age of

⁸⁰ (International Budo University 2010)

⁸¹ (International Budo University 2010)

nine. His father, seeing that his son had a natural ability for the art, undertook the responsibility of hiring talented sword masters to instruct Yamaoka. When his family moved to Takayama in 1845, Yamaoka would continue his studies in swordsmanship; however, his father would insist that he also study the Chinese classics and Zen.⁸² Consequently, it was the martial arts and Zen which would become the primary focal point of his lifelong study.

In July 1852, after the death of his parents, Yamaoka would return to Edo. He went on to continue his martial studies at the *Genbukan* in November 1852, which specialized in the *Hokushin Itto-ryu* style of swordsmanship under the direction of Inoue Hachiro. Six months later, his training was interrupted by the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry's "black ships", demanding that Japan open itself to the world.⁸³ In reaction to Perry's arrival, the swordsmanship training halls, such as the *Genbukan*, became typical gathering places for *shishi* (Meiji Restoration Activists) and where the slogan *sonno-joi* (Revere the emperor, expel the barbarians) resonated within the walls.⁸⁴ It was through these meetings and acquaintances that Yamaoka would eventually become interested in politics.

In 1853, Yamaoka enrolled at the *Yamaoka Nisshin-ryu* of *sojutsu* (spearmanship) under the guidance of Yamaoka Seizan. Seizan was one of the finest spearmen of the time, insistent on intense training, and a staunch Confucian,⁸⁵ but would pass away shortly after Tesshu's enrollment. Tesshu eventually married Seizan's daughter, Fusako, in order to carry on the Yamaoka name. In 1856, Yamaoka joined the Tokugawa *bakufu* as a minor officer, authored a variety of pamphlets on political affairs, and by 1863 became supervisor of the *Roshigumi* (a force of *ronin* (masterless samurai) serving as a mercenary auxiliary force to the shogun's army).⁸⁶ In 1868, Yamaoka was appointed chief of the *Seieitai*, an elite bodyguard force for the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, and in 1869 was instrumental in the successful negotiations leading to the bloodless surrender of Edo castle.⁸⁷ Yamaoka would move on to join the new Meiji government, where in 1872, he was appointed to the Imperial household, becoming a close confidant and drinking partner to the emperor.⁸⁸

⁸² (Wilson 2014)

⁸³ (Anshin 2012)

⁸⁴ (Stevens 2001)

⁸⁵ (Wilson 2014)

⁸⁶ (Stevens 2001)

⁸⁷ (International Budo University 2010)

⁸⁸ (Wilson 2014)

As chamberlain to Emperor Meiji, Yamaoka would continue his arduous study of swordsmanship and Zen, leading to his greatest legacy, which changed the face of modern swordsmanship. On March 30, 1880, through intense Zen meditation, Yamaoka became enlightened and developed a spiritual philosophy which asserted that victory in swordsmanship was gained not just with technical skill in fighting with a *katana*, but through uniting technique and principle (*jiri-itchi*).⁸⁹ His philosophy of *shingai-muto* (there is no other sword other than the mind) would set the basis for the creation of his new swordsmanship style, *Muto-ryu* (*School of No-Sword*). Yamaoka's premise was that *kenjustu* was a way of self discipline and cultivation. (*shuyo*). Two years later, Yamaoka established the *Shunpukan* at his own residence in Tokyo, where both swordsmanship and Zen were taught through the handling of bamboo swords (*shinai*).⁹⁰ These philosophies led Yamaoka to be considered by many as the one who bridged the gap between Tokugawa *kenjutsu* (swordsmanship) and modern *kendo*. Shortly after establishing the *Shunpukan*, Yamaoka would take on a young protégé, Takano Sasaburo, who under his guidance would further develop these philosophies into influential educational theories which revived swordsmanship and gave it a relevant role in modern society.

Takano Sasaburo & Modern Kendo

Takano Sasaburo was born in 1862 in Saitama prefecture. His family worked as local silk inspectors who also provided lodgings for travelers. It was his grandfather, Mitsumasa Sakichiro, however, who would have the greatest influence on his life. Mitsumasa worked as a *han kenjutsu* instructor in a military encampment and had a small dojo (martial arts hall) in his home, near Chichibu Shrine. It is believed that when Mitsumasa heard of his daughter's pregnancy, he ordered her to watch the practices at his dojo. Subsequently, it is said that Takano's training began before he was actually born. Mitsumasa would formally begin training Takano when he became three years old, often coaxing him into *kata* (choreographed techniques or forms) practice by offering sweets. At the age of five, Takano was able to demonstrate all 50 of the basic *Itto-ryu kata*.

As the years passed, Mitsumasa would continue to diligently train and instruct Takano in swordsmanship, often incorporating unusual methods of practice, including training at night, on slopes, or in the water. In the mornings, he would have Sasaburo face towards the

⁸⁹ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

⁹⁰ (Wilson 2014)

east with his mouth open wide to be able to drink in the heavens, believing that the spirit of the gods would soak into his body. Throughout his training, Takano would continue to prove himself and his ability in swordsmanship. By the time he was 10, he was already defeating boys older and larger than him in local bouts. At 17, his skills had become so refined that he earned the nickname *Chichibu no Kotengu* (The little sword demon of Chichibu).

In the early 1880's, in pursuit of further improving his swordsmanship skills, he moved to Tokyo where he came under the tutelage of Yamaoka Tesshu. While at the *Shunpukan*, he would diligently study and practice the precepts of *Muto-ryu*, quickly becoming one of Yamaoka's prime students. In 1886, the 24 year old Takano would become a *kendo* (at that time known as *gekken*) instructor for the *keishicho* (Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department), under the recommendation of Yamaoka. While stationed at the Motomachi police station, Takano would begin to make a name for himself by winning numerous bouts at the *Keishicho's* monthly tournaments (*gekkenkai*), as well as in front of the emperor in tournaments known as *Tenran Shiai*. In lieu of his victories, he would become one of the most renowned *kenshi* (swordsmen) in the *keishicho*. In 1888, Takano would be sent to work at the Saitama Police Headquarters in Urawa City and began teaching *kendo* at the police training institute the following year. That same year, he would establish the *Meishinkan*, which he built on the grounds of his father's business. The *Meishinkan* later served as the headquarters for a network of branch *dojo* in Saitama prefecture.

Takano would continue to build his resume by attending the first *Butokusai* in Kyoto as a Tokyo representative in 1895. The *Butokusai* was a festival held to pray for the development of *bujutsu* in the form of exhibition matches after the construction of the *Butokuden* in the precincts of the Heian Shrine.⁹¹ Takano would win both of his matches, and repeat his victories the following year when he was awarded with the rank of *seirensyo* for his achievements, a title that only 15 practitioners have ever had the honor of receiving. After his participation at the *Butokusai*, Takano went on to create the *Kendo Kyojuho Kenkyujo Meishinkan Honbu* (*Kendo Pedagogy and Research Institute, Meishinkan Headquarters*). The *Kendo Kyojuho Kenkyujo Meishinkan Honbu* would open its doors in 1897, and would have a significant impact on the modernization of *kendo*.

In 1908, the Ministry of Education would finally consider *gekken* (*kendo*) and *judo* as elective school subjects, and set out to find experienced teachers. During this period, Kano

⁹¹ (All Japan Kendo Federation 2011)

Jigoro, the founder of *Kodokan Judo*, was the principal at the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* (*Tokyo Higher Teacher Training College*). Kano would submit a request to Minegishi, head of the *gekken* department at the time, to find appropriate fencing instructors. Following Kano's request, Minegishi composed a list of notable candidates and invited them to fence with the *gekken* students. Those who passed the physical test would then qualify for a formal interview. Takano arrived at the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* on the 19th of March 1908. The examiners, immensely impressed by his skill, would select Takano in a matter of three short days.

During his tenure at the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko*, Takano gained valuable knowledge and experience in the instruction of *gekken* for large scale groups. He would often collaborate with Kano on various teaching methods, *budo* modernization philosophies, and on theories regarding the incorporation and dissemination of *budo* in Japanese schools. Inspired by Kano, Takano would eventually begin research on the creation of a kendo curriculum suitable for general school and university students. The culmination of his research was published in two books, *Kendo* in 1915 and *Kendo Kyohan* in 1930, which introduced group-teaching methods and established standard forms of etiquette.⁹² Takano would eventually become the *gekken* department head in 1915 and continue his career at *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* on through to 1936. Aside from modernizing *kendo* and its teaching methods for the purpose of its incorporation in the school system, he would aid in the creation of *kendo kata*, under the suggestion of Kano Jigoro, and the standardization of *kendo*. These developments would coin Takano Sasaburo as “the father of modern *kendo*.”

Kano Jigoro and His Creation

Of the many Japanese that were able to break the mold by crossing oceans and borders in an effort of cultural exchange and diplomacy, the man who made one of the most significant and longest lasting contributions to both the West and Japan was Kano Jigoro, the creator of *Judo*. *Judo*, which was established in 1882 as *Kodokan Judo*, impacted the world of sports, school systems, and Japanese society through moral and physical education. Kano's dream was not only to create a new martial art that accommodated modern times, but to educate its practitioners with correct morals and physical education. Kano's intention was to create an art which the Japanese would teach the West in exchange for all it had taught them. Kano emphasizes this concept when he states: “In the future, the citizens of the nations of the

⁹² (International Budo University 2010)

world will naturally be drawn together, and cultures will gradually blend. At that time, if we have learned a great deal from other countries but have nothing to teach them, not only must we feel ashamed but it will also be difficult to avoid being looked down upon. So, what shall we teach them? We have *judo*.⁹³

Kano Jigoro before Judo

Kano Jigoro was born Kano Shinnosuke in 1860 to a *sake* brewing family. Growing up, he was a small child with little to no hope of becoming a successful athlete. In light of this, his father urged him to excel in education and provided for him the very best in private schools and English tutors. This was of great significance to his development as he was only eight years old at the time the Meiji Restoration was taking place and the school system was entering a period of great change.

By 1872, when Kano was 12 years old, the *Gakusei* (The First National Plan for Education) was issued by the Ministry of Education under the guidance of Fukuzawa Yukichi, a scholar, author, and educator on all things Western. The *Gakusei* set the tone for what would become the mandatory principles to be disseminated to students as set forth by the emperor, with its words, "We look forward to a time when there will be no illiteracy in any village house, no illiterate in any home".⁹⁴ The universal education system had made Japan the first country in Asia to have a literate populace.⁹⁵ This document also engaged Western systems of education primarily based on those of the United States. As stated in chapter 1, the *Gakusei* of 1872 would see several revisions by the end of the Meiji period, as the newly formed government had only been in power for four years and still needed ample time to fully understand and investigate the various modes of implementation of this new Western-style of education. Western philosophies of capitalism and individualism, primarily the ability for one to think on one's own, were some of the main themes that ran through the educational currents along with nationalistic pride and moral education injected into the system by Meiji officials. In addition to moral and ethical education provided to him through his early years of schooling, Kano received immense disciplining from his mother.

Although his mother passed away when Kano was only 9 years old, she was able to instill in him a great sense of moral etiquette. His mother was strict, and would scold him for

⁹³ (Kano 2005)

⁹⁴ (Ikemoto 1996)

⁹⁵ (Reischauer 1964)

putting his hand out first when she gave sweets to the neighborhood children, thus teaching him the importance of helping others first. She was a stickler for discipline and when he misbehaved she would admonish him until he apologized.⁹⁶ The following is an example of Kano's mother's stress on ethical training as expressed by Murata Naoki, director of the Kodokan Judo Institute Museum:

One time, young Kano stepped over a bowl of rice. His mother was furious for such lack of respect to an implement used to eat from. He stubbornly resolved not to say sorry. Finally, somebody intervened and Shinnosuke was reluctantly made to apologize.⁹⁷

It was through this strong foundation of moral training at home in combination with the westernization and modernization agendas set forth by the Meiji government that laid the groundwork for Kano's *judo* philosophy. This foundation would support drastic changes that would modernize martial arts as a whole, making them education-ready; it would also introduce *judo* to the Western world in a neat easy-to-understand package that would later blossom into an Olympic sport.

Kodokan Judo is Born

In 1877, while he was attending Tokyo Imperial University, Kano took an interest in *jujutsu* as a method of self-defense. He first studied *Tenjin Shinyo-ryu jujutsu* under the tutelage of Fukuda Hachinosuke and, after the latter's death, continued his studies under Iso Masatomo of the same *ryuha* (school style). Due to Kano's intense practice and his solid grounding in the *jujutsu* taught by Fukuda, he was soon an assistant at Iso's school, and in 1881, at the age of 21, he gained a license (*kyoshi menkyo*) to teach *Tenjin Shinyo-ryu*.⁹⁸ When Iso died, Kano continued his *jujutsu* studies under the guidance of Iikubo Tsunetoshi of *Kito-ryu jujutsu*. Subsequently, Kano went on to study various other styles of *jujutsu* to further his understanding of the art. This is of particular importance as pointed out by Kano in his book *Mind Over Muscle*:

Tenjin Shinyo-ryu practiced *nage-waza* (throwing techniques), but it focused mainly on *shime-waza* (strangling techniques) and *kansetsu-waza* (joint techniques), followed by *osae-komi-waza* (hold-down techniques); there was

⁹⁶ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

⁹⁷ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

⁹⁸ (Maekawa 1978)

comparatively little study of *nage-waza*. Kito-ryu was originally a form of grappling in armor, and its *nage-waza* were unsurpassed, but it placed little emphasis on *shime-waza*, *kansetsu-waza*, or *osae-komi-waza*. So, I [Kano] kept the strong points of these two schools and compensated for the areas in which they were lacking by studying other schools. I finalized the techniques [of *judo*] after incorporating various devices of my own.⁹⁹

Aside from developing the technical aspect of *judo*, Kano also incorporated three distinct modes or methods for training that were unique to his creation of *judo*. These three methods were broken down into the following sections as explained by Kano.

I divided it [*judo*] into three parts: its use as a fighting method (martial art), as a training method (physical education), and a method of mental training (including the development of the intellect and morals and the application of the principles of *judo* to everyday life.¹⁰⁰

These methods were paramount in his final steps to creating his art and naming it *judo*. Although the techniques that composed his creation were based on *jujutsu*, what made his art different was the potential of the practitioner being able to incorporate its philosophies into his or her everyday life. Hence, when naming the art, he selected the suffix ‘-do’ (way), insinuating a path or a way of life rather than the suffix ‘-jutsu’ meaning skill. Kano would take this one step further when finally naming his school *Kodokan Judo* in 1882, which breaks down into *ko* (lecture, study, practice), *do* (way or doctrine), and *kan* (hall or place), that is, “a place for studying the way.”¹⁰¹

As *Kodokan Judo* grew in popularity, Kano continued to develop and improve new philosophies and concepts that would continue to change the face of modern martial arts and prepare them for their formal introduction into the Japanese school system for the purpose of developing an able-bodied nation. Kano’s dream was to create a strong nation with good morals and education, which would in turn show the West the capabilities of the Japanese people, both as individuals and as a united front.

⁹⁹ (Kano 2005)

¹⁰⁰ (Kano 2005)

¹⁰¹ (Draeger 1996)

The Essence of Judo

The essence of *judo* can be broken down into two distinct ideals, each of which contain four different components: physical training, intellectual training, moral education, and *judo* as a martial art. These ideals are *seiryoku saizen katsuyo* and *sojo sojou jita kyoei*.

Seiryoku saizen katsuyo means “best use of one’s energy” and was commonly interchanged with *seiryoku zenyo* meaning “maximum efficiency.” This concept is the main artery for *judo* studies and is integrated throughout every aspect of the art. It is what guides the pupil on what is right and what is wrong, whether it be in the training hall or walking down the street.¹⁰²

Aside from the obvious use of this concept, Kano posed another interesting argument as to why *judo* qualifies as *seiryoku zenyo* as it pertains to physical education and training. His argument states that to train the body only to make it stronger is a waste of personal time and energy. However, if physical education and training take place through *judo*, then the practitioner will be applying the concept of *seiryoku zenyo*: he or she will not only be making the body stronger, but will be learning a system of self-defense, thus maximizing the outcome of the activity. This argument would later play a role in *judo*’s integration with the Meiji school system.

The second concept widely distributed with *judo* and which probably was a direct result of the changing times during the Meiji period is *sojo sojou jita kyoei* meaning “mutual prosperity through mutual assistance and concession.” The term was usually shortened to *jita kyoei* (mutual prosperity). Although this very concept would be later utilized by the Japanese government to indoctrinate its citizens to follow an ultra nationalistic agenda, its original intent was for the betterment of the people. It is yet unclear, however, whether this was a concept created by Kano or if it was introduced to him via his schooling and later adapted and incorporated into *judo*.

In his writings, Kano brings the two concepts of *seiryoku zenyo* and *jita kyoei* together to show the benefits they have, not only on the study of *judo*, but in society as well, giving

¹⁰² If there is one thing that I have personally learned from my training in judo over the last 25 years, it is exactly how effective and necessary *seiryoku zenyo* really is in a match, especially with a larger opponent that is physically stronger. Each move that is made needs to be carefully calculated as any unnecessary expenditure of energy could lead to unrecoverable positions and fatigue. An English friend of mine said it best when he described it as “an economy of motion.”

further credence to his argument that the study of *judo* can be beneficial to those both on and off the mat. The following segment is taken from his writings:

If a group of people lives together, not only can those people avoid offending each other, they can also help each other. There are things that cannot be done alone but need the assistance of others. Furthermore, the virtues and strengths of one can complement and foster those of another. Accordingly, the situation affords advantages to each of them that they would not have alone...

For this reason, if each member of a group helps others and acts selflessly, the group can be harmonious and act as one. Accordingly, the group can make the best use of its energy, just like an individual. This principle remains true even in the case of a complex society with a population of millions. So, if *seiryoku zenyo* and *jita kyoei* are realized, social life will naturally continue to progress and develop, and as members of society, everyone can achieve the results they hope for.¹⁰³

In this way, *judo* was not just developed for the avid martial arts practitioner, but for the average man, woman, and child as well. Kano's genius had created an art which was conducive to the times. Structured within the modernization of the Meiji period, it was a product that married past with present. By implementing these concepts within *judo*, Kano had taken the final step in structuring the art and making it a complete system. The next step that had to be taken was to have *judo* implemented in the schools systems in order to place these concepts in motion, starting with the youth of Japan.

Judo and Physical Education

After Jigoro Kano's graduation from the Tokyo Imperial University in 1882, where he majored in political science and economics under the Department of Aesthetics and Morals, he was involved in education. Although he went on to work with the Ministry of Education and other branches of government, his heart was set on being an educator. It was through this connection and his desire to disseminate *judo* that led to his initial proposal for *judo*'s acceptance into Japanese schools.

Despite his political position, however, his initial proposal in 1883 was met with opposition by the Ministry of Education, which had made a formal inquiry into the suitability

¹⁰³ (Kano 2005)

of *bujutsu* (martial arts) for the educational curriculum. The *Taiso Denshusho* (National Gymnastics Institute) was directed to conduct the survey, and reported nine specific reasons for not introducing martial arts in schools, including the dangers of the practical exercises and the tendency for students to become rough in manner.¹⁰⁴

In response to this, in 1889, Kano delivered a lecture entitled “*Judo ippan narabi ni sono kyoikujo no kachi*” (A look at *judo* and its educational value) before the Ministry of Education’s top officials. He clarified the differences between *judo* and *jujutsu*, and demonstrated how *judo* was technically and theoretically constructed.¹⁰⁵ Kano would continue to engage in this endeavor by further involving himself with the Ministry of Education. In 1894, he would become the principal of the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko* until 1902. Finally, in July of 1911, in a revision to middle school regulations, *gekken* and *jujutsu* were accepted in the regular curriculum as elective courses. It wasn’t until May of 1926 that the terms “*gekken*” and “*jujutsu*” were changed to “*kendo*” and “*judo*” by the Ministry of Education, with emphasis placed on attitude over competition.¹⁰⁶ By 1931, “*kendo*” and “*judo*” were made compulsory subjects in middle and normal schools. In May of 1939, with the rise of militarism, fifth year elementary school boys and above were expected to train in both subjects.

Although Kano succeeded in incorporating *judo* into the educational curriculum, towards the end of his life he grew dissatisfied with the direction it was taking. The Meiji/Taisho government had skewed the primary *budo* principles of improving the self which would in turn benefit the nation, to one that had strict militaristic and nationalistic implications. It would finally take war and utter defeat to eventually restore *judo* and the rest of the martial arts to their initial motives for modernization.

Kano, Judo, & the World

In his youth, Kano had taken an interest in Western studies and dreamed that one day he would be able to make an impact. Beginning in 1889, Kano travelled overseas, and used the opportunities to advance the promotion of *judo*. Evidence of this early introduction can be found in the archives of the University of Paris in Sorbonne. He travelled overseas on twelve

¹⁰⁴ (International Budo University 2010)

¹⁰⁵ (International Budo University 2010)

¹⁰⁶ (International Budo University 2010)

separate occasions promoting “the principles of *judo* in impeccable English.”¹⁰⁷ Kano Yukimitsu writes the following of his grandfather, Kano Jigoro, in regards to his international accomplishments:

Through his travels abroad, Kano became aware of the capacity of sports for human development, and early on he perceived that sports were without borders. As a result, he readily consented to become the first person from Asia to be named to the International Olympic Committee. The Olympic philosophy, in which sports foster the development of young people and contribute to world peace, is in accord with *jita kyoei*, Kano’s *judo* spirit.

After becoming a member of the International Olympic Committee, he contributed to mutual prosperity in the form of world peace through the hosting of the Olympic Games in Tokyo. In so doing, he helped achieve his lifelong dream of introducing the people of the world to the citizens of Japan, and the beauty of Japan to the people of the world.¹⁰⁸

Kano Jigoro and his creation made a tremendous impact on both Japanese and Western society. Influenced by the westernization and modernization of the times, Kano was able to create a superior martial art that was able to withstand the test of time and that continues to grow with each passing year. Kano was the very embodiment of *jita kyoei* and inspired many to become greater than they could have ever imagined through the physical and intellectual training of *judo*. Kano’s purpose in the creation of *judo* can be best summarized by in his own words:

“*Judo* is the way of the highest or most efficient use of both physical and mental energy. Through training in the techniques of *judo*, the practitioners nurture their physical and mental strength, and gradually embody the essence of the ‘Way’. Thus, the ultimate objective of *judo* is self-perfection, and to make a positive contribution to society.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ (International Budo University 2010)

¹⁰⁸ (Kano 2005)

¹⁰⁹ (Kano 2005)

Development of Physical Education in Schools

The development of physical education in Japanese schools began with Tanaka Fujimaro, during his tenure as director of the Ministry of Education. As one can recall from chapter 1, Tanaka had spent a considerable amount of time at Amherst College in Massachusetts. Aside from acquiring a variety of educational theories and policies, he was heavily influenced by the physical education courses provided at the college. The main features of the Amherst system that appealed to Tanaka during his visit in 1872, as he states, were the “light form of calisthenics, performed in a single class, every student compelled to take it... that everyone came and joined in the exercises, which moved in a most pleasing manner to music, occupying mind and muscle alike.”¹¹⁰ This course was unique to Amherst College as it was the first college in United States to include physical education as part of its required curriculum. These courses were headed by a newly formed physical education department with access to a well equipped gymnasium. Amherst College was a pioneer in establishing a physical culture for the betterment of one’s future health and mental strength.

In 1876, Tanaka visited Amherst College for the second time where he took the initiative on consulting with the head of the physical education department at the college regarding the possibilities of hiring a specialist. Tanaka would follow up on this idea upon his return to Japan and submit a formal request as director of the Ministry of Education to Amherst College. His formal request came in the form of a letter written on the 6th of March, 1878, two years after his return from the United States, to the President of Amherst College, Julius Seelye. In the letter, Tanaka expressed his admiration for the physical education system at Amherst College and explained the incompleteness and disarray of Japan’s system. He went on to request that Amherst College send a specialist to Japan for the purpose of developing the physical education system.

Upon receipt of Tanaka’s letter, it would only take three months for Seelye to respond in which he informed Tanaka that George A. Leland , a graduate of Amherst College and of Harvard University’s medical department, had accepted the assignment. Leland was well suited for the task, as by the time he received the request from Seelye, he had completed *A Manual of Gymnastic Exercises* and was serving as a physician in the Boston City Hospital in the department for nervous and renal disease. In September 1878, Leland would arrive in Japan and begin the formation of the new physical educational system.

¹¹⁰ (Duke 2008)

Leland's task while in Japan was to introduce American-style physical education (*taiso kyoiku*) to the Japanese. His original contract was for two years and was later extended to three. In November 1878, Tanaka would launch the Ministry of Education's first National Gymnastics Institute (*Taiso Denshusho*) in Tokyo under the supervision of Iwasa Shuji, who was also serving as president of the Tokyo Teacher Training School. Leland would be appointed chief instructor. Shuji had spent several years in the United States and had showed great interest in physical education. Subsequently, Leland would find himself in a unique position setting the standards for the modern physical education system in Japan with the full support and encouragement of Shuji, the president of the elite Tokyo training school and Tanaka, the head of the Ministry of Education.

Leland's physical education curriculum would include methods from Amherst College and Harvard University which included free standing calisthenics. He would instruct students in dumb-bell exercises, clubs, wands, rings, and heavy apparatus. In addition to physical training they were lectured in anatomy, physiology, hygiene, and the theory and principles of physical culture. The introduction of Leland's methods would replace the Japanese military-type training and martial arts associated with physical education, which he rejected. Leland considered physical exercise as a necessity for over all good health and sought to pass-on the importance of this principle through his teachings. Leland's influence over physical education in Japan would also change the name of the subject from *taijutsu* (physical exercise) to *taiiku* (body nurturing), and finally again in 1879 to *taiso* (calisthenics).¹¹¹ In addition to his teachings, he wrote a textbook on the *New Physical Education (Shinsen Taisosho)*, which was translated into Japanese by Tsuboi Gendo. The title page revealed that it was "a translation of lectures and practical exercises at the Physical Training School by Dr. George Leland from the city of Boston in America."¹¹² The text included my illustrations of the recommended exercises and was of the training implements used at the school.

By the late 1870' and early 1880's, Leland's American-style physical education system had spread throughout Japan as it became incorporated as part of the official curriculum of modern public schools. Leland was considered by many to be the father of the modern physical education system in Japan. Although, he would continue to have influence over the physical education system through the 1880's, Leland's system would eventually come under the control of anti-western conservative nationalists that would transform the

¹¹¹ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

¹¹² (Duke 2008)

educational system through a process that was known as the reverse course, an initiative to expel western-style teachings from Japanese schools. Through this initiative, military-type training and martial arts (*budo*) instruction would once again become the anchor of physical education in Japan. The newly formed department of physical education that was once used for the development of western-style training was to remain, however, its new purpose would be to disseminate the very teachings that it was initially attempting to suppress.

Budo's Transformation & the Japanese School System

The first official mention by the Ministry of Education regarding the incorporation of *budo* into the Japanese school system was recorded in 1883, when the Ministry of Education commissioned the *Taiso Denshusho* under the direction of George Leland to investigate the potential of martial arts in Japanese schools. The *Taiso Denshusho* published a report titled “The educational advantages, disadvantages, and appropriateness of *gekken* and *jujutsu*”.

Advantages:

1. An effective means of enhancing physical development.
2. Develops stamina
3. Rouses the spirit, and boosts morale.
4. Expurgates spineless deportment and replaces it with vigor.
5. Arms the exponent with techniques for self-defense in times of danger.

Disadvantages:

1. May cause unbalanced physical development
2. Always an imminent danger present in training.
3. Difficult to determine the appropriate degree of exercise, especially as physically strong students must train with weaker individuals.
4. Could encourage violent behavior due to the rousing of the spirit.
5. Exhilarates the will to fight which could manifest into an attitude of winning at all costs.
6. Difficult to sustain unified instructional methodology for large numbers of students.
7. Requires a large area to conduct training.

8. Even though *jujutsu* only requires a *keiko-gi* (training uniform) *kenjutsu* requires the use of armor and other special equipment which would be expensive and difficult to keep hygienic.

[Adapted from International Budo University, The History and Spirit of Budo]

The *Taiso Denshoshō* would go on to advise against the instruction of martial arts in schools as it was deemed “unsuitable as a regular subject” and stated that “to simply refute the use of Western gymnastics on the basis that martial arts have always been a custom in our country would result in an unbalanced approach centering on spiritual education, and the true merits of physical education will not be achievable.”¹¹³

This report made it clear that the martial arts, as they were presented at the time, were not conducive to the development of a balanced physique, were potentially dangerous, and could encourage violent tendencies. In addition, there was a concern in regards to hygiene and the equipment used in *gekken*. The point regarding group instruction was also of great significance, since traditionally the martial arts had been taught on an individual basis from teacher to student. The results of this report would set into motion a standardization that would modernize the martial arts by incorporating western sports’ concepts. This became known as *taisōka* (gymnastification) of *budo* and triggered a variety of different publications such as *Shin-an Gekken Taiso-ho (New Fencing Calisthenics)* by Hashimoto Shintaro in 1896 and *Shin-shiki Bujutsu Taiso-ho (New Style Bujutsu Calisthenics)* by Ozawa Unosuke in 1897. These writings sought to uphold the essence of martial arts and demonstrated the length some educators were prepared to go to transform *budo* into something acceptable and beneficial to the physical development of children.¹¹⁴ This process would be the first step in the transformation of *budo* and would eventually facilitate in the acceptance of *budo* as a school subject.

As mentioned in previous sections, Japan’s 1895 victory over China in the Sino-Japanese war had inspired nationalistic sentiments and a revival of the traditional “martial spirit” (*shōbu no kifu*), further contributing to a favorable public opinion of the martial arts and its instruction. With the establishment of the *Butokukai*, *gekken* and *jujutsu* tournaments became widespread and a number of *Koto Shihan Gakko* and middle schools began offering

¹¹³ (International Budo University 2010)

¹¹⁴ (International Budo University 2010)

instruction in *budo*. Later that year, the *Gakuji Nenbo Tekiyo* (Annual Report on Education) noted that nineteen middle schools and sixteen teacher training schools had taken it upon themselves to add martial arts to their curricula. In 1896, the Tokyo Prefectural Education Society (*Tokyofu Kyoikukai*) published a set of programs on how to introduce martial arts into the physical education program.¹¹⁵

... depending on the economic situation in a particular locality, there is more of less chance for implementation of a *gekken* program: therefore, it is not possible to make one definite recommendation. (But) this society can offer the following based on what has been done in the past and what seems appropriate for the future:

1. Students: boys who have reached a full ten years and volunteer to do it.
2. Teachers: It is best to hire a teacher whose technique is good. In particular, more than anything else it's good to hire a *samurai* whose skills are in his blood (*chishidorentatsu no shi*)
3. *Dojo*: until you can build one, use a classroom.
4. *Time*: Every week meet twice or three times, and do it outside the normal class times (that is, do not interfere with normal classes). Each meeting should be two hours total.
5. A note regarding gear: Use things that are age-appropriate.

[Adapted from Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan*]

This proposal by the *Tokyofu Kyoikukai*, would prompt the Ministry of Education to create the *Gakko Eisei Komonkai* (School Hygiene Advisory Board) to review the medical and health related effects of martial arts on the youth. The *Gakko Eisei Komonkai*, in drafting their response, would consult with nine medical advisors and come to the conclusion that “instituting *gekken* or *jujutsu* as a physical education is harmful to students... [however] there is no objection to instituting these practices as games (*yugi*) for student over fifteen.”¹¹⁶ Unsatisfied with their response, *budo* advocates would continue the debate and begin a formal petition process with the Imperial Diet.

Later that year, the first in a series of petitions was presented at the 10th Imperial Diet Session; however, it would take twelve years of petitioning before reaching an acceptable

¹¹⁵ (Gainty 2013)

¹¹⁶ (Gainty 2013)

outcome. Finally, at the 24th Imperial Diet Session in 1908, amendments were made to regulations governing normal and middle schools. In Article 24 of the “Normal School Regulations”, it was declared that “*gekken* and *jujutsu* may be added to the physical education curriculum for boys.” In Article 13 of the “Middle School Regulations”, it was also decided that “*gekken* and *jujutsu* be added to the physical education classes.”¹¹⁷ These amendments would take effect in 1911 and would classify *gekken* and *jujutsu* as extracurricular courses.

In light of the Ministry of Education’s acceptance of *gekken* and *jujutsu* as school courses, the second major transformation of *budo* began to take shape. The transformation required the development teachers, a standardized system of *kata*, and group-teaching methodologies. The instruction of teachers was to fall under the direction of the *Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakko*, which was currently under the direction of Kano Jigoro, and the *Butokukai’s Budo Senmon Gakko*. The creation of *gekken* or *kendo kata*, became the responsibility of twenty *kenjutsu* specialists, including the influential Takano Sasaburo, appointed by the *Butokukai*. The new standard series of *kendo kata* were unveiled in 1911, and were known as the *Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendo Kata*, before becoming the *Nippon Kendo Kata*, as they are called today. The *judo kata* were derived from Kano’s newly established *kodokan judo* system and were known as the *Butokukai Seitei Kata*. Furthermore, a book titled *Kendo* in 1915, by Takano Sasaburo would introduce standard group-teaching methods and standards for etiquette.

In 1913, the *Gakko Taiso Kyoju Yomoku* (Teaching Guidelines for Physical Education), were formulated to permit the study of *gekken* and *jujutsu* at middle and normal schools for boys and introduced the study of *naginata* (halberd) and *kyudo* (archery) for girls along with *kakuryoku* (*sumo*) for boys. At the 50th Imperial Diet Session in 1925, a proposal was submitted to elevate *budo* to compulsory status. The motion was denied since “There is a regrettable tendency to focus on issues of technical skill and competition that would have suppressed in a favor of moderate exercise.”¹¹⁸ However, this proposal did achieve to change the names of *gekken* to *kendo* and *jujutsu* to *judo* in the 1926 revision of the *Gakko Taiso Kyoju Yomoku*. The significance of this change underlines the complete understanding of these arts as *budo* versus sports or games.

¹¹⁷ (International Budo University 2010)

¹¹⁸ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

Throughout this process *budo* would go through one last technical change and westernization. By the 1920's many students were actively participating in Western sports in which they enjoyed the competitive nature of these activities. In order further popularize *budo* amongst the youth, *budo* specialist, such as Kano, would begin the process of modeling *budo* tournament regulations after those of Western sports. In 1924, at the first Meiji Shrine Sports tournament, several sports including track and field, swimming, baseball, soccer, basketball, and volleyball, as well as, *judo*, *kendo*, *kyudo*, and *sumo*, conducted national scale championships. The decision to include *budo* in an effort to promote the arts amongst Western sports was met with heavy resistance from the *Butokukai*. They stated that “the essence of *budo* is not about competition,” and declared its non-participation. However, pioneers, such as Kano and his contemporaries, understood the importance of this initiative and by the late 1920's had developed a three referee system with standardized match rules. This became known as the “sportification” of the *budo* arts. These changes would have such significant effects on *budo* that by the beginning of the Showa period it had become as competitive in nature as its Western counterparts.

Finally, in 1931 *kendo* and *judo* became compulsory subjects under the revisions of the *Middle School Order Enforcement Regulations*, which stated “*Kendo* and *judo* are martial arts unique to our country that nurture a pure and robust national spirit, and are recognized as being apposite for tempering body and mind...”¹¹⁹ Furthermore, in 1936 the *Teaching Principles for Physical Education* were revised and outlined the proper teaching content and methodology for *kendo* and *judo*, as well as for the first time made *kyudo* and *naginata* regular subjects for girls.

In 1941, the *Kokumin Gakko* (National Peoples' School) was introduced in which the curriculum was dedicated to nurturing “Loyalty to the Emperor.”¹²⁰ The term used for physical education, *taisoka*, was changed to *tairanka* and focused on physical discipline which included calisthenics and *budo* instruction. The *Kokumin Gakko* would describe the *tairanka budō* classes as follows:

“*Tairanka budō* classes will teach fundamental movements and strengthen body and mind through cultivating the *budo* spirit. Boys will be taught *kendo*

¹¹⁹ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

¹²⁰ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

and *judo* in primary education which will be continued in higher education. Girls will be taught *naginata*.”¹²¹

As the Pacific War progressed, the War Office would continue to revise the *Teaching Principles for Physical Education* basing the policies for education on slogans such as “developing strong and indomitable mind and body”, “*budo* spirit”, “attacking spirit”, “arousing the will to be victorious”, and “sacrificial devotion”.¹²² The terminologies used in teaching the arts were also changed to reflect these concepts, for example in *kendo* the term “*datotsu*” (strike) was changed to “*zantotsu*” (cut).

This period marks one of the darkest eras in the Japanese school system as it culminated in the ultimate indoctrination of the youth through the instruction of *bushido* and *budo*. As noted above, although the initial intentions behind the incorporation of *budo* into the Japanese schools were for the betterment of the nation, they quickly turned for the worst as Japan headed into war. Japan’s defeat to the United States in 1945 would lead to the termination of the school system as they knew it and the banning of *budo* practice for the entire nation during the seven years of American occupation. *Budo* would see a slow revival during the mid-1950’s under the guise of promoting friendship across borders through the practice of *budo*, a concept that was originally set forth by Kano Jigoro in the early 1890’s.

¹²¹ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

¹²² (Nippon Budokan 2009)

CONCLUSION

Despite what many have said in the West in regards to *bushido* and its non-involvement in the Japanese school system, this research not only proves the contrary, but also demonstrates the effects it had on the nation, as well as to the extent in which it was embedded in the government and engrained into the people's minds. It can be said now, that without it, the Japanese would have lost their identity and most likely continued to follow a European or American model, as the modernizers of early Meiji Japan had desired. However, just as it was instrumental in the preservation of Japanese culture, the incorporation of *bushido* and *budo*, along with its malpractice, eventually led to Japan's defeat in World War II. Understanding their critical error, the Japanese would insist on a revival of *bushido* through the practice of *budo*, concluding that the practice of these arts was paramount to the preservation of Japanese culture. This initiative would ensure that *budo* and *bushido* would remain alive until this day.

After Japan's defeat to the Americans in 1945, the occupying forces would ban the practice of *budo* and eliminate the inclusion of *bushido* as moral education in Japanese schools. In March of 1947, the *Teaching Principles for Physical Education* was replaced with the *Physical Education Curriculum Guidelines* which changed *tairen* (physical discipline) to *taiiku* (physical education). Throughout this period, *budo* specialists would collaborate with the Ministry of Education on the reinstatement of the martial arts, and in May 1950 submitted a petition titled, "A request for the implementation of school *judo*." The petition was accompanied by a number of documents detailing the educational value of *judo*, and its disassociation with any sort of militaristic affiliation. In September of that same year the Ministry of Education was granted permission and immediately sent a statement of "The reinstatement of *judo*" nationwide which read "*Judo* has reestablished itself with new content as a democratic sport, and any school middle school or higher with the means to reinstate *judo* as a subject for learning in physical education classes is now permitted to do so."¹²³ Following the restoration of *judo*, *kyudo* was reintroduced in 1951; *kendo* was permitted first a *shinai-kyogi* (*shinai* sport) in 1952, then as *kendo* in 1953; and *naginata* was allowed in 1959. Throughout this process, however, due to previous militaristic connections still associated with the term *budo*, these arts were labeled *kakugi* (combative sports) instead.

¹²³ (Nippon Budokan 2009)

The *Fundamental Law of Education* outlined the details of *kakugi*, which allowed for its inclusion into the *Junior High School Curriculum Guidelines* in 1958 and the *High School Curriculum Guidelines* in 1960. The *kakugi* courses included were *sumo*, *judo*, and *kendo*. Schools were allowed to select one of the three to teach male students in each grade level and girls were not permitted to participate in *kakugi* courses. In 1970, there would be further revisions to the *High School Curriculum Guidelines*, which added *kyudo*, wrestling, and *naginata* to the list of *kakugi* courses, which allowed for their inclusion into the school curriculum.

In 1989, both sets of guidelines would be revised again. The term *kakugi* was formally changed to *budo* for the first time in the postwar period. The revisions would require that junior and high school students take either *budo* or dance classes throughout the entire course their study. Subsequently, girls were also allowed to take *budo* courses. The revisions would also designate *sumo*, *kendo*, and *judo*, for instruction in junior high schools and *kendo* and *judo* for high schools. The reasons for these changes are outlined by Motomura Kiyoto who was a MEXT (Ministry of Education) Sports and Youth Department Physical Education Official and is currently a professor at the Tokyo Women's College of Physical Education.

“One of the main reasons for changing the classification for *kakugi* to *budo* was due to the acknowledgement of *budo* as being an important example of traditional Japanese culture. It was considered necessary to promote its instruction in schools for its cultural value. Furthermore, many societies and institutions such as the Japanese Academy of Budo and the Nippon Budokan Foundation were using the term, and it was attracting a significant following overseas. *Budo* instruction improved considerably in content, and emphasized the merits of sports whilst retaining traditional customs, movements, and forms of etiquette. This recognition was officially endorsed with the change in title from *kakugi* to *budo*.”

[Adapted from Nippon Budokan Foundation, *Budo: The Martial Ways of Japan*]

In 2006, significant revisions were made to the *Fundamental Law of Education* of the 1950's and 60's. The revisions would once again make *budo* courses compulsory in junior high schools in 2012, by adding the cause, “Cultivation of an attitude of respect for other

countries, and contribute to the development of peace in international society, while loving our country and provinces, which have come to respect tradition and culture, and foster them.” From this point on physical education in junior high schools would consist of body-building, apparatus exercises, athletics, swimming, ball sports, dance, theory of physical education and *budo*.

In closing, *budo* and its instruction in *bushido* remain to be an active part of Japanese society today. The postwar petition processes have many similarities to those of pre-war Japan as *budo* and *bushido* continue to be an integral part of the Japanese people as whole. Today, it is actively practiced by police departments, military personnel, school teachers, retirees, and children across Japan. Abroad, *budo* dojo(s) have served to facilitate and preserve culture for Japanese visitors, providing them with meeting places for the exchange of ideas and a sense of community in a foreign land. In essence, the spirit of the *samurai* can be seen in the corporate world as Japanese companies work together by implementing strict honor and loyalty systems closely deriving from those of *bushido*. The revival of *bushido* and *budo* in prewar Japan served a standardization process in preparation for its incorporation into modern Japan. Therefore, continuing to be practiced by millions in Japan, and constantly changing in accordance with the times, this ethical and moral code known as *bushido* - taught through the practice of *budo* - will remain at the core of Japanese society as it has been for hundreds of years.

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