

EDUCATION FOR LOYALTY IN PREWAR AND POSTWAR JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

The study consisted of an analysis and comparison of Japanese moral education before and after World War Two in terms of its teachings in loyalty. The samples on which the study was based were two elementary school morals courses dated 1940 and 1962; they are referred to in Japanese as Shushin and Dotoku respectively.

The problem was to determine whether the postwar version of the morals course—introduced twelve years after World War Two ended—reintroduces the attitudes toward loyalty for which Shushin had been famous and which were allegedly repudiated after the War. The hypothesis was that the course does, in fact, represent a return to the old values.

For analytical purposes the term loyalty was defined in the narrow sense as an attitude of obedience, respect, reverence, and allegiance toward the Emperor. In the broader sense the definition included the same attitude with reference to the nation, government, law, teachers, and parents. Qualitative distinctions in the teaching of loyalty, such as its sanctions, its purposes, its functions or demands, its origin or formation, its focus, and its emotional tone provided the basis for further analysis of the attitudes implied in loyalty as taught in the two courses.

Shushin was analyzed first; two courses, dated 1925 and 1940, were used for the purpose. By our definition of loyalty one of the textbooks in the Shushin course was more than four-fifths devoted to the subject of loyalty; the others also contained a strikingly high proportion of lessons on it. These were analyzed further as to the qualitative distinctions they revealed with regard to loyalty.

Initially the same criteria of analysis were also applied to the lessons in the postwar Dotoku course. It was found, however, that the quantity of material on loyalty as originally defined was almost nil. Hence the term was redefined to include any reference at all to the nation, government, law, teachers, and parents. In addition, a survey was made to determine what had been included in Dotoku to replace the lessons on loyalty. Some of this data was included in the report.

On the basis of this analysis we concluded that Dotoku, the postwar course, teaches a concept of loyalty which is based on the humanistic principles of rights, individuality, and initiative. Shushin, on the other hand, taught a concept of loyalty based on divine, incontrovertible authority and sanction.

The area of greatest resemblance between the two course was their emphasis on the improvement of family life. Both devoted about one tenth of the lessons at the elementary level to this subject. An important distinction, however, is that Dotoku teaches the value of agreement reached through discussion while Shushin taught submission to the will of one's parents of ancestors.

One of the areas of greatest contrast was the function of loyalty. In Dotoku loyalty is expressed as service which is a responsibility to be assumed voluntarily. By service it means various contributions made by individuals toward the improvement of local conditions; the national orientation as regards service is disproportionately lacking. Shushin, on the other hand, stressed the inseparability of loyalty and service for advancing the national purpose. The obligation to serve was unconditional; taxation and military service were repeatedly named as the most important

duties of the Japanese citizen.

More significant is the attempt in Dotoku to broaden the basis for morality. It refers to the Imperial Institution as a symbol of historical importance but rejects that Institution as an appropriate basis for the national morality today. It holds forth the idea that a community of people, not the state or some other political entity, is the proper basis for morality as well as the proper focus for loyalty. Freedom and responsibility exercised within the framework of this community is the essence of morality in general and of loyalty to that community in particular.

On the basis of the above analysis we rejected the hypothesis that the new morals course reintroduces the concept of loyalty as taught in prewar Shushin.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

One of the most effective means used in prewar Japanese schools to achieve social unity was the course in morals called Shushin. Its use as an instrument for inculcating loyalty to the state is a well documented fact.¹

Japan's experience of defeat, however, has presumably caused Japanese educators to reconsider the functions of the school and to effect major changes with regard to educational theory and practice. What are the changes they have made, particularly in the area of education for loyalty to the state?

Since 1872 the Japanese schools have systematically inculcated loyalty by means of Shushin; this was a separate and highly standardized course of study. Although the course was banned by the Occupation authorities and replaced by social studies, the Japanese Ministry of Education Officials later considered the systematic moral instruction to be so urgent that they drew up a new separate morals course. This they named Dotoku, a word almost synonymous in meaning with Shushin but lacking its unpopular nationalistic connotations.

What are the teachings embodied in the new course? Does it seek to " . . . reinstill the tested values of the traditional way," as one

¹R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949).

authority has suggested?² What specifically is the concept of loyalty as taught in the course? Finally, how does the postwar moral education course compare with its prewar counterpart with regard to the concept of loyalty?

This study evaluates the hypothesis that the postwar morals course (Dotoku) does, in fact, seek to reintroduce the prewar teaching of loyalty as enunciated in the Shushin course.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study divides itself into two major parts: one is an analysis, in terms of loyalty, of the Shushin course as taught in prewar years; the other is a similar analysis of the Dotoku course as taught at the present time. Such an analysis should afford a sound basis for comparative evaluation of the two courses.

In order to evaluate the hypothesis, the base of the study will be broadened to include an historical survey of moral education from approximately 1872 until the present. The curriculum for moral education during a fifteen year interval both preceding and following World War Two will then be analyzed in greater detail. Finally, two specific samples of courses in morals will be analyzed in still greater detail. They are: (1) Shushin as taught at about the year 1940, and (2) Dotoku as taught at the present time.

The sample for the former is translated in full in R.K. Hall's Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation; the sample for the latter is Akarui Michi ("Bright Way"),³ one of approximately twelve sets of Dotoku

²Don Adams and M. Oshiba, "Japanese Education—After the Americans Left," Peabody Journal of Education, XXXIX (July, 1961), p. 16.

³Masao Yamamoto, Akarui Michi ("Bright Way") (6 vols.; Osaka: Osaka Shoseki Co., Inc., 1962).

texts approved by the Ministry of Education and used extensively in the elementary schools in Japan. Both of these samples consist of six volumes, one volume corresponding to one grade. Quotations from or references to the lessons are to be documented in this study by use of Roman numerals to designate the grade (or volume) and an Arabic numeral to designate the lesson number.

Terms and Definitions

Loyalty. Loyalty is a protean word; it is used constantly yet is seldom defined, for loyalty is never comprehended in the same way by any two people. This is in part because the concept of loyalty covers many shades of meaning. According to Schaar these meanings range from patriotism, which is uncritical adulation of one's land, to obligation, which is formal obedience to law.⁴

Patriotism may be understood as loyalty of a "closed" variety which is nationally oriented. It results when the assertion "I belong" is extended to "you do not," when one's consciousness of kind becomes a consciousness of difference in quality, and when one's consciousness of uniqueness is transformed to consciousness of superiority. When someone feels this way about his own country we often say that he is patriotic. Thus patriotism is loyalty—or a multiplicity of loyalties—which are nationally oriented.

Obligation reflects the phenomenon of moral authority. Much of human behavior is determined by custom and law both of which are external to the individual. But not all behavior is the direct result of external forces. The individual himself becomes involved at some point in choice-making and behavior. He forms his own set of attitudes toward the standards

⁴John H. Schaar, Loyalty in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p. 2.

set by custom and law and, depending on his agreement or disagreement with these standards, he internalizes the customs and laws in the form of moral imperatives such as "I ought to" and "I ought not to." We may call this inner sense of "oughtness" obligation. Compared to patriotism, which encloses broad and shifting objects of nation-oriented loyalty, " . . . obligation is usually limited in its objects to political authority as expressed in validly enacted laws."⁵

The antecedent of loyalty is identification with an individual, group or cause. Loyalty is an expression of this identification. One may begin to define the content of loyalty by specifying the object of identification, or the referent group, upon which loyalty is focussed. The army demands a certain type of loyalty which is quite different from that demanded by a social club, for example. One loyalty is tightly binding while the other is relatively loose. Furthermore, each group employs its own set of sanctions to maintain its solidarity and to assure that its demands are being met. Thus the nature of sanctions also determines the kind of loyalty one will feel toward any particular group. Similarly, each group is characterized by a degree of voluntariness; this determines to some extent the formation as well as endurance of loyalty to that group.

One may also define the content of loyalty by specifying the objectives of the particular referent group and the behavior required by the group in order to attain those objectives. Thus loyalty to one's family always implies certain activities which will promote the family's social and economic objectives; loyalty to one's country always implies specific services and sacrifices which will promote the national objectives.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

Another distinction among loyalties is their emotional tone. The intensity of emotional tone depends on the degree to which the individual is absorbed in the object of loyalty. His absorption may be heightened, for example, by the convergence of social pressures or by the consciousness of an external threat. One may go mechanically through the motions of loyalty to his country in peacetime yet fight for it with passionate loyalty in wartime. We can differentiate among loyalties in still another dimension by indicating whether the attitude is one of respect, reverence or allegiance on the one hand or sympathy, love or understanding on the other.

Implied in the above definition of loyalty is changeability. New life-situations and experiences generate a set of new loyalties which differ from the old ones in content and emotional intensity. For example, loyalties which in one century are diffused or focused on local objects of devotion may in the next century be concentrated on the nation. Such was the case in the process of nationalism of which Machiavelli was a modern exponent. In the twentieth century the process of nationalism culminated in the totalitarian state; this was in essence a redirection of loyalties with the object of state supremacy. The first principle of the totalitarian state, says Grodzins, is " . . . to destroy—or to incorporate within the state or state-party—all independent social organization."⁶

But even totalitarian systems differ in their patterns of loyalty. For example they deal differently with the family. Many systems seek to assure the primacy of loyalty to the state by attacking the family. Others, notably the prewar Japanese system, seek to reinforce loyalty to the state by fusing family loyalties with it. The Japanese, however, objected to being labelled a totalitarian state because of their belief in the familial

⁶Morton Grodzins, The Loyal and the Disloyal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 70.

structure of the Japanese nation. The real difference in their own system was that it exploited rather than destroyed family loyalties.⁷

The Japanese concept of Loyalty. Ruth Benedict has attempted to categorize various aspects of Japanese loyalty in terms of certain definite obligations (called on) which a Japanese person inevitably incurs in the course of social intercourse and which he must repay.⁸ The first, called giri, are those which one can and must repay with mathematical equivalence. Examples of these are the innumerable kindnesses of relatives and acquaintances or, alternatively, their insults. One naturally hates to be involved unnecessarily in this sort of obligation.

The second category of obligations which Benedict distinguishes is called gimu. Gimu is automatically incumbent upon every Japanese by virtue of having a country, parents, ancestors, and an Emperor. To one's parents and ancestors one owes kô (usually translated filial piety); to the Emperor, the law, or Japan one owes chû (usually translated loyalty for want of more precise terms). Because gimu is inherited, and therefore not the result of anything which one might be able to control, it can never be repudiated or fully repaid. In effect, gimu is thus a tie that binds one in perpetual indebtedness to one's parents and ancestors, the Emperor, the state, and the country. The disposition to repay or to fulfil one's obligations to these parties is the essence of "virtue."⁹

⁷See quotations from Kokutai no Hongi in R. Tsunoda, W.T. DeBary, and D. Keene (comps.), Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 785-789.

⁸Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 116.

⁹For a fuller discussion of the Japanese chû and kô see F.N. Kerlinger, "The Modern Origin of Morals Instruction in Japan," History of Education Journal, II (Summer, 1951), p. 122.

The concepts of chû and kô were both adopted from Chinese culture. But in China their meanings differed in one important aspect. One was obligated to practice kô and chû only so long as the other party reciprocated with "benevolence" (jin in Japanese). If, for example, the Emperor lacked benevolence then the people were at liberty to rebel. The Japanese, however, interpret chû and kô as unconditional imperatives.

This is the context, at any rate, in which loyalty has traditionally been understood in Japan. One important development, however, was the tendency to interpret loyalty to the Emperor (i.e., chû) as the all-inclusive loyalty. This trend was accentuated by the so-called "Meiji Restoration" (1868) in which the Emperor retrieved his rightful position as the head of the Japanese state and the Japanese people. Much of the literature from that period extols the preeminence of Imperial loyalty. Two outstanding examples, Yamaga Soko's Historical Evidence and Aizawa Seishisai's New Proposals, were acclaimed before the Second World War as immortal essays on patriotism. Three key emphases in these writings became the nucleus of what was later called the "national polity" or kokutai: (1) That the Emperor and the people are of divine origin; (2) that loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to parents form the basis of all morality; and (3) that people will live and die happily for the sake of the Emperor and their parents.¹⁰

The primacy of loyalty to the Emperor over filial piety was brought out strongly in a pamphlet published by the Ministry of Education entitled Fundamentals of our National Polity (Kokutai no Hongi).¹¹ This was an official interpretation of morals; it acknowledged the observance of

¹⁰R. Tsunoda, W.T. De Bary, and D. Keene (comps.), p. 594.

¹¹J.O. Gauntlett and R.K. Hall, Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Polity of Japan) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

filial piety in China, India and elsewhere but stressed the idea that in Japan alone filial piety converged with loyalty to form the basis for the national morals.¹² It taught in effect that the practice of filial piety or any other virtue was an expression of loyalty to the Emperor and, contrariwise, that the lack of virtue was an expression of disloyalty. One could only be a good, loyal Japanese by fulfilling the whole gamut of one's social obligations. For this reason many of the lessons in the morals textbooks—even those teaching such homely virtues as honesty or diligence—ended with a note on loyal service to the country and the Emperor. Indeed by the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor most of the lessons in the morals course were written so as to inculcate some aspect of loyalty.

But definitions of loyalty are always dated and it is the problem of this paper to determine how, if at all, the concept of loyalty in Japan has changed.

The Term Loyalty as Used in this Paper. The Japanese concept of chû is the main topic of this paper. Chû is primarily the relationship of the Japanese subject toward the Emperor but in its broader sense includes his relationship toward the nation, the government, law, civic authorities, one's school and teachers, and one's family including parents and ancestors. "Loyalty" to these parties is expressed by a number of related attitudes: obedience, respect, reverence, faithfulness, honor, allegiance, etc. In a less authoritarian context loyalty might be defined as understanding, appreciation, and sympathy, for example. Both aspects of the term loyalty form an integral part of this study.

¹²R. Tsunoda, W.T. De Bary, and D. Keene (comps.), pp. 788-789.

Methods and Procedures

In analyzing the lesson material for loyalty we use the definition given above. That is, we attempt to distinguish the qualities of loyalty as expressed in the lessons in terms of the sanctions for loyalty, the purpose or function of loyalty, its origin or formation, its focus, and its emotional tone.

We also attempt to assess the morals textbooks for the amount of space they devote to the problem of loyalty. Here we distinguish among the various objects of devotion such as the Emperor, government, laws, and parents; we then make our assessment in terms of the categories thus defined.

Interpretation of the data requires at least some understanding of the historical context in which moral education developed. We therefore begin with a survey of moral education in Japan: its origins, traditions, and achievements.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF MORAL EDUCATION IN JAPAN

Shushin: 1872-1945

Shushin means "cultivation of the self." An expression in the Analects of Confucius reads in Japanese: shushin, chikoku, heitenka ("Man should first cultivate himself, then govern his country, then bring peace into the world."). A man should cultivate himself in order to govern his country, which in turn makes for peace—in that time sequence. In other words, the purpose of self-cultivation is the well-being of society.¹ Shushin as a course of studies and the principles it embodied were introduced into the curriculum in 1872; between then and 1945 it formed the core of the Japanese curriculum.²

The earliest moral instruction in Japan was based on that of China, especially the teachings of Confucius. This ethical system arranged society into a hierarchy; all its members had fixed norms of duty and affection in accordance with their class. To have the students read and interpret the Confucian classics was the chief aim of the Japanese schools; a coordinate aim was the daily practice of virtue for which the masters were expected to provide an example.³

¹Michiya Shimbori, "A Historical and Social Note on Moral Education in Japan," Comparative Education Review, IV (October, 1960), p. 98.

²For a fuller discussion of the circumstances surrounding the introduction of Shushin see F.N. Kerlinger, "The Modern Origin of Morals Instruction in Japan," History of Education Journal, II (Summer, 1951), pp. 119-126.

³M.E. Sadler (ed.), Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, Report of an International Inquiry, Vol. II (London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1908), p. 346.

The details of instruction varied considerably according to one's social class. The higher classes received their instruction in private schools or in the clan schools of the Shogunate, and the others, whose role was primarily to obey and not to question, received theirs in the terakoya or "temple schools." The latter were little church schools dating from about the sixteenth century; they were generally conducted by Zen monks. Their purpose was to teach the local young people to read and write and also to give them simple moral lessons.⁴

In the initial enthusiasm for Westernization after 1868, the traditional emphasis on moral education was abandoned for a time; men like Tanaka Fujimaro,⁵ the first minister of education, were under strong French and American influence. But the new system which they created was a peculiarly Japanese synthesis, as may be seen in the famous Gakusei (Educational System) ordinance passed by the Ministry of Education soon after its formation in 1871. The ordinance emphasized in a special way two elements: the utilitarian motive for education (e.g., "Learning is the key to success in life, and no one can afford to neglect it."); and the national scope of the proposed educational program (e.g., "Every man shall of his own accord subordinate all other matters to the education of his children.").⁶ The same ordinance only mentioned Shushin incidentally as one of the courses of study. Gradually Shushin assumed increasing importance. The centralized Ministry of Education listed Shushin first among the courses to be taught in

⁴See G.B. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1943), p. 373.

⁵Japanese personal names used in the text will be given in the standard Japanese form, i.e., the surname followed by the given name.

⁶G.B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 456.

in the primary schools, and almost all its important educational ordinances from 1890 emphasized the importance of moralistic training.

The most important single development in moral education was the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. It marked a break away from Westernization and a return to older values. The Rescript combined Shinto and Confucian ideology and thereby resolved the conflicts of all the major schools of educational thought.⁷ It stressed loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, and righteousness (chû-kô-jin-gi); from that time these traits undergirded Japan's philosophy of education.⁸ The Rescript was regarded as divinely inspired and was always handled with extreme care; misreading or mishandling of it was considered an insult to the Imperial Family.

In the Shushin course the Ministry of Education propagated the teachings of the Rescript. It compiled a standard set of textbooks for use in all primary schools, and the concepts of the course came to permeate the whole educational system.

National unity and strong central leadership were the chief goals of both the Shushin course and education generally. Perhaps this was because the government leaders had never been able to free themselves from a passion for regulating every detail in the life of the citizens; in any case they created with great deliberation a system which centralized control and demanded a high degree of standardization. In its content the Shushin course laid strong emphasis on the national purpose. Mori Arinori, one of the first education ministers, expressed well the feeling of educators when he said:

⁷R.K. Hall, Education for a New Japan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), pp. 162-166 contain a detailed discussion.

⁸Kerlinger, History of Education Journal, II, p. 122.

"In the administration of all schools, it must be kept in mind, what is done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country."⁹

This early predilection to emphasize national purpose led to excesses in later decades. Studies of the course material in Shushin and the educational ordinances, many of which were Imperial rescripts, show little change except an increasing stress on the elusive "national polity" and on the necessity of subordinating one's interests to those of the state.¹⁰ The concept of loyalty developed in modern Japan along with the concept of "national polity" (also translated "national constitution," "national character," and "national entity"). According to Yanaga this term includes three main ideas; they are: the divine origin of the Imperial Family and the Japanese people; Japan's single, unbroken dynasty; and the loyalty of the Japanese people. In spite of these various elements, "national polity," and hence also loyalty, came to mean simply faith in the Emperor-State and its divine mission.¹¹

Even the Imperial Rescript on Education needed to be interpreted and reinterpreted, not only because of rising nationalism but also because of a resurgence of interest in Western ideas. After World War One, particularly, interest in liberalism, socialism, democracy and communism increased; the peace plans of President Wilson caught the imagination of the intellectuals; John Dewey, Helen Dalton, William Kilpatrick and others strongly influenced some of the leading educators through their writings and lecture tours. It was this trend that the Ministry Of Education sought to reverse during the

⁹Sansom, The Western World and Japan, p. 485.

¹⁰Tomitaro Karasawa, "Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks," Japan Quarterly, II (July-September, 1960), pp. 365-383.

¹¹Chitoshi Yanaga, Japan Since Perry (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 48.

two decades before World War Two. It did this through a series of official exegeses on the Imperial Rescript on Education; by revision of the curriculum including the Shushin course; and by the creation of a special agency (the Thought Control Bureau) to counteract dangerous thoughts about foreign ideologies and to strengthen nationalistic feeling. One authority assesses the historical importance of these events in the following way:

There are three historical events which are fundamental to the development of Shushin. Each of the three is connected with the production of an important official policy document. They are; the creation of a national education policy, canonized in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education of Emperor Meiji; the development of a theory of the Japanese State as a national polity based on the Emperor Institution, culminating in the 1937 Kokutai no Hongi ("Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan"), issued by the Thought Control Bureau of the Ministry of Education; and the development of the concept of the submersion of the individual in Japanese society, finally reduced to official writ in the 1941 Shinmin no Michi ("The Way of the Subject"), also issued by the Ministry of Education. These documents are three of the cornerstones of the prewar political philosophy of Kôdô ("The Imperial Way"). The Shushin texts constitute the fourth, and are in many ways the expression of the other three.¹²

The newly created Thought Control Bureau drew up a list of recommendations in 1936 which, along with the pamphlet Kokutai no Hongi mentioned¹³ above, represented official educational policy during the first phase of the wartime period. They distributed it to all teachers at all levels including university with instructions that they exert every effort to place it before the public. The teachings it emphasized were those already introduced in perhaps too mild a form for the Japan of 1937. Revisions were subsequently made in the curriculum to bring it into line with the goals of what was termed the "New Order in East Asia".

This program of indoctrination molded the outlook of Japanese

¹²R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 20-21.

¹³See footnote, p. 7.

teachers with great effectiveness. This is evident from a number of reports given at the Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations held in Tokyo in 1937. For example, one of the Japanese reporters endeavored to explain how moral instruction is diffused among all the courses of the curriculum. His view of "moral" education is apparently synonymous with teaching children to serve their country.¹⁴ A content analysis of the Shushin course and other official documents published by the Ministry of Education at this time shows that it considered loyalty and patriotism the highest virtues and associated individualism, internationalism, and pacifism with treason.

Social Studies: 1946-1964

The curriculum at all levels of schooling in the postwar years is a legacy of basic revisions or innovations introduced during the Occupation period either directly by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) or indirectly as a result of SCAP's policies. The most important of these will be outlined in the following paragraphs; content of the social studies course itself will be discussed in a succeeding chapter.

During the first four months of the Occupation SCAP issued four policy directives; these laid the groundwork for educational reform. The first of these directives, called the "Administration of the Educational System of Japan," was issued in October, 1945. It outlined future educational policy under two general aims: (1) To prohibit dissemination of what it called militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology and (2) to encourage democratic educational concepts and practices in order to develop a peaceful

¹⁴Education in Japan, Vol. I (Tokyo: World Conference Committee of the Japanese Education Association, 1938); see pp. 401-407.

and responsible citizenry.¹⁵ The second and third directives ordered the removal from the school system of undesirable personnel and of State Shinto respectively. The fourth directive suspended courses in morals (Shushin), geography and Japanese history, the textbooks for which had already been mutilated through censorship. New textbooks for geography and history were written and put into use in the following school year; the morals course was not reintroduced until 1957.

Five other events helped to determine the content of curriculum materials in postwar years. First, the Emperor on New Year's Day, 1946 publicly renounced his divinity; this removed the basis of the sanctions on which the Imperial Rescript on Education had been based. Officially, however, the Rescript remained in force until June, 1948 when it was rescinded by a resolution of both Houses of the Diet.¹⁶ Second was the visit of the U.S. Education Mission and their submission of a list of recommendations in March, 1946. Partly as a result of their recommendations the Ministry of Education was decentralized and social studies replaced the morals course. Third was the adoption of the new Constitution in November, 1946; this specifically revoked previous rescripts and ordinances in conflict with it. It also guaranteed fundamental human rights (Article 14), freedom of thought and conscience (Article 19), and freedom of religion (Article 20).

Of more direct bearing on curriculum content was SCAP's official definition of "ultranationalism" and "militarism," the two elements which had been denounced in several preceding directives but not clearly spelled out. The definitions are quoted by Anderson as follows:

¹⁵Ronald Anderson, Japan, Three Epochs of Modern Education (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1959, No. 11), p. 20.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 27.

Ultrationalism - subject matter . . . that (1) promotes the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere doctrine or any other doctrine of expansion; (2) advocates the idea that the Japanese people are superior to other races or nationalities; (3) teaches concepts and attitudes contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations; (4) propagates the idea that the Emperor should be obeyed with unquestioning loyalty or that the Emperor is superior to the heads of other states or that the Emperor system is sacred or immutable.

Militarism - subject matter shall be deleted from textbooks which is designed to promote (1) . . . the glorification of war as a heroic and acceptable way of settling disputes; (2) glorification of dying for the Emperor with unquestioning loyalty; (3) idealization of war heroes by glorifying their military achievements; (4) development of the idea that the military service is the only patriotic manner of serving one's country; and (5) glorification of military objects such as guns, warships, tanks, fortresses, etc.¹⁷

Finally the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law, both passed in March, 1947, went far toward implementing the Constitution. In the first place they put into law the principles of democratic practices for the classroom. The School Education Law stated specifically that "The principals and teachers of schools may, whenever they deem it necessary for the purpose of education, impose disciplinary punishment on students and pupils, as prescribed by their supervisory authorities. But there shall be no physical penalty." "Physical penalty," according to a 1948 official interpretation, included not only the slapping and kicking accepted in prewar days, but any form of detention which caused hunger and fatigue.¹⁸

In the second place the laws enforced decentralization of control in education, notably control over the compiling of textbooks. Until 1941 the policy had been somewhat as follows:¹⁹ all textbooks used at the element-

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 101.

ary level were compiled, published, and distributed directly by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry's appropriate section had to do the compiling after which the manuscript had to be approved by an investigation board of about twenty people representing the professions, business, the Army, the Navy, and professional educators. From 1941 the military representatives on the board played the leading role in approving of textbooks; they insisted that all materials be sympathetic to their purposes.

Under the postwar plan the Textbook Authorization Committee publishes a list of textbooks needed by the schools. Any individual writer or publisher may compile a textbook manuscript and submit it to the Textbook Authorization Committee for review. Five anonymous reviewers, chosen from a panel of 1,500, grade the manuscript against the course of study and subject standards as previously defined. Once a textbook is approved it is published and placed on exhibit for the scrutiny of interested teachers, administrators, and other persons. Some changes toward centralization have been made since the new system was first put into effect, but the basic procedure is unchanged.²⁰

This system assumed a high degree of local initiative; yet few teachers had ever written textbooks. Almost none had any experience with social studies which required a technique quite distinct from that of the rigidly compartmentalized history and geography. In addition, social studies had been charged with the task of replacing the Imperial Rescript on Education as a basis of instruction in democratic morality. On the whole, social studies was considered ineffective; too few teachers were prepared for the added functions of writing textbooks and of interpreting a loosely structured

²⁰For a detailed description of the revised textbook system see Marius Jansen, "Educational Values and Politics in Japan," Foreign Affairs, XXV (July, 1957), pp. 666-78. See also Anderson, pp. 119-20.

social studies course.

Thus a number of factors contributed to the revival of a separate course in morals. Many teachers lacked the independence, initiative and skill needed to make social studies a success; the public was greatly concerned about moral laxity among the youth of postwar Japan; the Education Ministry and an important sector of the public feared the increasing influence in schools of a leftist oriented teachers' union; and education policy was strongly influenced by a generally conservative government. Various committees made studies of the effectiveness of social studies; they also studied public opinion²¹ regarding the course. By 1954 the Curriculum Council, which had been established in 1949 to study curriculum reforms, was prepared to have a separate morals course reintroduced. The Ministry of Education, in 1957, conducted a major curriculum revision of which the postwar morals course Dotoku was one of the chief results. The word Dotoku, as we have seen,²¹ does not differ fundamentally from the word Shushin.

Dotoku: 1957-1964

When Dotoku was introduced at the beginning of the 1957 school year it was on a voluntary basis. But in 1958 the Ministry of Education decided on a wholesale revision of the curriculum; it was to be carried out beginning in 1961 at the elementary level and in 1962 at the junior high school level. The first principle on the list of reforms was: "Emphasis on moral education." The morals course was to be mandatory. This shift was significant because it reversed the Occupation policy of suggesting courses of study from which teaching units could be built to meet local needs.

By 1963 courses for moral education from the elementary to the

²¹See p. 1.

upper secondary school levels were completed and in use. Thanks to the new textbook authorization system various alternative textbooks were available but complete exemption from the use of the courses could be obtained only by schools which had a satisfactory substitute for the official courses.

Much preparation went into the Dotoku course. One member of the committee which prepared the course reports that the teachers' manuals were the result of experimentation with numerous approaches.²²

The content of Dotoku is based on the principles set forth in the Fundamental Law of Education of 1947; these are quoted as follows in the Revised Curriculum for Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools: " . . . Moral education shall aim at rearing such Japanese as will never lose the consistent spirit of respect for the human being; realize this spirit in family life, school and other actual social life, of which each individual is a member; endeavour to create the culture rich in individuality and to develop the democratic state and society; and contribute initiatively to a peaceful international society."²³ From these principles the Ministry of Education drew up thirty-six objectives for the Dotoku course; it lists them under the following four categories: (1) fundamental patterns of behavior; (2) moral sentiment and moral judgment; (3) development of personality and creative attitude toward life; (4) the concept that good manners and "practical will" are indispensable for the members of a community or nation.²⁴

In summary, the history of Japanese moral education dates back to the earliest Japanese schools; it was, and still is, an integral part of

²²Noboru Nakamura, Dôtoku no Kenkyû Jigyô (Classes for the Study of Moral Education) (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 198.

²³Japan, Ministry of Education, Revised Curriculum for Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools (September, 1960), p. 51.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 38-43.

the curriculum. It gained special significance in the late nineteenth century when the Ministry of Education used the schools as a means for rapid modernization and effective unification. After 1872 Shushin was the official course of studies in morals and from 1890 its basis was the Imperial Rescript on Education. All schools were required to inculcate the teachings thus defined. The conservatively inclined Ministry of Education, alarmed at the effects of liberal ideology and eager to intensify patriotism, later took steps to revise the course and to strengthen its own powers of indoctrination and control.

The war experience and the Occupation in particular removed what had been the primary bases of moral education: belief in the divinity of the Emperor, the institution of State Shinto, and the ideology of militarism and ultranationalism. In place of geography and Japanese history SCAP introduced the course in social studies which emphasized democratic precepts and practices. However, by 1957, allegedly by popular demand, the Ministry of Education had reintroduced the separate morals course. Although the course was initially on a voluntary basis it was subsequently made mandatory from the elementary to the upper secondary school level.

How does the substance of the new course compare with the ethics of the Imperial Rescript on Education for which it was partly intended as a replacement? One writer in the Japanese press describes it as a welcome departure from the old ethics. He notes particularly that while patriotism is being taught it is of a less ethnocentric variety; more than half of its illustrations are taken from foreign countries.²⁵ A non-Japanese reviewer says that Dotoku contains practically all the specific teachings of the Rescript but differs from it by omitting its two preeminent specifications

²⁵Nippon Keizai, February 2, 1964, p. 2.

of loyalty and filial piety. On the other hand, he says, the course has added more significant items of the new ethical code not found in the Rescript. These are the principles of the Fundamental Law of Education cited above.²⁶

In chapters three and four we analyze the Shushin and the Dotoku courses in order to ascertain how the two compare in their teaching of loyalty.

²⁶Arthur K. Loomis, "Moral Education in Japan," Education Forum, XXVI (May, 1962), p. 401.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION FOR LOYALTY IN THE PREWAR PERIOD

Brief Outline of the Shushin Course

The external features of the Shushin course were fairly well crystallized by 1908 when Baron Kikuchi reported in London to an international seminar on moral education. On that occasion he gave the outline of the course at all the grade levels in the lower elementary as well as the middle schools.¹ Each grade included about twenty-six lessons; each of them required two to four hours of classroom time. The first grade began with eight lessons on the relationship of the child to the school. Kikuchi listed their titles as follows: "The School"; "The Teacher"; "Attitude"; "Orders"; "Punctuality"; "Hard Work"; "Classroom and Playground"; and "Play." Then followed four lessons on relations in the home: "Father and Mother"; "Filial Piety"; "Brothers and Sisters"; "Pleasures of the Home." Then came one entitled "Friends," eleven others on miscellaneous topics, and a final lesson called "Good Children," which summarized all the moral training given during the year.

The first grade devoted just one lesson specifically to the duties of the subject; it was called "His Majesty the Tennô." But in grade two this was doubled by the addition of a lesson called "The Flag of the Rising Sun." In grade three still more emphasis was placed on the subject of loyalty; the first three lessons were: "Her Majesty the Kôgô"; "Loyalty";

¹M.E. Sadler (ed.), Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, Report of an International Inquiry, Vol. II (London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1908), pp. 319-45.

and "Reverence for the Ancestors." And in grade four the year began with three lessons concentrating on loyalty: "The Great Japanese Empire"; "Patriotism"; and "Loyalty to the Emperor."

Very little change from this basic format is evident in the Shushin textbooks of 1925. Shigeshi Obama, who analyzed the Shushin textbooks in a thesis in 1932,² gives a detailed outline of the course used at that time. According to his report the topics for grades one and two are almost identical with those used in 1908. Differences between the two sets of textbooks even for the middle school were slight, if one may judge by comparing their lesson titles and the order in which the lessons were taught.

Loyalty as Taught in Shushin: 1925

Lack of a complete set of textbooks used in 1925 precludes any precise evaluation of loyalty as taught at that time. But the material available is sufficient to give evidence of certain basic emphases. They may be summarized as follows: (1) The Emperor is of divine descent and governs as the head of a profound and mystical "national entity"; the Japanese are thus a unique people. (2) The Japanese people are eternally loyal to their Emperor; they strive to obey their parents and ancestors and teachers as a gesture of that loyalty.

The first point is illustrated in a lesson for the first graders entitled "The Duties of the Subject." The lesson centers around a picture of the Emperor and the teacher is to give the following explanation:

²Shigeshi Obama, "The Fundamental Characteristics of Moral Education in Japan" (unpublished Master's thesis, New York University, 1932).

The palace in which His Majesty the Tennô usually lives in Tokyo; this picture represents His Majesty the Tennô going out of his place; this is the palace seen in the distance; His Majesty is in that carriage; people by the roadside are making the profoundest obeisance. His Majesty is named Hirohito, and is a son of Emperor Taishô and succeeded to the throne immediately after the demise of Emperor Taishô. His Majesty the Tennô is the personage who rules over us; he loves his people most deeply. You are fortunate in being brought up under his warm and benevolent rule.³

The last line suggests that the Emperor provided some sort of reward for the loyalty of his people, yet this does not appear to be the prime motive for loyalty; rather loyalty is based on the assumption of the Emperor's divine worth. He is the object of "the profoundest obeisance" and is therefore worthy of the implicit loyalty of his subjects. That the learning of such a lesson was itself an exercise of the deepest devotion is made clear by instructions to the teacher that his "Words and attitudes . . . during this lesson should be grave and weighty and very respectful."⁴

Although loyalty is not conditional upon the benevolence of the Emperor, he is nevertheless described as a person who always has the deepest concern for his people and for the welfare of the country. The country's military well-being is of particular concern to him according to a number of descriptions in lessons. The following is an example:

You will no doubt remember what I told you about what sort of personage is His Majesty the Tennô; now⁵ I shall tell you something more. We understand that His Majesty the Tennô goes about different parts of the country to see personally how people are getting on. He orders the manouvers of Army and Navy to see the conduct and the bearing of soldiers and sailors, ever anxious to advance the military affairs of our country. He has been known on these occasions

³Ibid., p. 64.

⁴Ibid., p. 64.

⁵Punctuation lacking in original.

to address even privates, and ask them questions. His Majesty the Tennô is always so diligent in trying to promote the welfare of our country. We, his subjects, must reverence his illustrious virtues.⁶

Obama comments elsewhere in connection with the Emperor's interest in military affairs that " . . . all boys are prospective soldiers or sailors." The prospect of such service is probably more significant than the fact that the Emperor has a deep concern for them; for no doubt the main intent of such a lesson is to instill the idea that all male subjects are obliged to render military service.

Very early in the course pupils are introduced to the mystical profundities of the Japanese state of Kokutai. The Kokutai stands for the glories of the great Empire but it also stands for the profound familial ties between the Imperial Family and the loyal subjects. Pupils are made to feel their essential unity and Japaneseness by frequent use of such expressions as "our country" and " our Empire." To illustrate, there is one lesson with the high sounding purpose of letting children " . . . know something of the Fundamental Character of Our Empire." It is " . . . an account of the establishment of the Empire and the relationship between the Imperial House and the people."⁷

A loyal subject, as described in the Shushin course, is by implication also an obedient son or daughter. In fact, according to Shushin theory the two virtues of loyalty (chû) and filial piety (kô) are identical. Identification of filial piety with loyalty to the Emperor is the basis for a complex pattern of intermediate loyalties which therefore share the sanction and gravity of the Imperial Institution. Illustrating this are several les-

⁶Ibid., p. 66.

⁷Ibid., p. 68.

sons in which a father or mother sends a son to help fight a war; they imply that the son's obedience to his parents is, in fact, dissolved in loyalty to the Emperor.

It was noted above⁸ that loyalty to the Emperor was an unconditional requirement. The Emperor's divinity rather than his benevolence was the grounds for loyalty. Is filial piety also unconditional or is it the repayment for parental kindness? Most lessons on filial piety stress the feeling of gratitude for kindness one has received from parents but inevitably conclude on the theme of duty and obligation. One example entitled "Father and Mother" is typical. The teachers' manual summarizes the contents; Obama quotes it as follows:

You also have a father and mother; or, if, unfortunately, you have lost them, there is somebody who has fostered you in their place. You also have been tended kindly like this child by them. Think of that and never forget the great debt of gratitude you owe them⁹

School is an area in which the child must learn to obey. At home he may be allowed certain liberties and even be pampered by his parents and elders, but at school the child is made aware from the beginning that he is destined for manhood and that this requires his complete obedience. In fact this is the theme of the child's first lesson in morals in the 1925 sample.

You have now first entered the school. For what have your parents made you enter the school? It is to make you good men. You all want to become good men, of course; then you must not neglect to come to school regularly¹⁰

The teacher, likewise, is clearly instructed to "make good men" of his pupils as the following quotation points out:

⁸See page 25.

⁹Obama, p. 63.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 61.

As children first coming to school will be anxious to know what sort of a place a school is, and what sort of things teachers will tell them, the teacher must make use of this curiosity, and by repeatedly telling them that the school is a place to make them good men, let them comprehend this fact.¹¹

Moral training in the middle schools was patterned after that in the elementary school described in the preceding paragraphs. Although the Ministry of Education was less explicit regarding the aims of moral education at this level, it did stipulate that education should follow the teaching laid down in the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890. The following excerpt from the Departmental Ordinance Relating to the Middle Schools of 1900 illustrates this fact:

The teaching of morals must be based on the percepts of the Imperial Rescript. Its objective is to foster the growth of moral ideas and sentiments, and to give boys culture and character necessary for men of middle and higher social standing, and to encourage and promote the practice of virtues. The teacher should begin with an explanation of essential points of morals in connection with the daily life by means of good words, or maxims and examples of good deeds, to be followed by a little more systematic exposition of the duties to self, to family, to society, and to the State.¹²

Teachers at the middle school level received a syllabus which suggested subjects for study; it was not obligatory but most teachers followed it closely.¹³ The syllabus for the morals course covered the same broad areas of moral training which had already been introduced to the pupils at the elementary level, but it made adjustments for the greater maturity of the older students in the middle schools. For the first and second years of study the syllabus listed nine "Things to be Borne in Mind in Relation to the State." Among these were: reverence for the fundamental character of the Empire; observance of laws; sacrifice for public good; courage and

¹¹Ibid., p. 62.

¹²Ibid., p. 72.

¹³Ibid., p. 73.

loyalty.¹⁴

For the third and fourth years the syllabus listed six categories of "obligations." The most prominent of the six categories was that called "Obligations to the State." The subjects it included were: (1) The nationality or the fundamental character of the Empire (Kokutai); (2) the Imperial House, the Founder and other ancestors of the Imperial House, the Throne, Loyalty; (3) the State, the Constitution and laws, military service, taxation, education, public duties, public rights, and international relations.¹⁵

On the basis of the above sampling of the lesson content in the Shushin course of 1925, one may conclude that the teaching of loyalty to the Emperor was based on an assumption of his divinity and, secondarily, on his personal benevolence. It was assumed that the Emperor governs as head of the profound Japanese state or "national entity." However this concept was not clearly analyzed; it consisted of a divinely instituted Imperial House and a nation-family of loyal subjects. From these assumptions a pattern of obligations was deduced. These obligations governed the relationship of a child to his parents, a pupil to his teacher, and a servant to his master. Obedience on the part of the inferior was sometimes described as a debt one owed in return for kindness received, but the superior from whom kindness was received was not necessarily required to reciprocate loyalty by continued kindness. There was no indication that loyalty could be stopped when one's superior ceased to exercise benevolence.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 73-74.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 74-75.

Loyalty as Taught in Shushin: 1940

Changes in Shushin Between 1925 and 1940. Since the same Imperial Rescript on Education was the basis for all Shushin courses since 1890, one would expect few important revisions in the course over a short span of fifteen years. But there are a number of reasons why a change of interpretation was possible and did, in fact, occur. One is the emotional nature of the Rescript, which made it highly susceptible to changing attitudes. Obama commented in this regard that "The message that this Rescript conveys to a Japanese must, to a large extent, be different from what it does to one who has not inherited the same traditions The very words of the Rescript have associations beyond their simple connotations."¹⁶ If a person with different traditions understands the Rescript differently, the feelings of the Japanese toward it may also vary under differing circumstances.

Hall has observed that whereas the Rescript was originally conceived by Japanese leaders who were fearful of adverse Western influence in Japan, by 1930 their feeling had changed to an overwhelming conviction of superiority. This was because the Japanese had tasted industrial, commercial, and military success and had been carried away by their own propaganda. They had accepted verbally the idea of the benevolent and omnipotent Imperial Line and their unique government of rulers who had physically descended from the Gods.¹⁷ This change of attitude is clearly reflected in the Ministry of Education's pamphlet Kokutai no Hongi (Fundamentals of our National Polity) which was published in 1937. As we shall see it was also reflected in the lesson material of the Shushin course for 1940.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁷R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 48-51.

A sample from the 1940 course compared with an equivalent sample from the 1925 course illustrates some of these changes in emphasis. Since the titles of lessons in the Shushin textbooks are usually chosen to express the basic moral incorporated in the lesson, a survey of the contents can readily be made simply by reading the titles. In Table I (see page 32) a list of the grade two lesson titles of the earlier set is given alongside that of the later set to demonstrate the chief comparisons. Both samples are from the curriculum for the "Ordinary Elementary School" course. They required an equal amount of instruction time and are thus comparable.

Several differences in content are evident from the titles. Whereas the older set provided for only two lessons on the Emperor or the national symbols, the later edition increased it to four if we include Lesson 27 which repeated much of the content of Lessons 21 and 22. Lesson material on obeying regulations was also doubled and a lesson each on repaying one's obligations and honoring one's ancestors was introduced. The addition of a lesson specifically on loyalty is also significant; it describes the death of a war hero and is typical in this respect of other lessons entitled "Loyalty."

The revision of Shushin during the 1930's resulted in a pattern for all grades similar to that shown for grade two in Table I; more lessons per grade; more emphasis on the Imperial Family and the Shinto Heritage; more emphasis on the "national polity" or Kokutai; greater stress on obedience to laws; much more emphasis on national objective, prosperity of the Empire, and the symbols of the Japanese nation including the flag and the annual celebrations. All of these lessons stressed the subservience of the individual to the state; in contrast, they neglected freedoms and rights.

TABLE I

GRADE TWO LESSON TITLES IN TWO SHUSHIN COURSES

<u>1925</u> ¹⁸	<u>1940</u> ¹⁹
1. Parents and Children	1. On Becoming Second Graders
2. Mother	2. Do Your Own Things By Yourself
3. Father	3. Plans
4. Help Yourself	4. Keep Your Body Clean
5. The Teacher	5. Keep Your Body Healthy
6. Old People	6. Filial Piety
7. Brothers and Sisters	7. Harmony Between Brothers and Sisters
8. Foods	8. Relatives
9. Cleanliness	9. Honor Your Ancestors
10. Honesty	10. Respect Your Elders
11. Regularity	11. Don't Be Lazy
12. Speech etiquette	12. Strengthen Your Patience
13. Promises	13. Ujigami-sama: Guardian of the Place
14. Other People's Faults	14. Duty: Obey Regulations
15. Bad Advice	15. Obey the Regulations
16. Friends	16. Don't Do Ill-bred Things
17. Taking Care of Things	17. Be Kind to Friends
18. On Finding Lost Articles	18. Forgive the Mistakes of Others
19. Living Things	19. Don't Yield to Bad Persuasion
20. The Flag of the Rising Sun	20. Help a Person in Distress
21. Regulations	21. His Imperial Majesty the Emperor
22. His Majesty the Tennô	22. Empire Day
23. Courage	23. Loyalty
24. Don't Do Anything Likely to Hurt Other People	24. Keep Your Promises
25. Being a Good Child	25. Honesty
	26. Don't Forget Your Obligations
	27. Being a Good Child (in other grades called "Good Japanese")

¹⁸From information reported by Shigeshi Obama, "The Fundamental Characteristics of Moral Education in Japan" (unpublished Master's thesis, New York University, 1932), passim.

¹⁹From information reported by R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), passim.

This emphasis implied that loyalty was unconditional, and there was no hint of the possibility of sincere disagreement with the given norms of behavior or the political views of the government. Finally, loyalty as taught in the later Shushin course implied the existence of a potential enemy and therefore was usually discussed in connection with a war situation. These points will be dealt with in greater detail below.

An analysis of lesson content related to loyalty as taught from grades two to six is given in Table II (see page 34). The analysis is in terms of the eighteen headings as indicated. Figures along the line marked "Emperor," for example, indicate the number of lessons in which the attitude of obedience, reverence, or respect toward the Emperor is a main theme; those in the line marked "Independence as Service to Nation" indicate the number of lessons which stress the cultivation of independence as a service to the nation in achieving its goals. Some of the categories overlap and some of the lessons have therefore been placed in several of the categories. However, in the totals appearing at the foot of the table such lessons are counted only once.

Although the analysis cannot be precise, it does indicate the strong emphasis placed on various aspects of loyalty. Out of a total of 135 lessons in morals for grades two to six, 62 or almost 46 percent are devoted to loyalty. These figures contrast sharply with those obtained from a similar analysis of the 1925 course; in that analysis the amount of lesson space (as estimated from lesson titles) on the subject of loyalty was about one third of this proportion or 15 percent.

The last lesson in each grade (Lesson 27) summarized the year's learning and was therefore considered the most important lesson of the year.

TABLE II

ANALYSIS OF FIVE TEXTBOOKS

IN THE 1940 SHUSHIN COURSE IN TERMS OF LOYALTY²⁰

Main Theme of Lesson	Grade	2	3	4	5	6	Totals for each Category
1. Emperor		1	1	2	1	5	10
2. Imperial Family			1	3	2	5	11
3. Shinto Heritage		2	2	2	1	4	11
4. Government, Constitution, <u>Kokutai</u>						3	3
5. National Laws		2	1	1	2	2	8
6. Nation, Empire, National Purpose		2	1	2	5	17	27
7. National Symbols, Holidays			3	3			6
8. Filial Piety		1	2	2	3	2	10
9. Ancestors		1				2	3
10. Obligations			1				1
11. Teacher, School			2			1	3
12. Education as Service to Nation						1	1
13. Courage, Valor for Nation			1			1	2
14. Independence as Service to Nation						1	1
15. Duty to Nation						1	1
16. Creative Work for Nation						1	1
17. Talent and Virtue for Nation						1	1
18. "Good Japanese" (year's summary)		1	1	1	1		4
Totals		10	16	16	15	47	104
Adjustment for Double Counting		- 0	- 4	- 7	- 6	-25	- 42
Total Lessons on Loyalty per grade /27		<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>62</u>

²⁰Based on complete translations in R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, passim.

For this reason it invariably stressed loyalty to the Emperor.²¹

As lesson 27 was the most important of the year, so grade six was the most important in the elementary school program. It concluded compulsory education; the vast majority of pupils would leave school and take positions in the adult world. The school therefore had to exert every effort to prepare the pupils for the tasks that lay ahead. This probably accounts for the stress laid on loyalty in the sixth year of the Shushin course. Lessons emphasizing devotion to Japan's economic and military expansion comprise the majority of these lessons and will be analyzed in greater detail below.²²

Mythical Basis for Loyalty. Education, religion, history and politics are inextricably woven together in the Shushin course. The concept of loyalty in Shushin is therefore rooted in a combination of myths: the Emperor's divine origin and authority, the uniqueness of the Japanese race, and the Sacred Mission of the Japanese. The following excerpt from a lesson entitled "Our Country" expresses these myths.

The Emperor is a very sacred person, His Ancestor being the Great Sun Goddess Amaterasu. In a very ancient time, the Great Sun Goddess sent Her grandson Prince Ninigi to earth and had Him rule this country.

At that time the Great Sun Goddess told the Prince: "The Luxuriant Land of Reed Plains [Toyoashihara-no-Chihoaki-no-Mizuho-no-Kuni] is to be governed by my descendants. Thou shalt go there now and rule. Thy Imperial Throne [amatsu-hitsugi] shall be prosperous and coeval with heaven and earth."

.....

²¹For one example of these lessons see Appendix II, p. 101.

²²See pages 42-44.

Because we are fortunate in having been born in such a blessed country, with such an August Imperial Family over us, and since we are the descendants of subjects who have handed down such beautiful traditions, we must become good Japanese subjects and devote ourselves to the cause of building a prosperous country.²³

Nowhere do the lessons explain what the "Divine Instructions" to the Prince were, but they are probably connected with the mystical concept of Kokutai, which sometimes refers to the unique and sacred family relation between the Emperor and his subjects and at other times to the glorious destiny or Mission of Japan. The most concrete explanation of this Mission is given in a series of lessons called "National Development." The following excerpts indicate the main ideas of this doctrine.

At the beginning of the Meiji period Emperor Meiji pledged five things to the Gods of Heaven and Earth and indicated that these would be the main policies [goals] of the nation which the people should strive to realize. By this means the Emperor opened the way for every subject in the country to participate in the great responsibility of developing the national fortune

.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate our country was shut off from the outside world for a very long time, and because of that we were behind the times in comparison with the other countries of the world until the beginning of the Meiji era We then accomplished our aim of securing revision of the treaties and have since enjoyed having international relations on equal terms. Along with our national development our position in foreign relations has grown more important, and we have come to plan for world peace because of our peculiar and independent position in East Asia.

. . . Our territory has been expanded, but its expansion has not been compatible with the increase in population. Consequently many people have left the country to live in Manchukuo and others have gone out to China and other countries to engage in various occupations. It is needless to say that our national development in the future will make great strides.²⁴

²³Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, pp. 118-19.

²⁴A note in the teachers' manual adds: "Our people should further go abroad with great ambitions." Ibid., pp. 82-84.

This Great Mission of expanding the borders of Japanese influence and presence is not just a goal proposed by mere politicians. It is the sacred Will of the Emperor, and loyalty to the Emperor implies self-effacing devotion to that Mission.

. . . Our industries have developed and our national wealth has increased tremendously, but our land area is small and our natural resources poor. Our neighboring countries, Manchukuo and China, have wide territories and rich natural resources. In spite of this fact their development has been slow and they have no industries. Therefore these countries are desirous of developing their natural resources and bringing prosperity to their countries with the aid of our country. It is important to have the cooperation of Japan, Manchukuo, and China to have prosperity in East Asia. [The Teachers' Manual adds: "In the future as we are engaged in the fields of industry, we must be diligent and hard working, and fulfil the Great Mission of bringing prosperity to Asia."]²⁵

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It has not been an easy matter for us to make such national progress. This has been accomplished as a result of our Emperors personally leading the people toward national development and as a result of our people endeavoring assiduously to realize the Imperial Will²⁶

Loyalty and the Shinto Heritage. How was religion related to loyalty? A number of lessons specifically on the Shinto heritage were introduced in the 1930's; these were included undoubtedly to secure religious sanction for national objectives and hence also to secure the cooperation of subjects in various national campaigns. It is the political philosophy of national Shinto, however, rather than the traditional religion,²⁷ which

²⁵Quotation and brackets added by this author.

²⁶Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, pp. 86-87.

²⁷D.C. Holtom, in his volume The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto. A Study of the State Religion of Japan (Chicago: Private ed. of the University of Chicago Libraries, 1922), draws a distinction between Shinto as a religious sect (Shūha Shintō) and Shinto as an official, avowedly "non-religious" cult (Jinja Shintō). A government decree in 1869 established the latter as the official political philosophy. See Hall, Education for a New Japan, pp. 146-147.

comes out most strongly. In the fourth grade there is a lesson on the Yasukuni Shrine, which commemorates the death of Japanese who gave their lives for the Emperor and the country. Pupils are told: "It is the desire of the Emperor that those courageous heroes who have fought [and died] for their country and their Emperor should be enshrined there We must think of the great benevolence of our Emperor and, like the heroes here enshrined, we must serve our country and our Emperor."²⁸ The lesson well illustrates how loyalty in military service was linked with the Shinto heritage in order to secure religious sanction as well as religious incentive for war.

Shinto religion can be understood both as a simple form of private worship and as an elaborate system of thought which combines Japanese Political and religious ideas with the concept of "national polity." It was the political idea of Shinto which inspired the frequent references in Shushin lessons to Shinto shrines, particularly the Great Imperial Shrine at Ise. The official prewar interpretation of Shinto as a state religion and its relationship to education is found in the pamphlet Kokutai no Hongi (Fundamentals of our National Polity). This pamphlet sought to provide a standard philosophy of divinity: divine origin, divine leadership, divine mission, and chosen race; it also sought to link this philosophy with the older and simpler religious worship of the Japanese people. Some excerpts from the Kokutai no Hongi show how this linkage was explained.

Our shrines served, from of old, as the center of the spirit of ceremonial rites and functions. Shrines are expressions of a great Way of the deities and places where one serves the deities²⁹ and repays the source of all things and return to their genesis.

²⁸ Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 110.

²⁹ J.O. Gauntlett and R.K. Hall, Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Polity of Japan) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 139-40. (Translation appearing in the text is equally common to that used by Gauntlett and Hall.)

As Shinto shrines have their basic significance in being national existences, they have, since the establishment of the Bureau of Shinto Shrines in the Code of Laws, come down to us as national organs and institutions; so that they are differently treated from all the Shinto sects and other religions of a general nature.³⁰

Reverence toward deities in our country is a national faith based on the spirit of a founding of the Empire, and is not a faith toward a transcendental God in the world of Heaven.³¹

Thus in the sixth grade there is a lesson which describes the celebration of the Harvest Thanksgiving Day as essentially a state function; the Emperor begs the God's instructions concerning the problems of national life. Part of the lesson reads as follows:

On Harvest Thanksgiving Day, the Emperor holds a solemn ceremony in the Palace. And at the beginning of the state function every year, the Emperor, before doing anything else, prays to the Gods of the Great Imperial Shrine, begging their instructions; and when there arise critical moments involving the Imperial Household and the nation, the Emperor reports to the Great Imperial Shrine.³²

Loyalty and Filial Piety. Shushin, like the Kokutai no Hongi, describes filial piety and loyalty as one and the same thing. For a full comprehension of this concept one needs to understand some basic features of the Japanese family system (kazoku seido); this was always referred to as the pattern for national life. It was based on the Chinese political theory that if each individual punctiliously cultivated his own family duties a good state would be the automatic result. But in Japan the family system had a special meaning. The Japanese applied the Chinese theory to all their social structures, as pointed out by Dore:

³⁰ Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 141.

³¹ Ibid., p. 142.

³² Ibid., pp. 108-109.

. . . In Japan the habit of modelling the structure of social groups outside the family—occupational, educational, recreational, political, artistic, criminal—on the pattern of the family, has been developed with a consistency rare in other societies. The terms for positions in such groups are formed by analogy with terms for positions in the family (e.g. oyabun and anikibun—"father-part" and "elder-brother part", iemoto—"family chief," etc.), the duty of obedience in these non-kinship structures (chû—loyalty) is equated with filial piety; and the love, the favours, shown by the superior to the inferior are designated by the same term—on—whether it is parent, teacher, master, or feudal lord who confers them.³³

The stress laid on the maintenance of these relationships is indicated in the eighth-century civil codes which subordinate lack of filial piety only to treason in the hierarchy of crimes.³⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that in Shushin the chief duty of a man is not to safeguard his own individual interests but rather those of his house, and that these in turn are linked closely with one's duties as a loyal subject of the Emperor.

If everybody in the family does his best on his own assigned task and serves the Emperor's country faithfully, not only will the prosperity of his family be increased but also, in turn, the honorable position of his family and relatives In this manner a person's conduct will immediately reflect upon the happiness of his family and also reflect upon the good name of his ancestors. Therefore, everyone in the family should be of the same mind, to prosper and to honor the family's name, and to be a good descendant of his ancestors and a good ancestor for his own descendants.³⁵

An example of how Shushin identified the two virtues of loyalty and filial piety is seen in a sixth grade lesson entitled "Filial Piety," the story of Kusunoki Masashige and his son Masatsura. When news reached the son that his father had been killed while fighting the enemies of the Emperor he in turn felt obliged to kill himself. But his mother quickly prevented him from carrying out his intention, saying, "Though you may be

³³R.P. Dore, City Life in Japan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 94.

³⁴Ibid., p. 441.

³⁵Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 133.

young, you are your father's son. Listen well to me. Your father wanted you to follow in his footsteps, to destroy the enemies of the Emperor, and to set His August Mind at ease. That was your father's last will. So you must accomplish your father's ambition and serve the Emperor loyally." The account concludes with the statement saying that when the boy grew up he served bravely under Emperor Godaigo and never once brought shame on his father's good name.³⁶ The meaning that must be attached to the son's service in this case is clearly indicated in a note in the teachers' manual: "The purpose of this chapter is to teach the pupils that in our country loyalty and filial duties are one and the same thing, and to encourage them in the idea of loyalty and filial piety." A second note is even more explicit; it requires the loyalty of parents also in that they strive to bring up children who are loyal subjects.

There is not a parent who does not hope to raise his or her child properly and who does not wish him to become a respectful and loyal subject Filial piety means to set at ease the uneasiness of your parents and to follow the will of your ancestors. And when emergency arises in our country, we should give our lives for the sake of our country When you devote yourself to loyalty, filial piety is automatically performed.³⁷

The numerous lessons given in the lower grades on obeying parents are in effect the inculcation of a loyalty which has much broader ramifications. Such loyalty consists of respect for age and authority, behavior according to all the requirements of courtesy and obligation, and in general all the virtues one learns in the home and employs in society. Without these one can be neither a loyal subject of the Emperor nor a creditable member of one's family, one's firm, or one's school. By thus linking filial

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 116-18.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 117-18.

piety with loyalty Shushin taught all the prescribed social relationships and backed them with sacred Imperial sanctions.

Loyalty and the National Purpose. Our analysis of the lesson content suggests that the political regime which devised the Shushin course of 1940 was conscious of an oncoming national emergency, for it interpreted loyalty as a means to the attainment of certain definite national goals. Twenty-seven of the lessons which we have classified under loyalty (Table II, page 34) have as their chief aim to instill devotion to some aspect of the "national purpose." In the sixth grade all but five of the lessons are of this kind. The theme is variously referred to as "prosperity of our native land," "national prestige," "national development," the "Great Mission of bringing prosperity to Asia," and "national unity." A quotation from a lesson entitled "National Unity" will illustrate the way in which the theme of national purpose is brought out.

Our country was established by the ancestors of the Imperial Household. The people, ever since the time of their ancestors, have guarded the interest of this splendid country by guarding and maintaining the prosperity of the Throne. In national emergencies the people have manifested their conviction of loyalty and patriotism by presenting a united front without considering their personal interest.

.....

The people who did not go on the battlefields were united loyally and patriotically and exerted themselves in the true spirit of loyalty and patriotism Although the taxes became much higher than in former years on account of the war expenses, the people gladly took on the burden and there was no one who was negligent in paying his taxes.³⁸

As shown in the above quotation, Shushin taught the dignity of the Imperial Household and the loyalty of past generations as the bases for devotion to

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 106-107.

the national purpose in the present. Then it specified what form this devotion should take: service on the battlefield, and payment of taxes.

The virtue of service for the welfare of the country may also take the form of getting an education, developing one's talents, or developing courage. One lesson extols a certain Tanaka Hisashige's service to the nation through his creativity. First he invented small things such as a convenient box for his brush-writing equipment; ultimately he constructed steam engines for warships and made cannons and rifles. When a man offered to pay him any price to make an elaborate marionette he flatly refused. "Making such a thing is not worth a man's energy," he explained. He offered to do anything which would help the country, but refused to make things just for people's amusement.³⁹

Contribution to the national welfare, particularly military welfare, is thus frequently given as the test for the deeds of one who would claim to be a loyal subject. However august or benevolent the Emperor might be, or however worthy of emulation the ancestors might have been, they are not the only sanction for loyalty. The more immediate and tangible goal of national prosperity demands it. Frequently the theme is developed in a very militant approach as the following lines from a sixth grade lesson illustrate: "The duty of sending military supplies to the battle fronts must be performed under any hardship. And the people must bear all hardship, bear the military expenses, and guard against deterioration in production no matter how long the war may last." The tone of such lessons as this leaves no doubt as to the intent of the repeated calls for loyalty. As suggested in 1890 by the

³⁹Ibid., p. 147.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 94-95.

Imperial Rescript on Education, and as stated directly in numerous Shushin lessons such as the one just quoted, the intent is to secure self-sacrificial military service for the country from every Japanese subject.

Loyalty and Rights. Baron Kikuchi, a former Minister of Education, made the remark in the international seminar on moral education mentioned above⁴¹ that "In Japan we talk very little of rights. In the elementary schools, when they [the pupils] are just about to leave school we teach them a little citizenship. We teach voting as a duty; they are taught that they must, as a duty vote for whom they think best."⁴² The idea of rights, although embodied in the Imperial Constitution, received very little attention in Shushin. Itô Hirobumi, the chief figure in the drafting of the Constitution, had sought to acquire certain "rights" on behalf of the people; these he described as a very valuable concession on the part of the Emperor. These rights were, nevertheless, a gift of the Emperor, and were therefore subject to interpretation by the Imperial Government. Both in theory and in practice they were understood only to apply to certain qualified people who would "assist the Emperor" in governing the nation. Certainly the idea of a "loyal opposition" was incomprehensible to the Japanese, as Itô himself recognized. There was no political right to disagree on such basic issues as the nature of Imperial authority, as the famous debate between Minobe Tatsukichi and Baron Kikuchi Takeo later proved.⁴³ And what rights may have

⁴¹See p. 23.

⁴²Sadler, p. 327.

⁴³Minobe, in 1936, argued that the Emperor was an organ of the state and thereby drew harsh criticism from those who claimed the Emperor was the state. For details of the "organ theory" of the Emperor see Ryusaku Tsunoda, W.T. De Bary, and D. Keene (comps.), Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 746-53.

been implied in the Constitution were practically nullified through the 1925 Peace Preservation Law which " . . . made it a crime to advocate any change in either the national polity or the capitalist system."⁴⁴

In the area of civil law, too, rights were understood in the limited context of Japan's rigid family structure. The conservative Civil Code of 1898 had little to say regarding rights. Yet the reactionaries condemned this Code for not retaining Japan's "noble moral customs"; they bitterly opposed the progressive minority who struggled to liberalize it. Historical and biographical data from this period of struggle over liberalization could have been used to discuss loyalty from the viewpoint of rights had the textbook compilers been so inclined. Shushin is silent about these controversies or even about the possibility that a sane controversy over personal rights might be possible. It seems to follow the assumption that every Japanese is born a debtor to his superior; that the superior may out of benevolence bestow certain rights or he may withhold them; that the Emperor himself had presented certain rights as a gift in the form of the Imperial Constitution and the laws; but that every gift also implies an obligation, and that in this case the duty is to support the government by compliance with its laws.

A sixth grade lesson on the Japanese Constitution clearly brings out this passive attitude toward rights; the following excerpts are representative:

In any communal life there is the necessity of establishing rules of conduct for the people to obey. If there are no such rules of conduct and if the people do as they please, a communal life as such cannot be expected.

.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 723.

The Imperial Japanese Constitution, by which the Emperor governs the nation, is the basic law of the country. It is the foundation on which all our rules of conduct are established. In accordance with the ancestral precepts and with the hope of bringing happiness to His subjects and prosperity to His country, Emperor Meiji established this Constitution for the people to obey and to guard eternally

In the Constitution it is pointed out that the line of Emperors, unbroken for ages eternal, shall rule the Empire of Japan, thus making clear the main basis of our national entity [Kokutai], which has never been changed during ages past. It also gives the people power to participate in our national political function; it fixes the principle of protecting the people's personal liberties and property rights in accordance with the law; and it establishes the people's obligations in regard to military service and taxation

.

Every Japanese subject should make it his duty to expand the national fortune by respecting the Imperial House Law and the Imperial Constitution and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne.⁴⁵

The lesson just quoted is not a study of civic rights and responsibilities. Of a total of forty lines only five refer to rights or other benefits for the individual, and even these are not mentioned among the six teaching points listed in the teachers' manual.⁴⁶ On the other hand sixteen lines bear directly on duties of the subject, of which military service and taxation are the only ones specifically mentioned. Loyalty, as reflected in this particular lesson, appears to mean support of any particular government and unquestioning obedience to its policies. Admission of a conflict in loyalties because of personal convictions or any other reason means disobedience to the Emperor, for he had not only invested that government with authority but had himself granted the Constitution.

Only one lesson discusses the significance of representative

⁴⁵Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 103.

government. If loyalty connoted any freedom of choice or freedom of self-expression, the lesson should contain some reference to this fact. One sentence seems to hint that such a principle of freedom is involved in loyalty: "Therefore, when exercising the privilege of voting one must be careful to vote for those candidates who one thinks have the best characters and the best idea." But the next sentence reverses the meaning and is more in keeping with the theme of the lesson, which is the "importance of correct voting": "Do not vote for any man merely from the point of view of self-interest" In other words one must always put the interests of the group over one's own interests. The lesson instructs representatives, likewise, to "Cast aside their personal opinions and faithfully abide by decisions reached" ⁴⁷ The assumption is that personal opinions are inferior to group opinions and that one should conform to the decisions of the group which in the case of the Imperial Government usually emanated from the Imperial Cabinet and, in particular, the Ministry of War.

Disloyalty. If loyalty was described as such an impelling obligation, did Shushin also have something to say regarding disloyalty? The word itself does not seem to occur in the 1940 textbooks. In fact there are very few instances which illustrate how the idea of badness is understood and how its occurrence is dealt with. In one of the few, a second grade story, Tarô and his friend were playing in the town park one day when his friend suddenly decided to break off one of the beautiful maple branches and take it home. Tarô tried to stop him; he pointed to a nearby sign which warned people not to pick branches from the trees. When Tarô explained that one must obey the regulations whether people are looking or not his friend

saw reason in his argument and did not break the branch.⁴⁸ A second reference to unlawfulness is the story of the great Matsudaira Sadanobu. On one of his inspection tours in the provinces he had to pass by one of the inspection posts (sekisho) in order to enter the boundary of the next administrative area. When he proceeded unthinkingly to pass through it with his rain hat on, one of the officers of the post cautioned him and said, "Please take off your rain hat—it is a regulation of the post." Sadanobu on hearing him said, "Of course! So it is," and immediately took off his rain hat and passed through. Later Sadanobu approached one of the higher officers there and said, "That was certainly an indiscretion on my part I want you to give my warmest thanks to the officer who was kind enough to caution me about it."⁴⁹ In both cases the assumption is that the existence of a law or regulation is its own justification. Hence the purpose of a course in Shushin is to induce obedience to the laws and regulations without provoking questions on their origin or purpose. What the state has decreed is beyond the realm of debate.

A few lessons show that disobedience is not always settled quite so amicably; they indicate that when someone persists in disobedience swift punishment may await him. Takasaki Masakaze was the nine year old son of a warrior (samurai). One day the boy refused to eat his breakfast, saying, "I hate this food." The servant proceeded to cook him some other food but his mother, who had witnessed the scene, scolded him thoroughly: "You are the son of a samurai! And yet you express your likes and dislikes in food. You will never be a good samurai if you do not endure any hardship.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 183.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 182.

If you do not like this food, you can go hungry!" Later Masakaze realized he had been self-indulgent and made repeated apologies to his mother as well as a pledge never to express his likes or dislikes again.⁵⁰

Tax evasion is one of the misdeeds most often referred to. One strongly worded lesson states "It is important that we pay taxes without delay If one fails to file reports concerning taxation or if one has to be reminded that the time for payment of taxes has elapsed, one is unnecessarily causing extra troubles for public officials. Filing of false taxation reports or being penalized for not paying the taxes when they are due is not only a personal disgrace but is injurious to the national development."⁵¹

Incidents of direct opposition or disobedience to the Emperor are rarely mentioned. One lesson, however, offers a flashback to the period when Emperor Jimmu miraculously conquered the many "bad people" who were making others suffer.⁵² Another lesson goes so far as to hint that disloyalty toward the Emperor was at one time commonplace. As the story goes, Emperor Godaigo in the fourteenth century summoned his loyal subjects to come forward and subjugate Hôjô Takatoki. But since the people were afraid of Hôjô's power " . . . there were only a few generals who answered the Imperial summons." The same lesson goes on to say, however, that the loyalty of a certain Kusunoki Masashige eventually inspired a royalist revival; the Emperor's "enemies" were destroyed and his sacred name was vindicated.⁵³

A conflict of loyalties necessarily arises in an instance such

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 182.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 97.

⁵²Ibid., p. 93.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 113-15.

as that just described. Could those who had once pledged loyalty to Hôjô now transfer their loyalty to the royalists? Can loyalty to one's master ever be terminated according to the Shushin ethics? The extreme seriousness surrounding loyalty in Japanese thought makes this one of the knottiest problems and the theme for innumerable tragedies in Japanese literature. Shushin states that one must be loyal to one's master whoever he may be as of the time of one's birth. In pre-Meiji Japan one's highest loyalty was, in effect, to one's feudal lord (daimyo), as numerous lessons point out. One of these relates the story of Kato Kiyomasa as an example; it praises him for his continued loyalty to the House of Hideyoshi even after that House was superceded as a military force by Ieyasu. Kato had been born a vassal to the House of Hideyoshi and, regardless of the merits of that particular House, he was obliged to remain loyal to it.⁵⁴

But in post-Meiji Japan one's highest loyalty was to the Emperor, for in 1869, according to Shushin, all the feudal lords voluntarily pledged allegiance to the Emperor. By this act they proved that the Japanese were fundamentally loyal to the Emperor; they thereby also restored the prestige which was due to the Emperor and enabled all Japanese to love and serve their Imperial Family with singleness of heart. Shushin praised people for being loyal to their feudal lord under pre-Meiji conditions but extolled in even loftier terms those who displayed loyalty to the Emperor since the "Meiji Restoration" in 1868.

No true Japanese can be free from the obligation of loyalty to some master. As one might expect, none of the lessons mentions heroism on the part of a rônin. Rônin were the free lance warriors who, for one reason

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 183-86.

or another, were not serving any one particular master.

A survey of the examples used to illustrate loyalty in Shushin indicates a strong preference for examples of moral "goodness" to the almost unrealistic exclusion of "badness." Disloyalty, disobedience, treason and the like do not figure much in Shushin textbooks; examples of conflicting loyalty are even fewer. The impression is conveyed to pupils that all Japanese with few exceptions are of one mind in discerning their obligations and of one will in fulfilling them. Authors of the Shushin textbooks appear to lack any conception even of a theoretical possibility that disagreement may arise over given norms of behavior or the political views of the government.

Loyalty and the Enemy. Does loyalty, as taught in Shushin, imply the existence of an "enemy"? Or is loyalty a spontaneous desire to see the country expand without reference to other countries of the world? Several references have already been given to illustrate the Japanese Shinto concept of Divine Mission. In concrete terms this Mission consisted of Japan's ambition to create an "East Asian Co-prosperity Shere." In the discussion of this Mission the textbooks were careful to avoid the implication that war was necessary to carry out this ambition and stressed mutual cooperation and friendship instead. Witness the following excerpt from a sixth grade lesson:

It is now important to cooperate with China and Manchukuo and to develop a great civilization of East Asia.

. . . However, the world powers, on the basis of their own individual cultures, are also trying all the more to develop their national strength. It is devoutly hoped that we shall not lag be-

hind in time, but that we shall develop our national destiny and shall cooperate with other powers to work for international peace and cultural progress⁵⁵

But there was no apology in Shushin for those wars which Japan had already fought in order to realize her Mission. They were accepted as the inevitable course of Japan's development which other countries were trying to impede. Nearly every account of wars in which Japan had engaged was carefully written so as to plead the nation's cause against that of a particular "enemy."

The loyalty of the Japanese people in supporting these wars was therefore praised in the highest terms as the following quotation shows:

When the China Incident broke out in the 12th year of Shôwa [1937], the people worked together to serve the country. Stories of their loyalty and devotion are too numerous to mention.⁵⁶

Indeed, the epitome of loyalty, as the writer of the textbooks understood it, was displayed in a battle against some enemy of the nation; this is seen in a review of those lessons which were entitled "Loyalty." It cannot be accidental that all but one are war situations. Three of these have already been quoted in another connection and a fourth is noteworthy for the frequency with which it speaks of "the enemy."

During the War of Meiji 37-38 [1904-1905], the Russo-Japanese War], a cavalry captain, Kobayashi Tamaki, on orders from his superior officer, did a magnificent deed by scouting the enemy position, many times going into enemy territory.

Once the captain, in order to escape enemy eyes, changed his appearance to that of a poor Chinese and went barefooted. He blended into the darkness as he set out. On the way he was suspected by the enemy and any number of times was challenged and

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 87.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 107.

seized, and he suffered very much. However, he imitated a deaf-and-dumb person, passed through dangerous places, and after successfully scouting the enemy positions always came back.⁵⁷

The account continues to describe how the captain and his subordinate were caught by the enemy on an extremely difficult spying assignment. At their execution they both shouted fearlessly "Tennô Heika banzai!" ("Hurrah for His Majesty the Emperor!") and died heroically. The enemy, greatly impressed, cried, "Excellent! They are ideal soldiers." Undoubtedly an account such as this with the caption "Loyalty" gave most boys and girls of elementary school age the impression that loyalty was identical with militant patriotism and that a loyal subject must have a strong sense of "my country" and "our enemy." The selection just quoted is probably intended to fire young school boys with the ambition some day to exercise their talents in outsmarting the enemy of Japan, whoever he may be. And the lesson urges them with this incentive to be better students.

Summary of Loyalty as Taught in Shushin

The Shushin course remained unchanged from 1908 until 1940 as far as its basic features are concerned. It consisted of about twenty-five lessons per grade requiring three to four hours of teaching time each and there were two hours of school lessons in Shushin per week.

In content, however, there was some change over the years until 1940. Although the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education was considered as the basis for all school courses, an examination of the Shushin textbooks themselves shows that the authors tended to put increasing emphasis on the loyalty aspects of the Rescript. The basic assumptions underlying loyalty

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 122-23.

as taught in the textbooks and their implications can be summed up in the following points:

1. The Emperor is of divine descent and his loyal subjects, the Japanese people, are a unique, Chosen Race with a Sacred Mission. This is propounded as a historical fact on which every facet of the nation's religious and political life is based.

2. Japan's great Shinto heritage is the underpinning for the Japanese state or Kokutai. Loyalty to the Kokutai in peace and war is thereby given a religious sanction. Shinto is viewed as a state religion which serves the nation rather than the individual.

3. Filial piety and loyalty are inseparable. A loyal subject always obeys his parents; every parent wants his children to be loyal subjects. The obligations of filial piety and loyalty are fulfilled simultaneously by self-sacrifice for the state.

4. Loyalty is not chiefly one's personal affection for the Emperor or for one's parents, teachers or ancestors; nor is it obedience rendered because of their kindness. The ultimate sanctions for loyalty are rather the tangible goals of national development as articulated by the Imperial Government.

5. Rights are subordinated to duties. Loyalty is rendered as a duty; freedom of choice, such as might be expressed in a voluntary oath of allegiance, is not shown as a factor in forming loyalty. Loyalty is rather an obligation which is contingent upon the circumstances of one's birth.

6. The concept of disloyalty rarely appears in Shushin. It is not a subject for discussion. Shushin considers its own teachings undebatable; it considers unallowable any rational disagreement with the given norms of behavior or the political views of the government.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION FOR LOYALTY IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The Curriculum During the Occupation

Basic revisions made in the curriculum by the Allied Occupation have been outline above (see pages 15-17). This section deals specifically with the content of social studies. The course was never rigidly defined; it changed frequently during the six years of the Occupation, and such a large number of different textbooks were in use that none of them can be considered representative of the entire period.¹ This section will therefore consist of excerpts from the official criteria of deletion which were used by the Occupation authorities for censoring wartime textbooks and from the 1952 social studies course outline. These are presented as evidence that moral education of the Shushin variety was discontinued. They also provide an estimate of what content was introduced into the curriculum to take the place of Shushin.

Censorship of textbooks and teaching materials for all courses was carried out on the basis of a set of criteria which were drawn up early in 1946. From the criteria it will be seen that the Occupation authorities were opposed to most of those doctrines which, as already pointed out, were at the heart of the Shushin course: that the Emperor was of divine origin, ruling over a chosen people who had a sacred mission; that the myths of

¹Tomitarô Karasawa, "Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks," Japan Quarterly, II (July-September, 1955), p. 381.

the Shinto heritage were indeed historical facts which sanctioned self-sacrifice for the Emperor and Japan's mission; and that the Japanese subjects had no rights but the right to obey. The criteria of deletion are quoted by Wunderlich as follows:

In order to bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government in Japan which will respect the rights of other states, the following criteria are established, thereby marking for deletion in school textbooks those expressions of the spirit of militarism and aggression:

- (1) The glorification of war as heroic and normal activity of man.
- (2) The glory of dying for the Emperor and Nippon.
- (3) Soldierhood and the idealization of war heroes as the highest form of manhood.

In order to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the following criteria are established for deletion of ultra-nationalistic materials from school textbooks:

- (1) Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere doctrine of expansion.
- (2) Japan-centric, "world under one roof," (Hakko Ichiu) doctrine of Japan leading the world.
- (3) Yamato Spirit of sacrificing one's life, as the cherry blossoms lose petals, in defense of the Emperor and for advancement of the nation.
- (4) Subject-matter which conflicts with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

In order to revive and strengthen democratic tendencies among the Japanese people and encourage a desire for individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights, the following criteria are established for deletion of materials in school textbooks which relate to the Emperor system:

- (1) Emperor as one of divine origin compelling worship.
- (2) Civic duty to die for the Emperor in his defense.

- (3) Unquestioning obedience and will to follow the Emperor's orders.²

These criteria of censorship firmly opposed the teaching of militarism, ultranationalism and the Emperor system in the textbooks. The Emperor's own denial of his divinity, made public in his address on New Year's Day, 1946, and the initial SCAP directive banning State Shinto all reinforced the educational policy embodied in these criteria. Shintoist teachings were among the first to be removed from the curriculum, for there was general agreement on the necessity of this step, says Wunderlich, one of the Occupation officials connected with the censorship project.³ The subject of divine origin and mythological history, however, presented a different problem. Did not every country have some mythological relics in its culture? And yet no one had ever advocated their complete removal. In consideration of this and other circumstances myths and legends were approved providing they were represented as such.⁴ As for national songs and anthems, they were left untouched in the textbooks.

The social studies course was a synthesis of the separate courses in morals, geography and Japanese history. Social studies was required at the various levels through the twelfth grade. At the elementary level the course consisted of units built around the immediate environment of the child: home, school, community; and then it broadened to include the Nation and foreign countries. At the secondary level it covered the careers of great contemporary leaders, both Japanese and foreign, and broadened at the higher level to include a study of the Constitution and civics. One of the

² J.H. Wunderlich, "The Japanese Textbook Problem and Solution 1945-1946" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1952), pp. 261-62.

³ Ibid., p. 206.

⁴ Ibid., p. 266.

most widely distributed textbooks written by Japanese scholars was the two-volume Primer of Democracy.

An outline of the theory of social studies methods is given in a Ministry of Education document entitled "A Tentative Suggested Course of Study: General." That the Ministry had departed—in theory at least—from the prewar textbook centered approach to the child-centered curriculum advocated by education advisors of the Occupation government, is evident in the following quotation from the course of study:

The child must first of all set up his aim, make plans . . . to attain it, carry forward his learning therewith, and . . . reflect on the results of his efforts . . . real learning does not result from memorizing . . . fact. The teaching methodology must be contrived on the basis of the understanding that real knowledge and skill will never be acquired through other means than the child's activities . . . [it is necessary] to satisfy the wants springing from the purposes set up by the child himself.⁵

In place of the teachers' manual, by which the Ministry of Education had maintained a careful check on individualistic interpretations of teachers, the Ministry issued outlines of suggested pupil experiences and allowed the teacher to develop the details in accordance with local needs.

One such outline for the 1952 social studies is quoted in Dore's City Life in Japan. Some excerpts are quoted here to illustrate the content of the new social studies. Clearly it heralded the brief period of child-centered education in Japan. Teachers were urged to "take up real problems which concerned the children in their own lives and encouraged them to investigate them on their own initiative." They were to "foster an independent attitude to life." Instead of teaching unrelated facts teachers were urged to expand the problems to include their broader implications in ethics, political science, economics, and sociology. Problems were also to be

⁵As quoted in Ronald Anderson, Japan Three Epochs of Modern Education (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1959, No. 11, 1959), pp. 104-105.

studied with more attention paid to historical facts in contrast, presumably, to traditional myths and legends.

The same document then listed five specific objectives of social studies. These implied several important changes in the teaching of loyalty. As might have been expected the earlier assumptions of a divine Emperor with divine authority and a society with hierarchical relationships was completely rejected. Improvement of group life, which had been one of the aims of Shushin, was retained in social studies. Teachers were also instructed, however, to encourage cooperative participation on the part of children. This approach was presumably based on acceptance of a higher degree of social equality and individual choice. The aims of the new course included making pupils appreciate the traditional social groups—family, school, community, nation. Loyalty to these groups, however, was to be conditional upon an understanding of one another's individuality and personality rather than upon coercion or manipulation. Furthermore the objectives did not include, as Shushin did, a definitive statement as to the nature of these groups and the way in which members of these groups must act toward one another; preeminence was to be given to "understanding" and "improving" these groups and not to passive conformity for the sake of social harmony. Finally, the fifth objective appeared to reflect a change in the interpretation of Japanese history. Customs and traditions which governed society "developed"; they were not pre-ordained nor did they have divine sanction or authority. The five objectives are quoted by Dore as follows:

1. To give an understanding of the importance of one's own and other people's personality and individuality, and to foster an independent attitude to life.

2. Concerning such social groups as the family, the school, the local community, and the nation, to give an understanding of the nature of relations between individuals within the group, between the group and the individual, and between group and group, and to foster the attitudes and abilities which will promote individual adaptation to and the improvement of group life.

3. To give an understanding concerning the mutual inter-relationships between such social functions as production, consumption; transport and communications, insurance of life and property, welfare facilities, education, culture and politics, concerning the operation of these functions and their meaning for human life. And to foster the attitudes and abilities which promote active participation in cooperative social activity.

4. To give an understanding of the close relationship between human life and the natural environment, and to foster the attitudes and abilities which promote adaptation to the natural environment and its effective use.

5. To give an understanding of the nature and the development of social institutions, facilities and customs, and to foster the attitudes and abilities which promote adaptation to them and their improvement.⁶

The same document then outlined each year's course in terms of the basic ideas to be taught. We quote the outlines for grades one and five below to illustrate their main features. One can note a number of similarities in them between Shushin and the social studies course. Some of these are: stress on health, public welfare, care for property, proper use of money, and kindness to others. An important difference, however, is that the teaching of these moral precepts in social studies is combined with the teaching of basic information about social conditions. The theory behind social studies was to impart knowledge with moral theory and thereby to foster "understanding" of morals rather than mere conformity to rules. This was a reversal of Shushin theory in which moral precepts were taught before the facts were given. Also to be noted in the course outlines is the repeated

⁶R.P. Dore, City Life in Japan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 407-408.

use of the term "society." This is in sharp contrast to the emotionally charged expressions, "our country" and "our Empire," which were generally used in Shushin. The ideas to be taught in the first year (age six) are listed by Dore as follows:

Adults all have some work to do.

Members of the family all have some function.

Parents are always concerned with the happiness of their children.

Our basic needs for clothes and food and shelter are provided in the home.

If we are kind to each other, then we can all be happy.

If rules are carefully obeyed, games are more enjoyable.

If we are careful to keep things tidy, and to decorate the home and the school, they become pleasant places.

The home and the school have special facilities for preserving health and safety.

A healthy body means a happy life.

People use all sorts of means of transport for travel and for carrying goods.

In order to live with other people it is necessary to be punctual.

In order to live with other people it is necessary not to make a nuisance of oneself to others.⁷

A similar list of ideas to be taught in the fifth year (age ten) is quoted by Dore as follows:

The development of industry is largely determined by the natural conditions of climate, topography and resources.

Industrial methods have vastly improved with the progress of science. The use of material resources has improved with the development of industry.

With the development of industry, forms of food, housing

⁷Ibid., p. 408.

and clothing have changed.

As the use of natural resources improves, there is a danger that these resources might be wasted or exhausted.

The greater the division of labour, the more efficient life becomes. The greater the division of labour, the greater the mutual dependence of individuals in society and hence the greater one's responsibility to one's fellows.

The development of machine industry owes a great deal to new sources of power.

By development of machine industry, men have come to have sufficient margin to concern themselves with welfare, recreation and cultural activities.

Mass production should contribute to the general welfare.

Machines help to preserve life and property, but at the same time can sometimes damage them.

It is desirable to use science to promote human happiness.

The development of industry tends to lead to the concentration of population.

Methods of trade change with social development.

The greater the scarcity of goods, the greater the necessity to make some adjustments between production and consumption.

The routes by which products reach the consumer are an important factor in determining their price.

It is necessary to plan one's personal expenditure.

When purchasing it is important to examine carefully before choosing.

The development of commerce and industry has kept in step with the development of transport.

The development of commerce and industry is often stimulated by special local conditions.

Unless people take care not to do things which they cannot thoroughly approve of, a good society is impossible.⁸

⁸ Ibid., pp. 408-409.

The Allied Occupation enforced a number of curriculum changes which affected the teaching of loyalty. Negatively they removed from the curriculum all those teachings which rested upon the ultranationalistic doctrines of divinity. Sanctions for loyalty based on the Emperor's divinity, the Kokutai, or the Great Mission of the Japanese race were thereby eliminated. Japan's mythological history as such was not directly attacked; myths and legends could be retained in the textbooks providing they were represented as such.

The most important positive change was the "democratization" of teaching practice; official education policy as well as the new legal code enforced this. Moreover the new child-centered social studies course taught a loyalty which was based on individual rights. This included the right to "understand" the meaning of social groups, not merely the duty to obey their demands.

Loyalty as Taught in Dotoku: 1957-1964

Introduction. Dotoku, as already noted, was the result of ten years of moderate political reaction among conservative officials of the Ministry of Education. A statement made in 1957 by the Minister of Education at that time illustrates this point. He said, "It is necessary to hammer morality, national spirit, and to put it more clearly, patriotism, into the heads of our younger generations."⁹ Some observers have construed such statements in support of education for patriotism as a return to the values once taught in Shushin. To what degree, if any, is the new Dotoku course a

⁹Ronald Anderson, Japan, Three Epochs of Modern Education (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1959, No. 11), p. 31.

reintroduction of loyalty as taught in Shushin? This can best be determined by analyzing a set of Dotoku textbooks in terms of the criteria we used above to analyze Shushin. Our sample is assumed to be a fair representative of the children's textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education for use in the elementary schools.¹⁰ There are at least ten such sets; this one is in extensive use in Osaka, Japan's second largest metropolis.

Outwardly Dotoku is similar to Shushin. There is one volume corresponding to each grade in the elementary school; each volume has from seventeen to twenty-two separate lessons which vary in length from one to four pages. This reduction in the number of lessons per grade is accounted for by the reduction in teaching time for the morals course from two hours per week before the War to one hour per week at present.¹¹

Dotoku differs from Shushin, however, in that its teaching is less definite. Many lessons end with several open-ended questions for class discussion; this implies that the lesson is but an introduction to the moral problem it poses and that it offers no final conclusions. In addition to the lesson text and the set of study questions there is a brief statement of objectives (nerai) accompanying each lesson. This frequently lends some rigidity of interpretation to the lessons although in general the Dotoku course is much more flexible than its prewar counterpart.

The content of Dotoku is prescribed in the Ministry of Education's Revised Curriculum in Japan published in 1960. Of the thirty-six points listed in the outline the last twelve apply directly to our analysis; they pertain to the training of a member " . . . of a community or nation." The

¹⁰To date there are no pupils' Dotoku textbooks in schools above the elementary level; instruction there is based on the teachers' manuals and course outlines.

¹¹See Appendix VI, p.109 for courses and time allocation in schedule.

following is a summary of these points: (24) Be kind. (25) Respect those who devote themselves to the public welfare. (26) Be cooperative, friendly and faithful (i.e., do not betray another's trust). (27) Be fair, impartial. (28) Understand and forgive others; respect their opinions. (29) Understand and keep rules. (30) Assert your rights within reason; perform your duty faithfully. (31) Work hard; appreciate labor. (32) Protect public property, develop a public morality and respect the rights of others. (33) Respect and be grateful for your parents, brothers and sisters; fulfil your role in the family and try to build a good family. (34) Respect and love your teachers and friends and respect your school and establish good school traditions. (35) " . . . Love the nation with a pride as a Japanese . . . " Cultivate " . . . the germ of the patriotic spirit; . . . " Respect the Japanese land, culture and traditions; desire the country's prosperity; recognize responsibilities as a Japanese; desire the " . . . development of Japan as a link in international society." (36) Understand the people of the world; cooperate with them; know the contribution of individuals to world peace and human welfare.¹² Many of the terms used here express objectives like national prosperity, pride as a Japanese, and patriotic spirit. Shushin also made frequent reference to the same terms. Their meanings differ in the postwar context, however; they must be understood on the basis of their application in postwar courses, specifically Dotoku.

That the precepts contained in Dotoku are totally different from those of Shushin can be demonstrated by a comparison of equivalent lessons; let us look at grade three. Table III lists the titles of all the lessons

¹²Japan, Ministry of Education, Revised Curriculum in Japan for Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools, (Tokyo: September, 1960), pp. 41-43.

in Shushin which were devoted to various aspects of loyalty. Alongside them are titles of Dotoku lessons, or the gist of lessons, which most closely approximate the Shushin counterpart.

When the two are thus quantitatively compared a sharp contrast appears. Indeed, the idea of loyalty as understood in Shushin with its basis in the Imperial Institution, the Shinto religion, the idea of divine mission and of the Kokutai is hardly found in Dotoku.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF SHUSHIN AND DOTOKU (GRADE 3)

ACCORDING TO SUBJECT MATTER RELATED TO LOYALTY

<u>SHUSHIN</u> : 1940	<u>DOTOKU</u> : 1962
1. Emperor Meiji's Birthday	No Equivalent
2. Her Majesty the Empress	No Equivalent
3. The Great Imperial Shrine	No Equivalent
4. The National Flag	No Equivalent
5. Loyalty and Patriotism	No Equivalent
6. Good Japanese	No Equivalent
7. Don't Forget Obligations	No Equivalent
8. Respect the Teacher	No Equivalent
	1. Love and Affection for Family
9. Filial Piety	2. Understand Father's Work
	3. Attitude of Obedience and Helpfulness
9 Lessons out of 27	3 Lessons out of 20

This phenomenon has two possible explanations which we attempt to explore: (1) that Dotoku accepts the Shushin idea of loyalty but only as an unexpressed assumption; and (2) that Dotoku rejects the Shushin idea of loyalty, in which case we may expect to find other teachings which directly or by implication refute those of Shushin. We may find, in addition, that Dotoku rejects certain aspects of Shushin as being too narrow and in their place seeks to establish a broader base while maintaining many of the same moral precepts as taught in Shushin. To determine which is the more adequate explanation we need to examine in greater detail some of the relevant lessons in the Dotoku course.

Loyalty and the Imperial Institution. What does Dotoku teach as the proper relation of subjects toward the Emperor or the Imperial Institution? In our sample there are no lessons which deal with the Imperial Institution as such. In fact only one lesson refers to the Emperor at all.¹³ The lesson describes the "voluntary surrender" of Tokugawa Yoshinobu (or Tokugawa Keiki, the last Shogun) to the Imperial Army. By thus surrendering, Yoshinobu is credited by implication with the peaceful initiation of the Meiji period; for the teaching objective of the lesson is given as "To train students in the feeling of love for their country and for peace."

Since the lesson just referred to is the only one in which the Emperor is mentioned, a closer examination of it is necessary. Actually the lesson does not refer to the Emperor himself but to the Imperial "camp" (chôtei); it consisted of powerful clan leaders who were attempting in the mid-nineteenth century to restore the Emperor to a position of real political authority. To them the Emperor provided a symbol for modernization. In the

¹³See Appendix V: "Meiji no Akebono" (The Dawn of the Meiji Period), VI:14.

lesson, the Imperial Institution itself is mentioned only because of its significance for that particular period of history; it provides historicity for the story. But the lesson does not attempt to glorify or even to justify the Imperial cause simply because it has Imperial sanction. The Imperial cause is justified rather on the grounds that it represents a common goal of national peace and security. The Emperor himself is never directly mentioned.

Yoshinobu and not the Emperor emerges as the chief figure in the lesson. He loves national peace and security more than his own family; he is patriotic. He is also courageous and magnanimous; he will fight or sacrifice as the occasion demands. He is also a worthy master because he commands a large and loyal army. Being a man with all these noble characteristics Yoshinobu's "voluntary surrender" to the Imperial forces is an act of unexcelled patriotism.¹⁴

The lesson does not present the Emperor as a powerful political figure. If, for example, Yoshinobu's campaign against the Emperor is a normal reaction under the given conditions—and the lesson suggests that it is—then it appears that the Emperor can be contradicted without evoking the charge of treason.

A more plausible interpretation of the lesson is that the Emperor is a symbol of unity for modern Japan. But if the intention is to picture him as a symbol of unity why is the discussion confined to the happenings

¹⁴Whether Yoshinobu should be so highly credited is perhaps doubtful. Sansom gives a somewhat pathetic description of him: after a dignified resignation he was persuaded at the last moment by some of his uncompromising officials to punish one of the opposing clans; he failed in this venture but suffered the indignity of complete defeat in a brief civil war which ensued. G.B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 305-307.

of nearly one hundred years ago? There is only a very faint suggestion that the Emperor provides a symbol of unity for Japan today.¹⁵

Regarding the Emperor as a religious figure the lesson is somewhat clearer in its implications. It offers no support for the notion of Imperial divinity and, in fact, suggests the Emperor's humanness. The lesson's failure, for example, to vindicate fully the campaign of the Imperial Army is in striking contrast to Shushin where even the allusion to the Imperial Institution was a occasion for worship of the Emperor. The lesson concludes by merely noting that the Imperial Army occupied Edo Castle and a new period of history began. If the lesson had been written to exalt the majesty of the Emperor more would certainly have been said about the glorious aftermath of his triumph.

The fact that the entire curriculum in the elementary Dotoku course had nothing further to say regarding the Emperor or the Imperial Family suggests that it rejects the doctrine which makes the person of the Emperor the ultimate sanction for morality. Instead it teaches a much broader basis for morality; love for the country and love for peace are to be the guiding motives in the behavior of the Japanese people. Just as Yoshinobu surrendered voluntarily to the Imperial Army in order to safeguard Japan's unity and independence, pupils are to strive for national peace and harmony by voluntary service in whatever ways they think appropriate.

Loyalty and the Shinto Heritage. One of the directives issued by

¹⁵This does not mean, of course, that the Japanese have in fact lost their affection toward the Emperor. Stoetzel concludes, on the basis of his 1955 studies of young people's attitudes in Japan, that " . . . they remain extremely attached to the person of the Emperor, and still more so to the Imperial régime and to the symbols, memories, traditions and values which go with it." Jean Stoetzel, Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 162.

the Allied Occupation put a strict ban on Shinto as a state religion. Since the Japanese school system was state supported the ban had particular meaning for school instruction. But Shinto as a form of private worship was not legally affected. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the author of our sample of Dotoku avoided the subject of religion almost completely.

Allusion to religion in the textbooks is confined to two incidental references to "God." A fifth-grade lesson describes a Japanese doctor's return from Taiwan amidst public praise for his work in the development of a new variety of rice. He had spent fifty years in bringing prosperity to Taiwanese farmers. But when asked about his great achievement the doctor humbly replied, "Maybe it just happened; maybe it was an accident! No, God must have made it." The doctor's humility and international spirit is the main point in the story.¹⁶ In another lesson Gandhi's mother is explaining to the young Gandhi why some human beings are "untouchable." She says, "I can't tell you why, but what God decided we must obey."¹⁷ Neither of these lessons can be construed as allusions to Shintoism.

One lesson deals with what it calls superstition¹⁸ and somewhat resembles a lesson of that title in Shushin. But neither of the two lessons suggests a concern with the beliefs of Shintoism. The example in Dotoku discusses superstition in connection with the popular fallacies of the Chinese zodiac, miraculous healing and curing of the eyes with dirty water which is thought to be holy. As an antidote for this kind of superstition the lesson recommends thinking "scientifically through science and social studies,"

¹⁶"Kome no Chichi" (The Father of Rice), V:17.

¹⁷"Pâria" (The Untouchables), V:11.

¹⁸"Meishin" (Superstition), V:15.

but does not go into detailed interpretation of this concept. Undoubtedly the lesson is not a discourse on the merits or demerits of religion as a form of worship.

The paucity of material on religion in Dotoku is perhaps not so striking. Attitude studies of postwar youth in Japan reveal a low "need for religion" in the lives of the young people. In one recent study the question was asked, "Do you feel that you require some sort of religious outlook or belief in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life?" Replies to this question as well as to another question investigating the respondents' range of activities indicates that religion plays only the most negligible part in their lives.¹⁹ One must recognize, however, that religion in the sense of Western Christianity is unfamiliar to the Japanese. Many adherents to Shintoism do not consider themselves religious. Obama Shigeshi, for example, whose study of Shushin was quoted in Chapter Three, asserts that the Japanese always maintain a secular and scientific approach, even in moral instruction.²⁰ He finds Japanese morality to be based on a unique set of a priori principles, but these are not regarded as religious.

More striking is the fact that Dotoku omits any reference to Shintoism. It implies that morality is independent even of that set of beliefs which formed the basis for Shushin. In other words, Dotoku rejects the body of assumptions which characterized Shushin morality and leaves the way open for a more broadly based moral system. What the basis is, however, Dotoku does not reveal clearly.

¹⁹Jean Stoetzel, pp. 191-92.

²⁰Shigeshi Obama, "The Fundamental Characteristics of Moral Education in Japan" (unpublished Master's thesis, New York University, 1932), p. 84.

Loyalty and Filial Piety. Is the concept of filial piety taught in Dotoku as it was taught in Shushin? In our sample there are eleven lessons out of a total of 115 which bear on this subject, a proportion only slightly under that found in Shushin. But the treatment of filial piety differs markedly from that in Shushin. It rejects the idea that the father is absolute ruler of the house. Instead it teaches the idea that harmonious home life is based on mutual affection and understanding.

In Dotoku children are taught the idea of mutual affection; this begins in the lowest grades. For example they should "feel the love of mother who cares for them (II:8). For that reason they should try to be helpful at home (I:15); they should "understand father's work" (III:12), and "sympathize with mother who has an evening job" (VI:3). Instead of bringing out the onerous duty of obedience as Shushin did, the lessons emphasize mutual understanding and affection between children and parents. Two examples are quoted below to illustrate this point; both are from the fourth grade:

Shushin: "Filial Piety" (IV:4)

Watanabe Noboru, whose pen name was Kazan, served the feudal lord Tahara. He was very obedient from childhood, always did as his parents ordered, and never did anything to make his parents worry.

His parents were very poor, and when [Noboru] was about fourteen, his father became so ill that it was very difficult for him to make a living. Noboru helped nurse his father by rubbing his back and giving him medicine²¹

Dotoku: "Kôba no Otôsan" (Father at the Factory), (IV:12)

[This is the story of a boy who comes to observe his father at work in the factory.]

²¹R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 136-37.

"Hold the ladder tightly!" said my father.

"Huh," the men said with a laugh. "We're holding it tightly. Hurry and climb up!"

I wanted to say, "It's all right for you to say hurry up, but who can climb that fast?"

Father began to climb. Step by step he climbed to the top. Sometimes the ladder shook a little. I felt like saying to the men, "You said you'd hold it tightly. Now hold it!" But I didn't say it. If I said such a thing the men would get angry and let go of the ladder. Then my father would fall down with the ladder

Questions: (1) (2) Do you know all about your father's work? (3) What do you suppose you can do for your father when he comes home from work?

Note the qualification for filial piety in the second quotation. Children are taught to try to "understand" their parents; they should know their parents' work and their hardships and thus develop an affection for them. In the first example, taken from Shushin, there is no suggestion that one should "understand" parents. Watanabe Noboru is praised simply for obeying his father unconditionally and at all times.

Problems arising within the family are also to be solved on the basis of mutual understanding. A fifth-grade lesson describes how the children and parents of a certain family decide which radio program they will hear by voting on the issue. The children, of course, command a majority and can therefore name their programs as they wish. But after considering the fact that father has worked all day at his job and has so little free time they all decide to listen to his favorite program. The point is that they decide to do so not because they respect father, but because they have learned to sympathize with him.²² Similarly children should obey their father because of what he does for the family rather than because of

²²"Yûhango no Rajio" (The Radio after Supper), V:14.

his position as head of the house. The lesson does not make clear, however, whether they would have been equally considerate toward their father if he were an indolent man.

Very little is said in Dotoku concerning the clan or the ancestors. Shushin taught that these were to be held in high respect as part of the duty for filial piety. The one lesson in Dotoku which mentions ancestors is written in a feudal setting and leaves the impression that the worship of ancestors is a thing of the past. However, as in most of the lessons, Dotoku does not prescribe any definite attitudes on the subject. One might reasonably infer that the subject of clan solidarity or obedience to ancestors is of very little importance in Dotoku; the lesson neither condemns nor condones the practice.

One might go further to conclude that Dotoku rejects the notion, so prominent in Shushin, that Japan is centered around the Imperial Household and constitutes " . . . a great nation of families all devoting their utmost effort to serving the country."²³ Instead, by taking its examples from the nuclear family and ignoring altogether the relationship between individual families and the Imperial Household, Dotoku encourages the idea that both the family and the nation are democratically structured units and ought therefore to maintain democratic relationships. At the same time Dotoku teaches that mutual affection and understanding is the basis for a give-and-take harmony within the family.

Loyalty and the National Purpose. Is there any parallel to the strong emphasis in Shushin on promotion of the national purpose? Quantitatively, in terms of the number of lessons devoted directly or indirectly

²³Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 133.

to the subject, there appears to be little similarity. In Shushin approximately seventeen percent of the lesson space was of this category²⁴ whereas in Dotoku it is slightly over four percent; it is mentioned in only five of the lessons.

Two of the five lessons in Dotoku which stress the national purpose also promote the idea of peace; they teach that peace rather than war serves the national purpose best. One example has already been cited. It seeks to discourage wars and disputes between "bad brothers" and praises those who have fostered national progress by making peace.²⁵ Another lesson is rather a comprehensive study of Nehru as a peacemaker.²⁶ The selection is noteworthy because a large part of it deals with India's wars of independence. Independence and national sovereignty have always been watchwords of Japanese nationalism and appeared frequently in Shushin. It is therefore of interest that in the objectives of the lesson on Nehru and India's struggle for independence Dotoku does not mention independence or the Japanese nation. It simply states: "Familiarize them with Nehru's personality; increase their interest in peace." One may conclude on the basis of these two samples that Dotoku rejects the militant form of nationalism which was so prominent in Shushin and instead places emphasis on the general principle of peace both national and international. At the same time Dotoku, while stressing the importance of peace, does not state clearly what peace means, how it is to serve the nation, and what specific demands this makes on the individual.

A third lesson on national purpose deals with economic progress.

²⁴See Table II, p. 34.

²⁵See Appendix V: "Meiji no Akebono" (The Dawn of the Meiji Period), VI:14.

²⁶"Heiwa no Hikari" (The Light of Peace), V:15.

It describes the construction of a tunnel on the famous Tokaido Railroad during which sixty men lost their lives. Most of the account deals with the crew foreman's heroic leadership. He maintained calmness among the workmen when they were trapped in the tunnel as a result of a cave-in. The teaching objective for the lesson is to impress students with the "bravery of leaders who faced danger and difficulty in developing their country." If one may judge the importance of a lesson by its length then this lesson should be rated as one of the most important in the course. Its main emphasis does not differ significantly from that in Shushin lessons on national economic development. Young people, when choosing their vocations, are to think beyond their personal ambitions and seek to be of service in the development of their native country. Though on the surface this appears similar to the Shushin attitude on this topic, when analyzed for its incidental teachings this lesson appears to be different. For example the model for emulation is not one of the great Japanese patriots so often referred to in Shushin lessons; he is an ordinary citizen. The foreman is not a domineering tyrant but a compassionate fellow workman. And the tunnel is not described as an addition to the power and glory of the nation but as an important utility serving people in that part of the country.²⁷

Very similar to the lesson just referred to is one which tells of a community project undertaken by the local junior high school. The students planted a row of apple trees near the center of their village. The trees helped beautify the village and the money gained from selling the apples helped pay expenses in a local orphanage. In this way, according to the lesson, the students demonstrated their " . . . heart of love for their native

²⁷"Tanna Tonneru" (The Tanna Tunnel), V:13.

It describes the construction of a tunnel on the famous Tokaido Railroad during which sixty men lost their lives. Most of the account deals with the crew foreman's heroic leadership. He maintained calmness among the workmen when they were trapped in the tunnel as a result of a cave-in. The teaching objective for the lesson is to impress students with the "bravery of leaders who faced danger and difficulty in developing their country." If one may judge the importance of a lesson by its length then this lesson should be rated as one of the most important in the course. Its main emphasis does not differ significantly from that in Shushin lessons on national economic development. Young people, when choosing their vocations, are to think beyond their personal ambitions and seek to be of service in the development of their native country. Though on the surface this appears similar to the Shushin attitude on this topic, when analyzed for its incidental teachings this lesson appears to be different. For example the model for emulation is not one of the great Japanese patriots so often referred to in Shushin lessons; he is an ordinary citizen. The foreman is not a domineering tyrant but a compassionate fellow workman. And the tunnel is not described as an addition to the power and glory of the nation but as an important utility serving people in that part of the country.²⁷

Very similar to the lesson just referred to is one which tells of a community project undertaken by the local junior high school. The students planted a row of apple trees near the center of their village. The trees helped beautify the village and the money gained from selling the apples helped pay expenses in a local orphanage. In this way, according to the lesson, the students demonstrated their " . . . heart of love for their native

²⁷"Tanna Tonneru" (The Tanna Tunnel), V:13.

land."²⁸

A fifth lesson also related to national development is a biographical sketch of Shimazu Genzo, nicknamed "Japan's Thomas Edison." In this lesson Shimazu is represented as an uneducated boy with a desire to "make something which would be useful to the people." Thus inspired he first developed his own remarkable talent as an inventor and then created the many inventions for which he later became famous.²⁹ Actually the lesson aims to train students to persevere in achieving their objectives and does not apply directly to service for the country. But the example is remarkably well chosen to link personal ambition and public service. Japanese people have often been praised for their emphasis on service. Gillespie gave a favorable comment in this regard when he discussed the results of his 1955 cross-cultural study of youth.³⁰ The lesson just noted indicates that this traditional value will not be neglected as a teaching objective. It also indicates, however, that public service will be taught as self-fulfillment and not as sheer self-denial.

All the lessons in Dotoku to which we have referred under "national development" give "love for the native land" as the motivation for service to one's country. The notion of service as an obligation is nowhere evident. Specific forms of compulsory service which had been emphasized in Shushin as duties—military service and taxation—are never mentioned in Dotoku. Incidentally, this fact has come to the attention of the Ministry of Finance; it is understandably concerned about the omission of taxation as a subject

²⁸"Yume wa Minoru" (A Dream Come True), VI:10.

²⁹See Appendix III: "Shimazu Genzo" (proper name), IV:10.

³⁰J.M. Gillespie and G.W. Allport, Youth's Outlook on the Future (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955), pp. 28-29.

for study in the morals course. Other interest groups have also been quick to point out what they regard as serious omissions.

Instead of stressing the obligatory nature of services Dotoku discusses service as a voluntary expression of one's loyalty. Shushin emphasized service as a duty which arose from membership in a group. In fact membership was itself a duty: "We can live and be worthy of living only as members of a country, as members of a community, and of a family,"³¹ as one of the lessons expressed it. Dotoku also emphasizes the importance of membership but it describes service for the group rather as a spontaneous outcome of living in the group to which one belongs. And for this reason Dotoku does not prescribe but rather suggests the type of service one might perform. It addresses the student as an individual who is capable of personal choice. Again, in contrast to Shushin where lessons on national development usually concluded with a challenge to work for the greater glory of Japan, Dotoku lessons end in a discussion of community improvement. It teaches that making oneself useful through even the most mundane services at the local level is an expression of loyalty to the nation equal to any other service no matter how spectacular. With this interpretation, young and old alike are equally capable of loyal deeds. Furthermore, when loyalty is defined in terms of everyday activities its scope becomes much broader. Thus as the child increases his conception of loyalty he will recognize that a human community and not the state or some other institution is the proper focus for loyalty. Eventually he will recognize that even his international responsibilities are bound up with local services.

³¹ R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 145.

Finally Shushin stressed national development in the context of Japan's competitive struggle with other nations; it taught that Japanese must intensify their sense of patriotism so that the country could attain a dominant position in the world. Dotoku, in contrast, stresses national development in the context of the equally important concept of peace within and between nations.

Loyalty and Rights. Neither in Shushin nor in Dotoku is there a lesson specifically on rights. In Shushin this was because rights were subordinated to duties; even voting was described as a duty rather than a right.

In Dotoku this emphasis is reversed; the term duty or obligation (gimu) appears in only one lesson as a specific teaching objective.³² The lesson attempts to show that duty and rights are opposite sides of a coin. For example, if one claims the right to public services one must also cooperate with the authorities who provide them; if one claims the right to enjoy efficient lunchroom service in school one must remain seated while the food is distributed. One always has the "right" to do as one pleases, but at the same time one must pay duty for any abuse of these rights in the form, for example, of commensurately poor service.

Other lessons dealing with obedience to rules and regulations seem to follow a similar pragmatic approach. A grade two lesson instructs children not to run in the corridor of the school.³³ The lesson is partly in the form of a question: "why do you suppose we can not run in the corridor?" By stating it as a question the lesson draws attention to the results

³²See Appendix IV: "Akarui Gakkyû" (Pleasant Classroom), V:4, p.104.

³³"Rôka" (The School Corridor), II:3.

of behavior rather than to a list of arbitrary regulations. It also implies thereby that rules do not contradict rights; instead they protect them.

Dotoku also ascribes certain rights to the group. Two of these groups, the general assembly of all the students in a school (jidôkai) and the class assemblies (gakkyûkai), can deliberate on various problems which occur among students. A fourth grade lesson describes how one of these assemblies disciplines a trouble-making student;³⁴ it illustrates how the students as a group can exercise rights which in prewar times were the sole prerogative of the teachers.

Closely related to rights is the idea of equality. In contrast to Shushin, which had nothing at all to say regarding equality, Dotoku devotes two lessons to the subject. One of these deals with equality of the sexes.³⁵ It suggests that girls should speak up in support of their own rights rather than accept abuse from the boys. The other lesson deals with equality among social groups; it draws its example from India, and Gandhi's leadership in the movement to abolish the caste system.³⁶ At the conclusion of the lesson pupils are asked to think about this question: "Are we being unfair in any way because we do not see things correctly?" The lesson calls for a surprising degree of intellectual maturity. If carried far enough, the question would lead to an examination of why some people must always obey while others always command; in this way it would subject to thorough criticism the Shushin idea of loyalty based on a rigidly stratified society.

Disloyalty. Occasional disagreement and conflict is considered normal in Dotoku. The selections from Dotoku which have been quoted or re-

³⁴See Appendix IV: "Akarui Gakkyû" (Pleasant Classroom), V:4, p.104.

³⁵"Otoko to Onna" (Male and Female), VI:4.

³⁶"Pâria" (The Untouchables), V:11.

ferred to above amply illustrate this fact. Pupils are entitled to disagree and even to quarrel occasionally subject to the limitations set by the student assembly and other organized groups; teachers also take a certain amount of this for granted as a number of lessons show. In the home children discuss their disagreements with their parents in an atmosphere of frankness. Both the frequency with which quarrels and disagreements are seen in the lessons as well as the frankness with which they are discussed evidence their acceptance as part of the normal situation. Disagreements naturally accompany personal rights; they are not, as in Shushin, the outcome of disobedience, disloyalty or disrespect.

The essence of morals, according to some of the Dotoku lessons, is reflective action. In every grade there are at least two lessons centered around self-evaluation. In the lessons objectives they are designated by such terms as "correcting our shortcomings" (VI:6), "our attitude to faults" (IV:3), "examining our self-willfulness" (II:17), "apologizing for mistakes" (I:14). The contrast with Shushin lessons, in which moral behavior was reduced to unquestioning obedience, can be seen in the following comparison. The first example is quoted in full from Shushin; the second is summarized from a lesson in Dotoku.

Shushin: "Heed Your Parents' Advice" (I:24)

Mother said, "Rake the yard."

Umeko and Ichiro said, "Yes," and cleaned the yard.
The yard became tidy and clean.³⁷

Dotoku: "Otsukai" (Running an Errand) (III:7)

The children began to play together. Akira's mother called him and asked him to go on an errand for her. He said, "No."

³⁷R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation, p. 139.

Then his mother turned away and started towards home. Akira began to play again but felt bad somehow for not being more helpful. Then he called to her.

His mother said, "So, you want to go to the store for me," and felt very happy.

Freedom of choice and the normality of occasional disagreement is not only recognized, as this example from Dotoku shows, but is actively encouraged. Moreover, whereas Shushin prescribed the thought and behavior of pupils, Dotoku lessons teach pupils to subject their behavior to critical evaluation. Freedom is the basis for morals and the way in which one exercises one's freedom is the qualitative measure for morality.

Loyalty and the Enemy. There are no lessons in our sample of Dotoku which suggest that loyalty implies a reaction to an actual or potential "enemy." However in two of the lessons there is an indirect reference to the subject. Both lessons have been referred to above; one is an account of India's struggle for independence from Britain,³⁸ and the other describes the beginning of the Meiji period when Japan's independence seemed to be threatened by the West.³⁹ In both of these instances considerable attention is given to the idea that fighting for independence is equivalent to "fighting for the truth." Yet in spite of these arguments, apparently directed at countries with imperialistic policies, neither of the two lessons mentions this as a teaching objective. Instead, the lessons are centered around the idea of national and international peace. It is significant that Dotoku also includes a frank discussion of the cold war and nuclear arms as a part of the lesson series on Nehru and international peace.⁴⁰ What is

³⁸See p. 75.

³⁹See pp. 67-68.

⁴⁰"Heiwa no Hikari" (The Light of Peace), V:15.

more significant is the positive tone of the discussion. It recognizes that merely deploring world tensions does not solve them; to allay these tensions one needs a positive devotion to the cause.

Dotoku as a New Synthesis of Shushin Morals. It is impossible for two courses in morals to be totally different. In the final analysis both Shushin and Dotoku seek to mold thinking and behavior according to certain preconceived moral ideals. We have noted Dotoku's omission of subjects like the Great Imperial Shrine, the Emperor, the Empress, the National Flag, national festivals, the ancestors, the Imperial Rescript on Education, and the Imperial Constitution; all of these were closely associated with the teaching of loyalty in Shushin. These were the symbols of the prewar ideal. In a sense the ideals themselves are unchanged; Dotoku still seeks to create an orderly and productive society and to maximize the happiness of the individual. But it chooses a different approach and in so doing yields some entirely different results.

A comparison of the grade three textbooks⁴¹ illustrates the difference. Both the Shushin and the Dotoku textbooks contain lessons which teach, for example, obedience to public regulations. But the Shushin injunctions to obey regulations suggest formidable and incontrovertible sanctions against disobedience. The pupil is given no alternative to passive conformity. He is left without the freedom to make choices and without the feeling of personal responsibility. Should the sanctions be lifted, as they were at the end of World War Two, this person might justifiably disobey all the regulations. This is, in fact, the explanation given by many authorities for the wave of postwar lawlessness. Tsurumi Kazuko notes that as soon as

⁴¹See Table III, p. 66.

people lost the feeling of loyalty to the Emperor they gave up the idea of loyalty altogether.⁴² All public morality suffered since all moral sanctions had been bound up with the concept of a divinely instituted Emperor system.

In Dotoku—again using the grade three textbook as an example—obedience to regulations is taught as part of the broad concept of public morality. This includes rights, responsibilities, reconciliation of differences, conscience (ryôshin) and voluntary service. Lessons on these various aspects of public morality comprise eight of the twenty lessons in the grade three textbook. It is easy to see, then, that Dotoku establishes a much broader basis for the moral concept of obedience to regulations. In the lessons on acceptance of responsibility a pupil will learn that others depend on him to lock up the sports equipment (III:12) or to report a broken flower vase (III:4); in the lesson on conscience he will learn that admission of dishonesty makes him happier in the long run than concealment of it (III:6); another lesson will help him understand why scribbling on walls is indecent (III:11); still another will suggest contributions to social welfare: in this case picking up the nails that lie on the road and cause punctures (III:14). The pupil can apply all these lessons himself, not only in the restricted sense of obedience but in the broader sense of social responsibility.

Summary of Loyalty as Taught in Dotoku

Compulsory instruction in morals was reintroduced in 1957 by an increasingly conservative Ministry of Education. The Ministry's intentions were initially expressed in a statement of objectives for moral instruction

⁴²Kazuko Tsurumi, Suchibusuton Monogatari (Tales of Steveston) (Tokyo: Chuo Kôron Publishing Co., 1962), p. 184.

in the elementary and lower middle schools. Used in stating the objectives were terms which had been common in Shushin. Expressions like "love the nation," "pride as a Japanese," "germ of the patriotic spirit," and the "country's prosperity" all sounded like prewar moral education. Thus the new course in morals seemed, on the face of it, to reintroduce the Shushin concept of loyalty.

However, a quantitative sample analysis revealed that the amount of lesson material related to loyalty was about half of that found in Shushin. In the grade three Dotoku textbook, for example, only three lessons out of twenty appeared to stress anything like the loyalty taught in Shushin.

When all the lessons were analyzed in terms of the qualities of loyalty they promoted a concept of loyalty quite different from that found in Shushin emerged. Its main elements can be summarized in the following points:

1. Dotoku apparently rejects, and certainly neglects, the mythological ideas underlying Imperial divinity; it thereby also rejects the whole idea of divinity as a sanction for loyalty. The Imperial Institution appears only once in a very general reference. The Institution no longer qualifies today as an absolute basis for national morals. Nor can the national morals be dictated by the state. Dotoku establishes a much broader frame of reference for morality; it teaches that the people who form a community are the proper focus for national loyalty.

2. Dotoku avoids the subject of religion almost completely. It neither refers nor alludes to Japan's great Shinto heritage; thus it obviously rejects Shinto as a sanction for loyalty to the state or to any other entity. The word "God" is used in two lessons in a way which may suggest acceptance of the idea of a universal, benevolent but non-sectarian God.

3. The concept of filial piety in Dotoku rests on mutual affection and understanding between parents and children; the idea of the father as an absolute ruler in the family is implicitly rejected. Problems arising between children and parents are settled by consideration of one another's needs.

Filial piety is never mentioned in conjunction with other loyalties like loyalty to the state or to the Emperor. This implies that loyalties should be broadly diffused to correspond with one's total relationship or responsibility to society. Self-sacrifice to the Emperor or the state is not mentioned as an extension of filial piety.

4. Loyalty to one's country is sometimes expressed in the form of service for causes which are of national importance. But this theme appears infrequently. Love for the native land or voluntary service to one's community appears as the proper motivation for nationally oriented loyalty; obligation to advance national glory is not mentioned.

5. Dotoku assumes individual rights as the necessary counterpart of duty. This is implicit in the pragmatic manner in which it teaches obedience to regulations; pupils should understand the purpose of regulations and should not merely be forced to obey them. Rights are also implied in Dotoku's treatment of filial piety; sympathy and understanding rather than obligation are taught as the basis for harmony in the family. In its emphasis on equality of the sexes and equality of social groups Dotoku also assumes the idea of equal rights. Finally, Dotoku ascribes to student groups certain rights. These include the right of some self-government; previously the teacher made all the decisions.

6. Occasional disagreements and conflicts in the home and in school are considered the concomitant of personal rights. They are treated

as normal and are not considered disobedience or treason. The essence of morality is reflection upon the rightness or wrongness of one's own action; it is not merely the acquisition of prescribed behavior patterns. Such a concept of morality assumes freedom as the basis for morals; the way in which one exercises his freedom expresses the quality of his morals.

7. Dotoku describes no particular act as of "supreme loyalty." It makes no attempt to group loyalties into any hierarchy. Stated positively this means that morality in Dotoku is founded on a much broader basis than it was in Shushin. It does not distinguish any person or political institution as a final authority.

8. The idea that loyalty is necessary to strengthen the nation's defenses against an actual or potential enemy does not appear in Dotoku. National independence is mentioned as threatened by foreign powers in two lessons. This aspect of the lessons in question, however, is not mentioned in their teaching objectives and must be regarded as incidental.

9. The morality of Dotoku is much more broadly based than that of Shushin. Dotoku seeks to implant a broad concept of public morality which has the welfare of the public as well as the happiness of the individual as its aim. The means whereby it teaches this concept are, likewise, the pupil's own experiences.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Moral education has always been assigned a central place in the curriculum in Japan. Its basic principles were well established at a very early date. The influence of several competing religious philosophies caused some disunity in the nineteenth century; since 1872, however, with the onset of compulsory education and the introduction of Shushin as the official course in morals, the content of moral training in Japan became set. From the beginning the concept of loyalty featured prominently in the lessons; the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, which named loyalty and filial piety as the basic principles of all education, set the standard for instruction in Shushin during the next fifty-five years.

Historical events in Japan and an upsurge of nationalistic feeling united to bring about an increasing emphasis on loyalty in the Shushin course. This fact is borne out, for example, in a comparison of content in a course dated 1925 with that dated 1940. If loyalty is defined in the broad sense of obedience or allegiance to the Emperor, Imperial Family, Shinto heritage, government, national purpose, laws, teacher and one's family and ancestors, then the 1940 course is approximately 46 percent devoted to the subject of loyalty. In the 1925 course the proportion is about one third of this amount.

It is in the quality rather than quantity of instruction in loyalty that the Shushin course of 1940 really becomes significant. It is based on the notion of a divine Emperor and a unique, Chosen Race with a Sacred

Mission. This combined with elements from the Shinto heritage to form the structural basis for the so-called Kokutai or national entity. In this way Shushin combined a whole body of traditional Japanese beliefs to create a formidable sanction for loyalty to the state.

Without making any attempt to examine critically the historicity of these assumptions, the lessons then went on to define the behavior which was appropriate for such a unique and exalted people; it taught the solidarity of Japan as a nation-family; it taught obedience to parents as a virtue inseparable from loyalty to the Emperor; it taught selfless devotion to the national purpose in peace and particularly in war; it also taught that a Japanese owed unconditional loyalty and that he must subordinate rights to duties. In its stress on loyalty the course frequently referred to or implied the existence of an "enemy"; it thus exemplified loyalty with illustrations taken from wars.

Conversely, the lessons offered very little discussion about the possibility of deviation from the standards it set. It equated deviation in thought or in deed, on any grounds whatever, with disobedience and disloyalty. It even interpreted the "rights" of the Japanese citizen, which had been written into the Imperial Constitution, as a privilege never to be exercised in one's own behalf; when voting, for example, one must vote according to the highest demands of the country.

When dealing with specific behavior or virtues the lessons, frequently concluded with an appeal to serve the national purpose. This approach made it clear that the acquisition and exercise of any virtue whatever helped the country. On the contrary it implied that as a loyal Japanese one must always seek to acquire virtue and thereby serve his country; neglect of one's duty in this regard was disloyalty. Furthermore, in its numerous

injunctions to serve the country, Shushin nearly always referred to the nation rather than the local community. The directness with which it enunciated specific duties, like taxation and military service, left no doubt as to the practical application of loyalty and its national orientation.

Defeat in war brought to an end the regime as well as much of the ideology which had lent significance to the Shushin course. This fact was accentuated when the Emperor publicly admitted that he lacked divinity. By doing so he also admitted that the teachings of Shushin were based on a falsehood.

The postwar successor to Shushin, social studies, aimed to instill and perpetuate democratic principles in education; it was based on the idea that children can and must understand the meaning of social groups, not merely conform to their demands. It claimed to make no other assumption but the right and ability of children to understand their proper role in society. It therefore spoke little about respect or obedience and more about responsibility. It stressed individual initiative to improve social groups rather than passive conformity for the sake of harmony. Its lessons frequently employed the words "society" but rarely the emotionally charged words "nation" or "our country."

But the success of social studies depended upon the initiative of teachers, not only in the interpretation of lessons but in the compiling of necessary textbooks; for according to the postwar textbook system the Ministry of Education prepares outlines of courses for instruction in the first twelve grades of school but does not compile or issue the actual textbooks. The success of social studies also depended upon teachers' experience in similar studies and on public confidence that the course would impart

adequate moral training. In all these respects social studies seemed weak and Dotoku was therefore developed to supplement it.

Dotoku resembles Shushin outwardly except that it is shorter and less rigidly structured. The open-ended questions for discussion at the conclusion of each lesson and the generally suggestive approach also set it apart from Shushin. Dotoku lessons provoke thought and discussion, whereas Shushin lessons prescribed behavior.

But the critical difference between the courses is in their substance. To determine more precisely how they differ, we analyzed the six volumes of Akarui Michi (Bright Way), which is one of several versions of Dotoku now in extensive use.

We found that Dotoku makes no reference, either directly or indirectly, to the Shinto religion, the idea of divine origin or divine mission of the Japanese, or to the Kokutai; only in one lesson does it mention the Imperial Institution. In the lesson referred to, the Emperor is recognized as a symbol of historical importance; he was a rallying symbol for unity in modern Japan. But whether he performs this function today the lesson does not clearly state. Least likely of the possible interpretations of the lesson is that the Emperor provides an appropriate basis for morality in contemporary Japan. The tenor of teachings in Dotoku is that morality in Japan today must have a broad base, both in its sanctions and in the focus of loyalties. What the sanctions of Dotoku are, however, is not made clear. According to the Ministry of Education's most recent curriculum report (1960) Dotoku embodies the democratic principles of the 1947 Fundamental Law of Education. That law specified respect for human beings, individuality and initiative as the aims of education in Japan.

Concealed in the omission of reference to sanctions, then, is the belief that these three humanistic tenets of faith will provide both a rationale and a kind of sanction for morality. Dotoku clearly rejects the peculiar combination of political and religious sanctions upon which Shushin rested. But how is the humanistic basis for morality interpreted in Dotoku? Lessons bring out the idea of respect for individual dignity particularly well when they discuss filial piety. In Shushin, lessons were direct injunctions to obey one's parents; in Dotoku they are usually descriptions of family life in which mutual understanding, sympathy and affection predominate. One lesson brings out especially clearly the basic equality between parents and children; it describes them in a frank discussion of family affairs.

Dotoku devotes the same proportion of its lessons to filial piety as Shushin did (about ten percent). But while Shushin sought to ingrain the attitude of respect for superiors in one's family, Dotoku seeks to instill mutual respect. By describing the family as an arena for the exercise of mutual respect on a basis of equality Dotoku suggests that a similar relationship ought also to exist in society. Shushin described the family as a training ground for exercising duties; the family was rigidly stratified and the nation was an enlargement of the family.

One of the most outstanding contrasts between our prewar and postwar samples is their treatment of the idea of service for the national purpose. By our categories Shushin devoted about twenty percent of its lessons to this theme while Dotoku devotes only four percent to it. Moreover, Shushin taught service as an imperative; Dotoku teaches it as a responsibility to be assumed voluntarily. In Shushin, service usually meant contribution to national aggrandizement, while in Dotoku the scope for service is the

local community. Whereas Shushin was bold and forthright in its presentation of the national orientation, Dotoku presents it timidly. In the third grade, for example, it provides no lesson on love for one's country.

Shushin frequently specified the services which the nation expected of its citizens; military service figured prominent among them. Indeed there were many lessons in Shushin which reminded students that their loyalty was made necessary by the existence of an "enemy." In Dotoku there are faint suggestions that "national independence" is desirable for Japan and even that one should resist the nations which threaten world peace. In each of these cases, however, the lessons bear a positive tone; they encourage students to think internationally.

Dotoku is more forthright on the subject of rights and it brings out this idea in a number of ways: it encourages student groups to govern certain areas of school life; it teaches the basic equality of the sexes and of social groups; it tolerates disagreement and even a measure of quarreling; and it encourages students to exercise their freedom of choice. To balance this emphasis on rights, Dotoku teaches students to subject their own behavior to critical evaluation and to make necessary amendments in their attitudes and behavior. Shushin had little to say about these aspects of individual rights and offered no specific lessons on any of them.

Our hypothesis stated that Dotoku seeks to reintroduce the prewar teaching of loyalty as enunciated in Shushin. This hypothesis must be rejected. Shushin based all its teachings on the assumption of divine incontrovertible authority. In this authority Shushin found both the sanction and the focus for loyalty. Dotoku by strong implication rejects this as too narrow a base for the morality of present day Japan. Instead it substitutes

certain humanistic principles which are thought to form the essence of "democratic morality."

By taking different stands on fundamental issues the two moral systems diverge even further in the means and ends they adopt. Shushin, in keeping with the authoritarian sanctions it proposed, dealt with the whole question of individual rights as though it were merely a legal technicality without any immediate practical function in the lives of people. Against the concept of individualism it counterpoised a formidable and all-consuming entity called Kokutai which few could comprehend and none could contradict. Loyalty based on this premise left no role for the individual but conformity to social demands which were clearly defined before his birth. It was the task of Shushin first to gain the pupils' uninhibited devotion to this principle of loyalty and after that to specify in detail what behavior was required in each possible situation.

Dotoku, on the other hand, in keeping with its claim to the humanistic principles of rights, individuality and initiative, exemplifies these principles by constant allusion to freedom and responsibility. We have shown, for example, that Shushin represented a hierarchical system of loyalty with the Imperial Institution as its center; the teaching of public morality hardly found a place in such a grandiose system. Loyalty and filial piety were the predominant virtues and whatever also was taught needed to be related somehow to the two cardinal virtues. When the catastrophe of war destroyed the people's belief in the divine authority of that system it also invited abandonment of the idea of loyalty altogether. Dotoku seeks to overcome this defect through a broader concept of loyalty; it insists that the people of a community, and not a political entity such as the state, form

the proper focus for national loyalty. When this view of loyalty and of morality is accepted, then even the most mundane services to the community are understood as expressions of loyalty. This, then, forms the basis for a comprehensive public morality which was lacking in Shushin and which seems to be absent in Japan today.

Seidensticker and others have observed that the mystique of the family-state in Japan is practically dead, at least in the large cities, and that the mystique of the family itself is dying.¹ The results of a recent study as reported by Amano Aichi support this view. Young people in Germany, England, France and Japan were asked the question: Would you sacrifice everything to rescue your own parents? In Japan only 56.6 percent of the young people polled answered "Yes;" whereas in Europe the proportion was over 90 percent in each of the three countries.² The Japanese morality which has traditionally been rooted in values associated with the family is in jeopardy. Gradually taking its place, perhaps, is the more comprehensive morality rooted in values associated with the public. We have analyzed Shushin and Dotoku in terms of various teachings: the sanctions for moral behavior, the formation, purpose, focus and duration of loyalties; we have also spelled out some of the behavioral implications of the two moral systems. We conclude that in no important point do they resemble each other. Shushin had a character of its own which in some ways suited a peculiar situation; Dotoku has another character and answers different needs. The outstanding question today is whether Dotoku will contribute to public morality in the postwar Japan what Shushin morality contributed to family solidarity and national unity in prewar Japan.

¹Edward Seidensticker, "Japan's Life Without Father," The Commonweal, LXXIV (June 30, 1961), pp. 346-48.

²Sandai Mainichi, June 21, 1964, p. 29.

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Appendix I

The Imperial Rescript on Education¹

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also 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 public good and promote 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 Our 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 to the same virtue.

October 30, 1890

¹R. Tsunoda, W.T. De Bary, and D. Keene, Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 646-47.

APPENDIX II

SHUSHIN: "A GOOD JAPANESE" (III:27)²

In order to become a good Japanese, one must always look up to the virtues of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, and Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, must respect and esteem the Great Shrines of Ise [dedicated to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Omikami], and must strengthen one's loyalty and patriotism. Also, in order to be a [good] Japanese, it is important to understand the meaning of Empire Day, the Birthday of the Emperor, the Anniversary of the Birthday of the Emperor Meiji, and other such National Holidays; and furthermore to hold the National Flag precious.

Rendering filial piety to one's father and mother, respecting one's teachers, loving one's school, cooperating with friends and helping one another out; and doing kindnesses to one's neighbors, all these are of primary consideration.

One must always be honest in one's feelings, must remember one's manners whether at home or away, must never forget patience, must deal with people cooperatively, must ordinarily maintain thrift, must help the sufferings of others with a deep feeling of benevolence, and must not only not forget the kindnesses received from others, obey the regulations, and refrain from doing things which will cause trouble for others, but one must also do positive things for the sake of the welfare of the people.

It is also important that one watch one's health to keep one's father and mother from worrying, and with a healthy body must devote oneself to education and work with spirit. One must also keep things in order; keep one's spirit calm and not become confused on any occasion; and during normal times develop courage so that one can do anything, however difficult, in times of emergency.

It is important, in becoming a good Japanese, to get along with people, to work hard for the sake of the people, and to endeavor to serve the Emperor for His Goodness. Finally, in order to show these feelings in one's actions, one must perform all of them with sincerity.

²As quoted by R.K. Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 232-33.

APPENDIX III

DOTOKU: "SHIMAZU GENZO" (Proper Name) (IV:10)³

One day a splendid machine was brought into a small, shack-like factory in Niji Kiyamachi in Kyoto. Umejiro, turning the bright, brass tubes, desired to make and repair such fine machinery. When he looked underneath the machine he saw some writing. But Umejiro could hardly read because he had stopped school in grade two; so he asked his father where it was made. Father said it was made in France. So Umejiro asked again, "If they can make such machinery in France, why can't we make it in Japan?" Father said, "There hasn't been anyone in Japan who could invent such machines."

So Umejiro determined to study hard and become the inventor that would be able to do it. At that time his father was taking lessons from Mr. Wagner, a German, and was also making and repairing the instruments for the science classes in schools. Fourteen year old Umejiro asked his father to write a letter to the municipal office to let him have a book on science.

When Umejiro came to get the book he had ordered, the man in charge said to him, "This was a request from Shimazu, so there can't be any mistake, but I can't give the book to you. I want Mr. Shimazu Umejiro to come and get it himself."

"But I am Shimazu Umejiro," said the boy.

"A little boy like you couldn't understand a book like this," the man answered scornfully. But eventually he let Umejiro have the book anyway. Umejiro was so happy. From that evening on, with the help of a dictionary, he started to read the book. But it was a foreign book and he could understand only words and not the sentences. However, he thought, since it is a book written by human beings, I should be able to understand it. He tried hard to get its meaning using the help of its pictures and photographs.

Around that time street cars were coming into use; they needed storage batteries, but these were not made anywhere in Japan. "I would like to make storage batteries which will be useful to the people," Umejiro thought. And for the next five to six years he put so much effort into studying that he almost forgot to eat and sleep. At last he finished about eighty of the storage bat-

³Translated from Masao Yamamoto, Akarui Michi (Bright Way) (6 vols.; Osaka Shoseki Co., Ltd., 1962).

teries. Unfortunately they were inferior to the foreign makes and so could hardly be of any commercial use. So Umejiro started over again and studied the problem further.

Early one morning Umejiro entered his laboratory and studied the manufacture of powdered lead which is used to make storage batteries. As he was going to throw a lump of lead into his machine he noticed black powder around the hole. When he picked up some of it in his finger-tips and had a look at it his eyes brightened. "This is it!" he exclaimed. There was the powder which had been the goal of his studies. But how it had formed he did not know.

Again he resumed his studies, and after extended effort he succeeded in making a lead powder which no one else in the world could make.

Here was a man with character; he could not compromise or give up. No matter what the problem was he would think about it seriously and examine it. And the result was success.

After his father's death he changed his name to Genzo, his father's name. He named his storage battery "G.S.," taking the "S" from Shimazu and the "G" from Genzo. Now the battery he made is used in cars, trains and steamships. Besides the storage battery he made an X-ray machine, an electric microscope and about 270 other machines and devices which are used by people throughout the world. Thus he became the wonderful inventor whom we call "Japan's Edison!"

Questions: (1) With which part of the story are you most impressed? (2) What kind of a man do you want to be when you grow up? What do you have to do to fulfil that purpose?

APPENDIX IV

DOTOKU: "AKARUI GAKKYŪ" (PLEASANT CLASSROOM) (IV:14)⁴

Kiyoshi's Diary: October 13; Monday; Weather - Fair.

Saburo is vice-president of the classroom. He's good at fighting. Everybody plays up to him so he's been pretty selfish lately. But today Saburo was absent so I brought up this subject in the classroom assembly.

I said, "I don't think it's good for everybody to try to be on the good side of a strong fighter. I think our class would be much better if we could decide everything as a class." I wanted to say more, but that was all I could say.

Masao and Miyoko expressed very well what I wanted to say: "At cleaning time⁵ Saburo always gets lazy; he neglects his work and bothers others." "If anyone doesn't do what Saburo says, he won't have any friends." "He's vice-president but he is selfish and picks on the weaker ones." There were other things said about him too.

Saburo's friends, Susumu and Ichiro, remained silent and hung their heads. But I was a little worried that Saburo might get after me.

Masao's Diary: October 14; Tuesday; Weather - Fair.

At lunchtime we always play dodgeball with Saburo as the center of attraction. But Saburo was absent for a time so we discussed this matter; we decided on certain days for kickball, for dodgeball, and for prisoners' base. If Saburo isn't around Susumu and Ichiro are not bossy so we had a very good time with kickball today. Miyoko and the other girls joined in; up to now the girls never played with us. Somehow the class is changing.

Saburo's Diary: October 20; Monday; Weather - Cloudy.

I like dodgeball but I was angry so I didn't join the others. As I was watching, the ball rolled to the corner of the play-

⁴Ibid.

⁵Clean-up is a daily affair in every Japanese elementary and secondary school. It is a time for hard work as well as occasional sporting. It is also an ideal setting for brief moral discourses by the teacher.

ground. Susumu went to get it, but the sixth graders started to kick the ball around and didn't return it. I felt sorry for Susumu and thought I better go and help him. I ran toward them and said, "That ball belongs to grade four!"

But one of the boys knocked me down saying, "You keep out of this!"

I said, "What do you mean?"

"Do you want to fight?" Three boys came towards me. They seemed to be very strong even for sixth graders and I knew I was no match for them. I was scared and almost started to cry. Just then Kiyoshi, Masao and some girls came running. "I'll tell the teacher!" "I'll bring this up in the students' assembly!" each of them shouted.

The sixth graders went away saying, "We'll let you go this time, but don't forget"

Kiyoshi said, "Oh, it's bleeding!" He looked at my hand anxiously. Everyone came with me to the first aid room. They were all so kind that I felt sorry and tears came to my eyes. I had held a grudge against Kiyoshi and the others.

Miyoko's Diary:⁶ December 15; Monday; Weather - Rain.

The class has been getting noticeably more pleasant lately. Until now the same people have always been doing the talking in class meetings. Now everybody feels free to say what he wants because there is no worry about being tormented. At clean-up time the boys who used to play around work even harder than the girls. "Saburo was so good today," the teacher had said. "You deserved to be vice-president after all."

Questions: (1) Was it a good idea to discuss Saburo's bad points at the meeting during his absence? (2) Let's discuss how Kiyoshi and Masao felt while doing this [i.e., presenting Saburo's case at the meeting]? (3) Are there some problems which are spoiling the atmosphere of the classroom [at our school]? What can we do to make it more pleasant?

⁶Every student keeps a diary as part of his regular school work. These may be considered samples.

APPENDIX V

DOTOKU: "MEIJI NO AKEBONO"

(THE DAWN OF THE MEIJI PERIOD) (VI:14)

Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu [also pronounced Keiki] was in one of the rooms of the Kanei Temple in Ueno. He was in an apologetic mood toward the ancestors.

Katsu Kaishu, his army general, came to report. "The Emperor [chôtei]⁷ has given the command to attack Edo Castle. Reports say that they started from Kyoto under the command of Arisugawa no Miya."

Yoshinobu bit his lips and stared at one spot. His face gave one the vivid impression of suffering. "My ancestors Tokugawa Ieyasu founded the Bakufu Government in Edo 270 years ago. The same family has continued on as Shogun for fifteen generations and I have to apologize for seeing it destroyed while I am in power I am confident that I can win against the Imperial Army; I still have many soldiers under me who would fight for me. And the French Ambassador Roches said he would let me have some money for weapons and war-ships. If I tried I could defeat them, but I don't want to cause a division in our nation by acquiring foreign aid. It would just show our weakness, and that is just what they are waiting for. I would hate to see the result of my opposition to them If I think of the future of Japan I can't be concerned about our Tokugawa family. That is why I wrote a letter to the Emperor [chôtei] and am now in confinement in this room. Why doesn't the Emperor [chôtei] understand my feeling about it?

Katsu Kaishu can understand Yoshinobu's feeling, but their command to attack Edo Castle shows that the Imperial authorities do not understand Yoshinobu's good intentions.

"Katsu!" Yoshinobu turned to him with tears in his eyes. "If they can't understand me, I suppose we will have to fight as hard as possible without foreign aid. We will die when it becomes necessary."

"Master, what do you mean?" Katsu was in tears also. "Let's not give up hope. Please trust me and depend upon me. I'll do my

⁷The nearest translation is "Imperial Office" or "Imperial Headquarters" but not necessarily the Emperor as a person.

best to let them know your feelings and thereby try to stop such a useless war."

The Imperial Army which had set out to destroy the Bakufu came [to Edo, or Tokyo] in full force on the 12th of the third month in 1868. Some of the force had already arrived at Shinagawa [in the suburbs]. They were planning to attack Edo Castle on the 15th. As the reports came in Katsu Kaishu remained calm. Every effort to solve the dispute peacefully and without war had been in vain, but there was one more possibility. That was to go to the enemy headquarters and request an interview with Saigo Takamori.⁸

Katsu wrote a letter to Takamori asking for his consent. The answer was "Yes." So on the 13th at noon the two met at the mansion of the Satsuma family. The house was guarded all around. Katsu did not pay much attention to the soldiers who stood ready with their bayonets pointed at him. "I am Katsu of the Bakufu," he began. "I have come to see Mr. Saigo. Where is he?" He shouted once and the soldiers opened the way for him. He was shown the proper room. Presently Saigo came to meet him. His soldiers, all of them tense, surrounded the room, but Katsu remained calm and fearless. He explained to Saigo the ideas of the Bakufu so that he himself was moved by his own words. Saigo, listening intently, was beginning to be aroused.

"At present the problem is not whether the Bakufu dies out or not. While we in this country are fighting among ourselves foreign powers attempt to enter the country. This is a dangerous period for Japan, and we can't be fighting each other as bad brothers. We must think first about the security of Japan's future." Saigo nodded deeply.

Katsu continued: "Master Saigo, the Shogun refused the offer of help from foreign countries and he is now confining himself to one room to show his concern for the future of Japan. If the war begins the Bakufu soldiers will fight their hardest and then the whole of Edo will be under fire. We do not want a million innocent people of Edo to be involved in war. I, Katsu Kaishu, ask your favor from the bottom of my heart."

Saigo, thinking for a while, nodded quietly and said, "I understand, Master Katsu. But I cannot decide this on my own. I must consult Arisugawa no Miya. But I will stop our plan to attack Edo Castle tomorrow. I will take the responsibility."

Katsu was moved by the great decision Saigo had thus made; the problem was a serious one. "Master Saigo, thank you very much," he said. And Saigo responded with a smile.

⁸Saigo Takamori was the leading military figure of the powerful Satsuma clan and a staunch Royalist.

Katsu's desire to let Saigo know of Yoshinobu's real feeling moved Saigo. As a result a million people of Edo escaped war. Not only that, the security of all Japan was preserved. It was thus that the Imperial Army took over Edo Castle and the Meiji Period dawned.

Questions: (1) After reading this story, what points about Saigo and Katsu can you appreciate? Let's exchange our opinions about it.

APPENDIX VI

ALLOCATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL HOURS—PREWAR AND POSTWAR

	Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Subjects (1930) ⁹							
1.	Morals (<u>Shushin</u>)	2	2	2	2	2	2
2.	Japanese Language	10	12	12	12	9	9
3.	Arithmetic	5	5	6	6	4	4
4.	Japanese History					2	2
5.	Geography					2	2
6.	Science				2	2	2
7.	Drawing (Boys)			1	1	2	2
	(Girls)			1	1	1	1
8.	Singing, Gymnastics	4	4	1	1	2	2
9.	Sewing (Girls Only)				2	3	3
TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK		Boys: 21	23	25	27	28	28
		Girls: 21	23	25	29	30	30

Subjects (1960)¹⁰

1.	Japanese Language	7	9	8	8	7	7
2.	Social Studies	2	2	3	4	4	4
3.	Arithmetic	3	4	5	6	6	6
4.	Science	2	2	3	3	4	4
5.	Music	3	2	2	2	2	2
6.	Arts and Handicrafts	3	2	2	2	2	2
7.	Homemaking					2	2
8.	Physical Education	3	3	3	3	3	3
9.	Moral Education (<u>Dotoku</u>)	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL HOURS PER WEEK		24	25	27	29	31	31

⁹Japan, Ministry of Education, A General Survey of Education in Japan (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1930), p. 19.

¹⁰Japan, Ministry of Education, Revised Curriculum in Japan for Elementary and Lower Secondary Schools (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1960), p. 29.