Shaping National Historical Consciousness: Japanese History Textbooks in Meiji-era Elementary Schools

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"Textbooks made the Japanese."—Karasawa Tomitarō[1]

Notions of the past are strongly influenced, if not entirely produced, by what people are taught in school. Wherever they are formed, in the classroom or elsewhere, ideas about history are consequential. Nakamura Masanori (b. 1935), a distinguished economic historian who has written high school textbooks, expressed the crux of the matter well: "Historical knowledge determines a people's political consciousness and their cultural consciousness. . . . History, as people understand it, is what gives them their self-image." The downside of this, he continued, is that "if historical knowledge is distorted, the self-image too becomes distorted."[2]

This essay analyzes Japanese history textbooks used in primary schools in the Meiji period. Over the forty-five years of the Meiji emperor's reign, universal education was introduced into Japan and systematic teaching about the national past became an important part of the overall program. This was a time when defining national consciousness and giving it purpose was one of the highest political priorities.[3] Elementary school textbooks merit our attention as a leading indicator of the formation of such consciousness in those critical years. Here I show that authors adjusted both the substance and the form of school history books as the years went by. Writers and editors gradually refined text materials to make them appropriate, in accessibility and level of difficulty, for upper-elementary pupils. Authors modified their principles of selection of material and remolded images of individual historical figures in order to inculcate a sense of loyalty to the emperor and positive feelings about the national past in general. Reading Meiji texts today, we can detect shifts in content and also in style and diction. Textbook authors came to pay more attention to narrative structure as the years passed, and by the early twentieth century textbooks communicated a perception of the connectedness of things more effectively than had their early Meiji forerunners. Levels of politeness embedded in the grammar changed over time, too, to teach and reinforce respect for certain figures and also the idea of belonging to a nation. These changes were intended to heighten students' historical consciousness, sharpen their reasoning about causality, and stimulate their formation of a strong national identity.

We can discern four phases in the production of history textbooks in the Meiji period. These relate, naturally, to changes in the education system as a whole and to revisions of rules pertaining to textbooks. The pivotal points in this chronology were 1872, when the government promulgated the Fundamental Code of Education; 1881, when the Ministry of Education released "Key Points of the Principles of Instruction for Primary Schools"; 1886, when Minister of Education Mori Arinori (1847-1889) assigned responsibility for certification of textbooks to a new section of his ministry; and 1903, when the Ordinance on Primary Schools was revised to provide that only state-compiled textbooks could be used in most subjects, including history.

For textbook authors, composition is not a matter of unearthing and evaluating new source materials, or devising new theories of scholarship or new interpretations. Meiji writers had to worry about translation from the *kanbun* of most of their own sources to everyday language that pupils could be expected to understand. But as for all textbook writers, the pressing practical task was synthesis, reduction, and compression. Fitting things in is almost always hard. When the assignment is to survey all of Japanese history and a packed curriculum leaves limited time for this one subject, a recent textbook author commented, "it is impossible to depict the important events and persons without leaving a lot out. Writing a textbook is truly a war with the number of pages."[4] To criticize primary schoolbook authors for lack of comprehensiveness is probably not fair. At the same time, "leaving a lot out" can easily result in distortion, and distortion is fair game for criticism. There is more to textbook historiography than just selection of material, however. Consideration of the rhetorical characteristics of the Meiji schoolbooks yields insight into the parallel development of nationalism and narrative technique in this critical period.

In the absence of data on textbook sales, I concentrate on "representative" history textbooks, works that Japanese scholars have identified as widely used or widely influential in the Meiji era.[5] I draw most of my comparisons and contrasts from chapters or passages of those texts that treat Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (1536-1598) invasions of Korea. Those are quite suggestive. Not only do they deal with an outstanding historical personage, a larger-than-life individual whose actions did much to determine the course of early modern domestic power relations, but they also show Japan relating with Korea. From the earliest days of Meiji, relations with Korea were highly topical and problematic. A debate over a proposal to take aggressive action against Korea ended in 1873 in the defeat of that plan and the resignation from government of Saigō Takamori, one of the great leaders of the Meiji Restoration, and several others. Japan did force Korea to enter into a Western-style treaty in 1876, granting trading privileges and extraterritorial rights to the Japanese, much as the United States had forced Japan in 1854. Japanese liberal political activists, nationalists, and Pan-Asianists of various stripes continued to be interested in—and sometimes injected themselves in—Korean affairs, for example by supporting the radical reform efforts of Kim Ok-kyun in the early 1880s and assisting him after the failure of his attempted coup in 1884. In the quarter-century after the Restoration, many influential Japanese came around to the view of national security embodied in Prime Minister Yamagata Aritomo's famous 1890 speech to the first Diet; he stipulated that Japan needed to protect not only its "line of sovereignty" but also its "line of interest."[6] The former he defined as the territory within the country's national borders. The latter referred to "areas closely related to the safety of the line of sovereignty"—most prominently, Korea. Japan's first two modern wars were occasioned by competition over Korea, which was the principal object of disputes between China and Japan that led to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, and again the main site of the contention between Russia and Japan that resulted in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Leaders of government such as Itō Hirobumi and molders of public opinion such as Takahashi Sakue internalized the international (Western) discourse that Alexis Dudden has called the "vocabulary of power," and used it to Japan's advantage in talking and making policy regarding Korea. Before the Meiji era came to a close, Japan had manipulated Korea into accepting the status of a protectorate (1905) and then annexed it (1910), turning the peninsula into a Japanese colony.[7] In this context, events of the last

decade of the sixteenth century, resonating as they did with current affairs in the Meiji period, presented Japan's schoolteachers and textbook writers with a chance to reflect on personalities and institutions in the context of international competition and in contrast to Korean and Chinese "others."[8] This makes the passages of history textbooks dealing with Hideyoshi particularly interesting to us, as we try to reimagine the formation of national historical consciousness and national identity in modern Japan.

Textbooks in the Early Years of Universal Education

On the third day of the eighth month of 1872, the *gakusei* (Fundamental Code of Education) was officially announced. It provided an organizational framework for a system of universal education, dividing the nation into eight university districts, each university district into thirty-two middle school districts, and each middle school district into 210 primary school districts. Building of new schools commenced under this system, and the cost—along with the radicalism of the idea that all children should go to school, rather than stay home to assist their parents with earning a livelihood—provoked some early resistance. The intention of the leaders who inaugurated the Fundamental Code was that every child should attend school for a minimum of four years, and in 1886 the government explicitly stated that education was compulsory for four years. In 1908 the period of compulsory attendance would be extended to six years.

A month after the issuance of the Fundamental Code, Rules on Elementary School Instruction (*shōgaku kyōsoku*) established twenty-eight subjects for primary schools and specified the levels at which they were to be taught.[9] History was placed in years five and six, that is, at a level where school attendance was voluntary. Book publication and selection was relatively open through the 1870s, and the system was open to introduction of a broad variety of new materials, including (at least for a few years) foreign texts. For history instruction, new books had to be created for use at the primary level. None had been inherited from pre-Restoration schools. Private sector publishers actively entered the market for textbooks, calculating that their profits promised to grow as the numbers of pupils increased. Commercial houses continued to engage in history text publishing until 1903.

In the comparatively free 1870s, one of the first widely used history books was published not by one of the private firms, but by the Ministry of Education. *Shiryaku* (An Outline History, 1872) featured a primer in Japanese history under the title *Kōkoku* (The Empire). A scant thirty-seven pages, it was little more than a list of the successive emperors.[10] The life of Hideyoshi is reduced to 101 kanji and kana, which can be translated as follows:

> [The 107th emperor, Goyōzei, 1586-1611] appointed Hideyoshi as Prime Minister of the Council of State and Hidetsugu [1568-1595] as *kanpaku* [regent]. Hideyoshi attacked Korea and dealt the Ming armies a great defeat. The Ming ruler proposed peace. The peace was broken and [subject unexpressed; Hideyoshi or his forces] again laid siege to Korea. Just then Hideyoshi fell ill and died. Upon this event, the forces were demobilized. The commanders were summoned back to Japan. Tokugawa Ieyasu [1543-1616], Maeda Toshiie [1539-1599], and others served to carry out Hideyoshi's dying injunctions and assist Hideyori [1593-1615]. (In this quotation and in translated passages in the appendix, below, dates and other information in brackets have been added by the author.)

This passage is typical of the whole textbook. There is no narrative, no characterization of historical figures, no attempt at establishing causal relations between things. History is presented as a sequence of reigns and events connected by "and" or "and then." An explanatory note states that the text was kept simple because it was necessary that the children be made to recite it (say it by heart).[11] Hundreds of personal names and place names appear, and there are surely more Chinese characters than any but the very most diligent pupils could have mastered in elementary school. *Furigana* are printed alongside many of the characters, however, and thus recitation in Japanese would have been possible even if the children could not remember all the Chinese. Its repetitious grammar and the invariability of type of its information make *Kōkoku* monotonous. Yet the children who used this text must have understood despite the tedium that national history meant, before all else, the record of the imperial line.

In 1875, the Ministry of Education put out a new textbook called *Nihon ryakushi* (An Outline History of Japan).[12] Four-and-a-half times as long as *Kōkoku*, *Nihon ryakushi* naturally has more information, but the principle of organization is unchanged. The new book has a prefatory note saying that because class time for primary school pupils is limited and textbooks have to be short, the age of the deities is not discussed, and posthumous names of emperors and mention of imperial mausoleums are eliminated; moreover honorifics are omitted.[13] The ministry would reverse its position on these things before many years passed, but in the first Meiji decade, it thought they could be dispensed with. *Nihon ryakushi* has no chapters or section breaks, but marks each reign by beginning a new line and opening with the phrase "the first generation," "the second generation," and so on, followed by the emperor's name and the name of his or her parent.[14] No *furigana* help students learn to pronounce the Chinese characters. The primacy of the imperial institution is underscored by the selection of "facts" included.[15] When we look at the treatment of the Korea campaign (please see item (a) in the appendix to this chapter), we discover that *Nihon ryakushi* is only a little more expansive than *Kōkoku*. The authors name Ukita Hideie (1573-1655), Katō Kiyomasa (1562-1611), and Konishi Yukinaga (1565-1600), but provide no information to identify them other than that Hideyoshi ordered them to conquer Korea. The only Korean who is mentioned is the king, Yi Yŏn (Sŏnjong, 1552-1608), and all that is said about him is that he fled to Ŭiju. *Nihon ryakushi* gives the name of the Ming emperor, Zhu Yijun, and reports that he dispatched troops to Korea, but it says nothing about the nature of the relationship between Korea and China or the fighting between the Chinese and Japanese armies. Korean military forces are completely absent from the account. The passage ends by saying that the Japanese troops "defeated Korea, but by then Hideyoshi had died. He was sixty-three. He left an order as he was dying, commanding the troops to return home." One would have to read very creatively to find any suggestion of causal relationships in this account. There is no narrative flow, and certainly there is no attempt to discuss the consequences of the Japanese invasion.

One of the first books from a commercial publisher to be fairly widely used was *Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku* (Outlines of Japanese History for Elementary Schools) by Ijichi Sadaka (1828-1887),[16] put on sale in 1879 by Kōbundō. It follows the pattern of the Monbushō textbooks, presenting a reign-by-reign account of Japanese history, with short entries for each emperor. Each section or entry begins with the number of the emperor in the line of succession, followed by the emperor's name at the top of a new line, highlighted by its placement within

a box. Slightly longer than *Nihon ryakushi*, Ijichi's book contains a little more detail.[17] In a *kanbun* foreword meant for the teachers, the author equated the continuous line of emperors (*resseisōkei*) and the unchanging nature of the status roles of sovereign and subjects (*kunshin no bun ittei*) with the fundamental character of the Japanese state (*kokutai*).[18] His is an orthodox Confucian view, one that gives primacy to the existence and the activities of the ruler.[19] He remarks that he drew primarily on *Nihon shoki* but referred also to *Kojiki*, *Kogo shūi*, and other materials for his account of early history.[20] On his sources for later times, he does not comment. Particularly noteworthy is his insertion of a brief, uncritical section on the age of the gods before the chronicle of the human emperors. Only a short time before, the Ministry of Education had deliberately left out the deities.

If his selection principle in including material about the gods is different from the Ministry of Education's *Nihon ryakushi*, Ijichi's prose style is practically identical. Sentences are short and simple. There is little variation in grammatical structure. Content parallels form in that the nature of the information about each emperor's reign is similar to that of nearly all the others. Surely the large number of Chinese characters in this book challenged pupils who were still learning to read, and Ijichi provided no *furigana*. Instead he and his publishers offered a separate glossary volume containing readings for names of members of the imperial family, Buddhist names and pen names, names of offices, and names of other people.[21]

Ijichi's treatment of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea is heavy with personal names, and many of these figures are either not identified or introduced with minimal information about their positions and significance. Despite this failing, what most distinguishes Ijichi's presentation from earlier textbooks is its detail. To the extent that more content equates with richness and interest, this makes his account more accessible. Yet his narrative has a choppy quality that forces the reader to have to work very hard, to back up and reread repeatedly, to begin to grasp how one thing might have related to another. Often even backing up fails to yield an explanation. As in the earlier Ministry of Education textbooks, the primary logical operator is the word "and," a weak agent indeed. By way of material that might directly influence pupils' national identity formation, about all Ijichi gives in his section on Hideyoshi is one possessive pronoun and one reference to the "enemy": "*Our armies* repeatedly defeated the Chinese. *Enemy* soldiers feared Kiyomasa most of all, and called him the Demon General."[22]

The Influence of Tightening Scrutiny of Textbooks

Central control was tightened on 4 May 1881, pursuant to "Key Points of the Principles of Instruction for Primary Schools" (*shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō*). In those "key points," the Ministry of Education provided that prefectural governors should draft instructional rules (*kyōsoku*) and submit those rules to the Minister of Education for his approval. Prefectural authorities were also to report on the textbooks used in their jurisdictions. Formally, what was instituted was a system (*kaishinsei*) whereby lower officials reported to their superiors on matters that were within the power of the lower officials to decide. Local education officials still had some room for discretion in their textbook choices, but national government ratification had become a requirement.

The 1881 "key points" singled out history education for attention. Article 15 made history a required intermediate subject. The content was to be Japanese history only, and

special emphasis was to be given to "the system whereby the nation was founded, the enthronement of Emperor Jinmu, the achievements of Emperor Nintoku, the political accomplishments of the Engi and Tenryaku eras, the rise and fall of the Taira and the Minamoto, the establishment of Northern and Southern courts, the political accomplishments of the Tokugawa, the Restoration of Imperial Rule, and other important historical facts, and also the wisdom or lack thereof of persons of ancient and recent times, and such things as changes in customs over time." Teachers, Article 15 went on, "should, in giving instruction in history, strive to make the pupils understand causes and effects, and especially they should cultivate a spirit of respect for the emperor and love of the nation (*sonnō aikoku*)."[23] To facilitate state monitoring of textbook publishers' compliance with the "key points," a new system for approval of textbooks was implemented from 31 July 1883. Ministry of Education approval (*ninkasei*) became the new requirement, replacing the system whereby lower officials reported their actions after taking them (*kaishinsei*).[24]

Of the textbooks written under the strictures of the "key points," Tsubaki Tokinaka's (*Shōgaku*) *Kokushi kiji honmatsu* (Essentials of Japanese History for Elementary School, 1882) and Ōtsuki Fumihiko's (1847-1928) *(Kōsei) Nihon shōshi* ((Revised) Short History of Japan, 1885) can be taken as representative. Tsubaki's text places greater stress on political structure (not just events and leaders) and cultural matters than earlier textbooks, and it has more literary flair than most of its predecessors.[25] Making bold to break the pattern of reign-by-reign description of emperors, Tsubaki focuses on the events and persons that he regarded as "most important" and interesting. His is one of the best sustained and most cohesive examples of story-telling in all the Meiji history books. Causal linkages are embedded in the narrative, making it easier to follow and remember than the successions of not very clearly related "facts" in earlier textbooks.

To Hideyoshi's campaigns in Korea, Tsubaki devotes two chapters.[26] (An excerpt is translated in item (b) in the appendix to this chapter.) He makes liberal use of the personal possessive pronoun "our" (*waga*), a simple but often effective device for drawing readers in. He opens with an anecdote that may be apocryphal and involves a play on the word Chūgoku, which refers to sixteen Western Honshu provinces and is also a common word for China.[27] Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Hideyoshi are in conversation during a lull in the military campaign to subjugate the Chūgoku, and Nobunaga tells his lieutenant that he is thinking of granting him a fief there. Hideyoshi makes his commander laugh by responding earnestly that what he wants instead is a big army to take to Korea and China, to conquer those lands. The rare reference to laughter humanizes, to a degree, legendary historical personages. Tsubaki continues, explaining that the Koreans did not answer Hideyoshi's message when he asked for their consent to give his armies free passage through their country on the way to attack Ming. The writer also offers hints about character. Katō Kiyomasa, for instance, is fearless, and bold in his address of the enemy, and the Chinese general Li Rusong is covetous of fame. Tsubaki's narrative does suggest how one thing links with another. Writing such as this might have helped Meiji school pupils to learn to think more about causal connections. But there is no evidence that Tsubaki's book was more widely used or more influential than its contemporary rivals.

The longest of those rivals was Kasama Masuzō's (1844-1897) *Nihon ryakushi* (Outline History of Japan). First published by the Army Ministry in 1873, presumably for the educa-

tion of soldiers, it was reissued a number of times and used in elementary schools. The 1881 reworking, in eight fascicles (506 leaves or 1012 pages), was titled *Shinpen Nihon ryakushi* ([New Edition] Outline History of Japan).[28] Revised and republished yet again in 1887, it passed the Ministry of Education's textbook approval process. In its various editions, it was the longest-lived of the Meiji history textbooks. A sense of Kasama's style and the kinds of information he selected can be obtained by looking at his treatment of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea (for an excerpt, see item (c) of the appendix).[29] Kasama's debt to Rai San'yō's (1780-1832) *Nihon gaishi* (Unofficial History of Japan) is great. (I will say more about San'yō's influence below.) Kasama added *kana* to San'yō's *kanbun* text and rearranged the wording to fit natural Japanese order, although the end product still has a lot of San'yō's Sinified vocabulary. In translation it is not apparent, but Kasama's book demanded a higher level of literacy than any other primary school history text of its time. It is possible that it was intended for teachers, not pupils, to read and then incorporate into oral classroom presentations. An incidental byproduct of the denseness of this account was a greater sense of the complexity of human affairs. The Japanese generals encounter many setbacks, and even defeats. Korean and Chinese military leaders are not uniformly incompetent. Kasama's account had some of the same virtues as Tsubaki's. It presented a narrative in which things seemed logically connected and motivation and causation were hinted at. Kasama's writing was lengthy and difficult, however, and long before he went out of print, his competitors were all offering much shorter, simpler, and more uncomplicatedly one-sided versions of the past.

Earlier we remarked on the 1883 implementation of a system whereby the Ministry of Education had to approve textbook adoptions. Under this tightened regime and for the following decade, Ōtsuki Fumihiko's 1885 *(Kōsei) Nihon shōshi* became one of the more widely used history books. In a prefatory remark, the author wrote: "From the beginnings of this nation to the present, covering a span of thousands of years, I have written about the advance or failure to advance of people's knowledge, the enlightenment or benightedness of government, and the continuous story of rise and decline of order and disorder. Nothing important has been omitted. If we devote ourselves to learning these many changes of the past, and if we then reflect on the relationships between origins and outcomes in the past, this will help us to perceive how things will come about from now on, as well."[30] This was a grandiose claim of comprehensiveness. What Ōtsuki actually thought important was political and military events and forces. Other aspects of human endeavor, such as religion, he left out or subordinated to the story of political development.

Ōtsuki periodized the Japanese past into five stages of *kaika* (a word nearly always translated as "enlightenment," but more nearly equivalent to "civilization" in his usage), and basically his work is an exposition of a master narrative of progress.[31] But his account of Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea turns out to be not at all unlike other textbooks of its time. The progress of the war is hard to follow. What is on the page is a disjointed succession of political and military events that convey a sense of temporal but not causal order. The excerpt from the section entitled "Hideyoshi Attacks Korea; He Dies"[32] that is translated as item (d) in the appendix, below, exemplifies this. Ōtsuki left it to teachers and students to figure out why one thing might have led to another.

History Textbooks in the Era of State Certification

The tenth of April 1886 marked a major milestone in the history of textbooks. Under Minister of Education Mori Arinori, the Ordinance on Education was abolished, and two new laws, the Ordinance on Primary Schools (*shōgakkōrei*) and the Ordinance on Middle Schools (*chūgakkōrei*) were promulgated. At the same time, Mori charged a new section of his ministry, the Third Section of the Editorial Bureau, with certification of textbooks (*kyōkasho kentei*). He ordered that only books that had been approved could be used in primary and middle schools. In May 1886, Regulations on Certification of Textbooks (*kyōka yō tosho kentei jōrei*) were issued. Those were superseded the next year by new legislation (*kyōka yō tosho kentei kisoku*, also translatable as Regulations on Certification of Textbooks). Although they would be modified more than a dozen times, these April 1887 regulations on textbook approval continued in effect until 1948. Before a book could even be considered for adoption at the subnational level, it had to pass the Ministry of Education's certification examination.

Also in April 1887, the Ministry of Education issued guidelines for composition of textbooks for elementary schools, and announced an open call for manuscripts of history texts. One book would be chosen for publication by the ministry, and the author would be recognized with an award and a payment of ¥1,200. Thirty-three manuscripts were submitted. The Ministry chose Kamiya Yoshimichi's as the best,[33] and finally released it for classroom use in 1891 as *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* (Upper-level Primary School History). Kamiya's preface declares his aims: "This book is to teach upper-level primary school pupils the major points of our country's history and thereby to evoke a spirit of loyalty to the sovereign and love of nation in them. At the same time it is my intention to foster moral character and to stretch pupils' powers of memory, imagination, and inferential reasoning. For these reasons, teachers need, when they give instruction from this book, to guide the students, to hold up examples of good behavior and to point out instances of bad, and to let the students know how to incline toward the one and avoid the other."[34]

By the time the book was published, the Imperial Rescript on Education had been issued, marking the triumph of conservatives who had deplored the Westernizing tendencies of early Meiji education and who wished to use the school system to cultivate reverence for the emperor and obedience to the state. Kamiya's first chapter presents overviews of geography, the political system, and the imperial family; the remaining eleven chapters treat Japanese history from the era of high antiquity to "the Kagoshima rebellion." In the chapter on high antiquity, the author observes that much of the information that has been passed down in written histories and in legend is "obscure" (or ambiguous, *bakuzen*), and these sources are not reliable when we seek to know about the lives of prehistoric people. He goes on to introduce evidence from archeological studies. Then he effectively undermines his insight that much of prehistory is obscure by devoting a few pages to an uncritical recapitulation of the foundation myths of Japan. After beginning this passage with the phrase "in the legends it is said" (den ni iwaku), he proceeds in matter-of-fact tones to summarize the account that appears in Kojiki and Nihon shoki. He supports the sense of unquestioned truth by including a genealogy of the imperial family that begins with the heavenly ancestors of Amaterasu Ōmikami and continues through her to the historical emperors. Far from elaborating on questions about the verifiability of the legends, he elides any distinction between the "age of the deities" and the "human emperors."

Kamiya's treatment of Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea is yet one more adaptation of Rai San'yō. All of the incidents and the quotations Kamiya includes are in the Unofficial History, and his diction, too, often resembles San'yō's. The prize-winning author did have a gift for condensing without disrupting the momentum of the narrative. His cutting and simplifying, however, resulted in elimination of a lot of the intrigue and complication that San'yō (and Kasama Masuzō) had recounted. Kamiya leaves out disagreements and rivalries among Hideyoshi's commanders, for example. A few lines from the chapter "The Expeditions against Korea" (translated as item (e) in the appendix, below) show the author's style and principles of selection. The main thread of the story is the progress of the Japanese commanders. The counterthrusts of the Chinese and Koreans are remarked upon. Kamiya includes mention of Konishi Yukinaga's defeat at the hands of superior Ming forces led by Li Rusong, but instantly balances that by noting Kobayakawa Takakage's victory over Rusong's overconfident army at Pyŏkjegwan. This passage of *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* was almost surely intended to stir Japanese school pupils, as the Japanese are depicted as overcoming superior numbers on the Korean-Ming side. At the end of this chapter, Kamiya comments on the human cost of Hideyoshi's invasion. "In the two Korean campaigns, over six years, corpses piled up into mounds on the Korean plains," Kamiya says. "It is said that the brutality was extreme."[35] This is extraordinary. With the exception of Kasama's very long and hard-to-read work, other history textbooks of the Meiji era make no explicit reference to the carnage.

The content of Yamagata Teisaburō's *Shōgakkō yō Nihon rekishi* (Japanese History for Use by Elementary Schools), published by the for-profit firm Gakkai Shishin Sha in 1888,

小早川隊明軍ヲ迎撃ノ圖

Fig. 1. Kobayakawa Takakage fiercely strikes the Ming army.
Kamiya, *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* (1891), vol. 3, p. 20.

makes it clear that the author had the guidelines of the Ministry of Education in mind when he composed it. This text treats foreign relations, culture, and customs in addition to political and military affairs. Yamagata crafted his style to suit primary school pupils' reading comprehension ability. He was trying, he said, to offer evidence with which readers could understand the life of ordinary people as well as the life of the upper level of society. Accepting the opportunity to inculcate historical values in the pupils, he also gave his judgments of the general quality of different eras, of events, and of persons, in the past.[36]

Yamagata's chapter 47 (out of sixty-six), "The Expedition against Korea," serves to indicate the nature of the whole.[37] (A portion of that chapter appears as item (f) in the appendix, below.) Although the author had some feeling for drama, his narrative moves along in a series of jerks, and he omitted the same kind of things as Kamiya had in the textbook he had submitted to the Ministry of Education competition a year earlier.

A revision of the Ministry of Education's rules was announced in the Fundamental Principles of Primary School Instruction (*shōgakkō kyōsoku taikō*) in November 1891. Yamagata Teisaburō came out with a new work tailored to the changed rules. Publisher Bungakusha brought out his *Teikoku shōshi* shortly after winning Ministry of Education approval for it in September 1893. According to Naka Arata (1912-1985), of nine or ten textbooks besides Kamiya's Monbushō prizewinner to appear between 1887 and 1903, Yamagata's was the most popular. It was revised and reissued as *Shinsen Teikoku shōshi* (A Newly Compiled Short History of the Empire) in 1896.[38] To appeal to children in the fifth and sixth years of primary school, Yamagata adopted a strategy of narrating Japanese history as a story of notable personalities. Chapter titles were the names of famous historical figures, not all of them emperors. The sole exception to this chapter-naming practice was the first chapter, "Our Country" (Wagakuni), which evoked communal spirit with a possessive pronoun.[39]

In the introduction to *Teikoku shōshi*, Yamagata wrote, "This book divides history from the age of the gods to the present emperor into eight parts, with eighty-eight chapters. I discuss the causes and effects of each event in order to make clear the [reasons for] change over time. In Japanese history textbooks before this one, systematic treatment of such matters as systems of governance, learning and the arts, religion, the occupations of the people, and customs has been missing. I have given particular attention to treating these areas."[40] The treatment of Hideyoshi in *Teikoku shōshi* differs from that in the author's earlier *Shōgakkō yō Nihon rekishi*, not to mention other textbooks that had recently been popular.[41] In the 1893 book, he condenses his version of the Korean adventure, providing readers with little more than the names of Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga, assertions that they were capable and brave and successful in defeating the Koreans, and a characterization of Hideyoshi as greatly ambitious. (A translated excerpt appears as item (g) in the appendix.)

A 1996 study by the Kyōkasho Kenkyū Sentā (Japan Textbook Research Center) found that as of the 1903 school year, the textbook adopted by more prefectures than any other was *Shōgaku kokushi*, published by Fukyūsha in 1900. Thirteen prefectures had chosen it.[42] It had thirty-nine lessons, or chapters, in three volumes averaging just over seventy pages each. The last two lessons of volume two were about Hideyoshi. Like almost all of the Meiji-period textbooks, this one has a portrait of the *taikō* in court dress among its illustrations; it also includes a map of Korea, naming the provinces. The lesson on "The Expedition against

Korea"[43] (part of which is translated in item (h) of the appendix) begins with a laconic statement about the objective of Japan's hegemon: "Taikō Hideyoshi wished to conquer the Ming state, and first he conquered Chōsen." It adds helpfully, "Chōsen is now Kankoku," but refrains from any further elaboration of Hideyoshi's motives. Unusually for a short textbook. of its era, it discloses that Japanese forces retreated when the Ming army led by Li Rusong swept down toward P'yŏngyang—but this information has a dramatic purpose, which is to heighten the glory of the achievement of Kobayakawa Takakage, who "alone held his ground, went out to meet Rusong and attack him, and defeated him soundly."

A teacher's guide for *Shōgaku kokushi* survives, providing us with clues to what the author really intended the pupils to learn.[44] Regrettably, such a guide as this is a rarity. The section on "The Expedition against Korea" states that the aims of this lesson are "telling that Hideyoshi conquered Korea and showed the brilliance of Japanese might overseas, and letting the pupils know of the martial valor of the commanders who campaigned in Korea." The guide lists points for attention in class, including:

- The geography of Japan, China, and Korea; the routes followed by Katō, Konishi, Kobayakawa, and the other commanders; places where events in the lesson occurred.
- In broad outline, conditions in Korea and China [literally Chosŏn and Ming].
- The birth and upbringing of Katō Kiyomasa, Konishi Yukinaga, and Kobayakawa Takakage, and their skill as warriors.
- Comparison of Hideyoshi's anger at the Ming letter of state with Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's (1368-1408) acceptance of a letter of investiture from the Ming.
- Explanation that unification of Japan, China, and Korea was Hideyoshi's ambition, and the campaign to conquer Korea was his attempt to realize this ambition.

In addition, it was suggested that teachers amplify on the background and significance of Toyokuni Shrine, the Kyoto site that the Meiji government—signalizing its favorable opinion of the *taikō*—had rebuilt in 1880 and elevated to the status of *bekkaku kanpeisha*, a government shrine of special grade. Conscientious teachers who followed this guide might have made up for the shortcomings of the Fukyūsha book, which left a great deal unexplained.

State-Compiled History for Elementary School Pupils

Competition among private sector publishers led some to adopt aggressive marketing tactics. Textbook salesmen courted the favor of educators and officials involved in the local selection process with entertainment and other blandishments.[45] In 1902, corruption in the textbook adoption process was alleged. Two hundred officials were indicted, and the presidents of eight of the largest publishing firms were put in the dock and accused of bribery. A highly visible trial eventuated in the resignation of the Minister of Education and the conviction of 116 publishers and officials. The government took this scandal as the occasion for revising the Ordinance on Primary Schools, acting on 12 April 1903. From the beginning of the 1904 school year, only textbooks designated by the state could be used in Japan's schools. In some subjects—ethics, Japanese language, and history among them—only books prepared and published by the Ministry of Education were permitted.

The Ministry's *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (Elementary School Japanese History)[46] was drafted by a committee of which the key member was Kita Sadakichi (1871-1939). A Ministry of

Education official who moonlighted by lecturing at Waseda and in 1904 became a lecturer in the history department of Tokyo Imperial University, from which he had graduated, Kita was a respected scholar. In 1909 he would earn a doctorate from his alma mater, and later he became a professor at Kyoto Imperial University. The textbook he and his colleagues compiled in late 1903 reflected interpretations that were accepted by scholars in the Office of Historiography, the institute that had been established by the government in 1875 to compile the sources of Japanese history.[47] The new book was assigned to all fifth and sixth grade pupils. As remarked earlier, compulsory education was extended to six years in the 1908 school year, and by that time compliance with attendance requirements was over 98 percent. Thus, virtually all Japanese educated after this were exposed to this book and its successors.[48] For the most part the lessons in *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* were organized around outstanding figures from each historical period. Twelve of the twenty chapters of the first volume and six of seventeen of the second volume have names of individuals as titles. Four more chapters book are titled by pairing two famous names.[49]

An entire chapter was devoted to Hideyoshi. (Item (i) of the appendix, below, is a complete translation.) There is a portrait of the *taikō* in the robes of his civil office, and the drawing reproduced here is similar to that in earlier Meiji schoolbooks (figure 2). The authors chose not to give a separate chapter to the Korean campaigns of 1592-1598, as several earlier writers had done. But while ordinarily there is no more than one illustration per chapter, and sometimes none at all, in this case there is a second illustration showing Hideyoshi on the shore in Kyushu, watching his troops depart for Korea (figure 3). The writers of *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* open this chapter with a deft stroke, suggesting that Hideyoshi's rise was related to his intelligence and courage. Such explicit discussion of character is seldom seen in earlier textbooks. Hideyoshi's service to Oda Nobunaga and his actions to continue the task of bringing order and a measure of unity to the country after Nobunaga's assassination are summarized in two paragraphs. In the final third of the chapter, Hideyoshi's continental ambitions and the campaigns against Korea and the Ming are treated in language that is notable for its restraint, although it does describe the Japanese leader's motive as desire "to make other countries overseas . . . submit to the august power of our court." There is no mention of the devastation wrought by these adventures in Korea, nor is there any indication that the Japanese forces were anything but victorious. The Ming are depicted as the party that sued for peace, after suffering a "great defeat," to bring the first campaign to a close, and the Ming are shown to be responsible for goading Hideyoshi into the second campaign with their offensive diplomatic letter stating their intention to invest Hideyoshi as king of Japan. While there is no nationalistic bombast in this chapter, it ranges from neutral to completely positive in its account of Hideyoshi and the invasion. It contains no hint that Japanese pupils in the twentieth century might benefit from reflecting critically on the record of relations with neighboring nations in the late sixteenth century. What this chapter of *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* illustrates quite well is that Kita and the other Ministry of Education authors had a sense of the dramatic unfolding of a story. Better than most of their predecessors in the textbook composition field, they were able to suggest causal relations even while keeping things short and simple. Lost in translation is one of the most important features of this book: honorific language in an elegant *bungotai* or literary Japanese style.

Figure 2. Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi printed in *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1904) and *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1909/11).

In 1909, the ministry issued a revised elementary history book, *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (Japanese History for Lower Elementary School). Almost immediately a debate broke out over the way the Northern and Southern Courts of the fourteenth century had been depicted. In fact, the passage dealing with the rivalry between two branches of the imperial court was unchanged from the 1904 version, and it was precisely this that the book's critics seized upon. In May 1910, just after *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* was introduced into schools, police arrested a number of anarchists and socialists and charged them with plotting to assassinate the Meiji emperor. Eventually twenty-six people were accused. After a speedy trial, all were found guilty, and twelve were hanged the following January. The event, popularly known as the high treason incident (*taigyaku jiken*), contributed greatly to a shift in the political environment. Conservatives became extremely sensitive to what they saw as threats to the dignity, as well as the physical person, of the emperor. They regarded the chapter "Nanbokuchō" (The Southern and Northern Courts) that appeared in the 1904 and 1909 editions of the elementary school history as dangerous. Beginning in January 1911, newspaper opinion columns and editorials raised alarms about the book. Essentially their argument was that the chapter, by presenting a neutral view of the fourteenth-century dispute over imperial succession and legitimacy, treating the two courts established by branches of the imperial family as plain fact and showing that people's loyalties were divided, was offensive. Anything challenging the ideology of loyalty to the emperor was unacceptably radical to these conservative critics, in the heated atmosphere that prevailed after the news of the high treason incident broke. The 1909 state text, they charged, implied that there could be more than one sovereign. The controversy did not readily subside, and finally the cabinet took up the question early in 1911 and settled it by declaring that only the Southern Court had been legitimate. In March of that

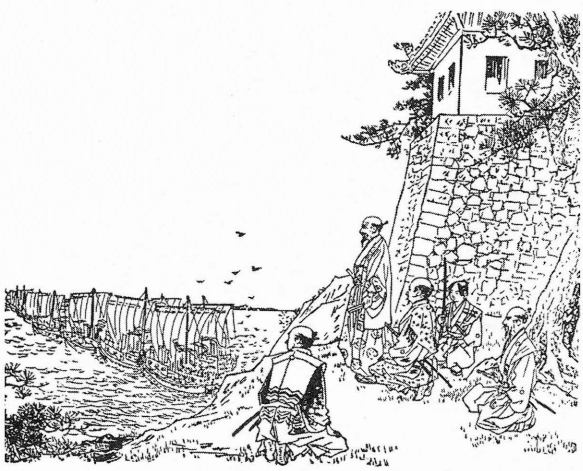

Figure 3. Toyotomi Hideyoshi observing the departure of the expeditionary forces for Korea, as depicted in *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1904) and *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1909/11).

year, the Minister of Education ordered the drafting of a revised version of *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi*, to be adopted for use by the 1912 school year. Pupils would be inoculated against confusion about the possibility of divided loyalty by being taught the official position on the history of the fourteenth century. Chapter 23 was substantially revised and given a new title, "Yoshino no chōtei" (The Yoshino Court).[50] Kita was placed on leave (effectively he was dismissed) from the Ministry of Education, and was not one of the authors of the new edition.[51] The eminent professors Mikami Sanji and Tanaka Yoshinari resigned from the ministry's textbook examining committee, on which they had served for years. In scholarly research and teaching of university students, professional historians went on as before, considering the issue unsettled and regarding both the Southern and Northern branches of the imperial family as having some valid claims to legitimacy. In elementary school teaching, however, no such lack of clarity was permitted.

The 1909 version of the history book and the 1911 revision differ from one another in their treatment of the Northern and Southern Courts, but the chapter on Hideyoshi in the 1911 text is word-for-word the same as it was in 1909.[52] The first part of this chapter mostly repeats the language of the 1904 text, though there are a few telling alterations of phrasing. Where the 1904 book said "Toyotomi Hideyoshi also came from Owari [as had Oda Nobunaga]," the 1909/11 text reads "Toyotomi Hideyoshi came from a peasant family in Owari." The 1904 version described Hideyoshi as "a man of low status" (*hikuki mibun no mono*); the 1909/11 version omits the word and concept *mibun*. The latter part of the chapter on Hideyoshi, in which the campaigns in Korea are treated, was substantially reworked in 1909/11. (Item (j) of the appendix, below, is a translation of the passage of "Toyotomi Hideyoshi" that narrates the Korean campaigns.) Changes in Japan's geopolitical position in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War motivated some rewriting, as Kita recalls in his memoir;[53] he does not specifically refer to the establishment of the protectorate in Korea, but it seems reasonable to think that current affairs and the deepening involvement of Japan in Korea were on his mind as he and his counselors contemplated the new edition of the state textbook. The 1909/11 edition recontextualizes the *taikō*'s invasion, asserting that he had first tried to restore good relations with the Ming after a period in which state-to-state contacts had been broken off. The Muromachi shogunate had been friendly with Ming China and Korea, the text notes, until people from Japan's western periphery had begun to plunder coastal areas of neighboring lands. Hideyoshi is depicted as going through Korean and Ryukyuan diplomatic channels to communicate with the Ming, and being frustrated by the absence of a response. Clearly the suggestion is that not only sheer aggrandizing ambition, but a sense of having been unreasonably rebuffed motivated him. *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* spends little time on the fighting in Korea, and reports no defeats, only victories, by the Japanese. A Chinese insult to Japanese imperial dignity is remarked; this is a single sentence observing that in a state letter sent to Japan after a truce had brought a cessation of conflict, the Chinese had declared that they were investing Hideyoshi as king of Japan. Earlier chapters of this post-high treason incident textbook had already left no room for doubt that there could be only one sovereign in Japan. Although the book says nothing about the devastation of the peninsula or the death and suffering of Koreans and Chinese as well as Japanese warriors, almost surely teachers and pupils were supposed to infer that the actions against the Ming—and by extension the whole continental adventure—were justified, in view of such a provocative slur on the emperor.

Further, one cannot but be struck by the increased frequency of references to "our" people and things in this book. The mention of "our government" is especially remarkable. Hideyoshi never quite finished the job of bringing the country under a unified political structure, and thus his was not a national government. It was anachronistic for early twentieth-century Japanese to project backwards and identify his regime as "our government." But this was done in the context of commenting on external relations, in which unexamined we-they dichotomies are common discursive elements, and precision is often less important than national self-regard.

Sources of Inspiration

All of the contributors to the present volume share an interest in how source texts are used and reused and incorporated into later texts. To address this concern, a word on sources is in order—not my sources, but those of the authors of the Meiji-period textbooks. None of those writers or editors identifies the materials on which he drew for information about Hideyoshi. We do not expect notes and bibliographies in elementary school books, and the Meiji authors indeed do not provide them. We can only make inferences from their language, their selection of what to include, and their interpretations. It seems probable that our schoolbook writers were familiar with Oze Hoan's (1554-1630) *Taikōki* (Chronicles of the Regent), the fullest account of Hideyoshi and his times, published in 1617 in *kanamajiribun* (a mixed Sino-Japanese style).[54] Signs of following Hoan are not obvious, however, in the Meiji textbooks. Longer treatments in a number of these books bear more marks—correspondences in coverage, similarity in point of view—of the influence of Rai San'yō's *Nihon gaishi*, completed in 1827. Many anecdotes and quotations in elementary school books match the *Unofficial History* almost exactly, except that they are written in *kanamajiri*; they are simply paraphrases of San'yō's original *kanbun*.[55] Similar parallels between *Taikōki* and the Meiji schoolbooks seem not to exist. Circumstance also points to San'yō as a model for authors who wanted their textbooks to be adopted by administrators and educators who had participated in or supported the Meiji Restoration. Everyone knew that San'yō's history and the values that informed its judgments were very popular with the activists who made the Restoration and the men who had power in the new Meiji state.

Other than the above and such well-known works as *Honchō tsugan* (Comprehensive History of Our Kingdom), at least a few sources that would have provided considerable detail on the Korean campaigns were available to nineteenth-century textbook writers. Particularly notable is the 1693 collection of foreign sources on Japanese history to which Ronald Toby has called our attention.[56] That work, *Ishō Nihonden* (Tales of Japan by Any Other Name), compiled by Matsushita Kenrin (1637-1703), included excerpts of *Chingbirok* (The Book of Corrections), a memoir by a high-ranking minister in the Chosŏn state, Yu Sŏngnyong (1542-1607). Yu detailed not only the military aspects of the war, but also political and diplomatic affairs. He showed that all the combatants, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese, met bitter defeats as well as glorious victories. Occasionally he reported on the ruinous effects of the fighting on the populace. Toby informs us that *Chingbirok* could be read in Japan from Kenrin's time on. Yu's account became even more accessible in 1894, when a Japanese translation was published.[57] Another work that could have been used as a source of Korean perspective was a biography of Admiral Yi Sunsin (1545-1598) published by a Japanese

infantry captain in 1892.[58] If Meiji textbook authors mostly followed Rai San'yō's version of things, it was not because alternative views were unavailable.

Common Features and Changes over Time

Kurosawa Akira's (1910-1998) "Rashōmon"—itself a reworking (revision) of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's (1892-1927) story "Yabu no naka" (In a Grove)—comes to mind when one reads a number of textbook renditions of Hideyoshi's Korean adventures. Some of the larger differences in these books may have given rise to different understandings of the past or different feelings about being Japanese and relating to the imperial family and historical figures such as Hideyoshi, a century and more ago. Intolerance of such differences contributed to the political atmosphere out of which came the system of state-compiled texts instituted in 1903.

One thing that is common to the textbook accounts of Hideyoshi's campaigns is an emphasis on the great victories won by the Japanese armies. Not one of the Meiji schoolbooks fails to use the phrase "[he/they/we] defeated them [the enemy] overwhelmingly" (*kore o ōi ni yaburu* or some variant that differs only in grammatical form) at least once to describe Japanese forces' resounding defeats of their Korean and Chinese adversaries. Another common characteristic is emphasis on the fearfulness of the Korean king, and his flight when Hideyoshi's legions first approached the capital city. The Japanese use of Korean royal hostages is taken up in nearly all the textbooks. Almost never are Korean officers and men depicted as fighting bravely or beating the Japanese. Yi Sunsin, known in his native land and in histories written outside Japan as the architect of many naval victories over the Japanese invaders, is mentioned in just one of the Meiji elementary schoolbooks. As for the depiction of the Chinese, there is a lack of uniformity except in the stress on the large numbers of Chinese troops and the inclusion of some version of Chen Weijing's guile. Several of the textbooks represent the Ming as deceptive and untrustworthy. Not one contains so much as a hint that the great Japanese military hero Konishi Yukinaga himself might have been guilty of some deceptions both in negotiation with the Chinese and in reporting to his lord Hideyoshi.

The Japanese seldom lose in any account. In most they lose not at all. Triumphalism, of course, is not unique to Japanese schoolbooks. It may be that accenting past glorious achievements and omitting expressions of doubt or criticism are characteristic of elementary school materials in most countries in most eras.[59] Certainly those features are common to the Meiji history books. Looking back from the twenty-first century, it is difficult to believe that the authors were unaware that by leaving out Japanese setbacks and defeats and depicting only positive aspects of Japanese leaders' behavior, they were distorting the history they presented to schoolchildren.

Character and motivation are murky in nearly all these works. Hideyoshi is shown to have had colossal ambition, but rather than illuminating its nature or sources, all of these elementary school texts present it simply as a given. None judges his aggressive thrust for continental grandeur as good or bad. Only Kamiya Yoshimichi expressly refers to the death and destruction caused by the war, and if the remark with which he concludes his 1891 chapter on Hideyoshi is intended to raise doubt about the *taikō*'s behavior, it is indirect. The dearth of character development and inattention to personality in the depiction of heroes in the Meiji schoolbooks are remarkable, particularly given that text authors from the 1880s on

tried to heighten interest by organizing their accounts around outstanding individuals, and chapters and lessons quite often were identified by the name of a single person. Yukinaga and the other paragon of martial valor Katō Kiyomasa do not appear in all the books, but when they do, they are portrayed as boundlessly courageous and mighty. Yukinaga is sometimes described as unsophisticated in the cunning ways of diplomacy. But there is no exposition of those traits. The *taikō* himself is shown as prone to rage, though little detail is given, except in treating his rejection of the Chinese offer of investiture. Several of the textbooks are careful to present him as respectful, indeed submissive, to the emperor, but most of his actions appear driven completely by his own vaulting ambition. As for building upon historical consciousness to shape national identity, there is little in the way of personality or character that pupils might identify with, other than that Hideyoshi demonstrated respect for the emperor and a strong will to win.

By the mid-1880s, authors began to articulate thoughts about teaching students to think about causation. Ōtsuki Fumihiko encouraged readers to "reflect on the relationships between origins and outcomes in the past." Kamiya Yoshimichi wrote in his preface of his intent to "stretch pupils' powers of memory, imagination, and inferential reasoning," suggesting that he wanted them to draw causal connections between things. In practice, most of the Meiji textbook writers did not invest much in attempts to create narratives in which events and personalities and institutions connected so as to suggest why things happened. Most of the time, it is hard to see a logic in the textbook accounts other than that implied by "and" or "and then." Probably this made history a difficult subject for students to master. They could see that their books identified huge numbers of persons and events, and their teachers expected them to learn those. Compelling stories with clear causal linkages woven into the narrative might have eased the task of rote memorization. Few of the textbooks delivered such stories consistently. Instead they played variations that call to mind E. M. Forster's (1879-1970) remark that "The king died and then the queen died" is only a rudimentary story; "The king died and then the queen died of grief" is the beginning of a plot.[60]

Some accounts refer to "our armies" (*wagagun*), "our troops" (*wagahei*), "our commanders" (*wagashō*), or "our officers and men" (*wagashōshi*). Others do not. Diction sometimes serves to promote identification with the deeds of the past and those who performed them, for the purpose of fostering identification with the emperor and the state of the pupils' own time. In the early Meiji textbooks there is less of this than I had expected to find, and once again, the influence of San'yō is manifest—most occurrences of these personal pronouns in the textbooks follow similar usages in the *Unofficial History*. Rarely, until the 1909/11 *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi*, did a primary school textbook author go beyond phrases such as *wagagun* and write of *wagakuni* in telling of Hideyoshi's expeditions in Korea. Perhaps that reflects nothing more than that to these Meiji-period writers it would have seemed anachronistic to refer to the polity of Hideyoshi's time as *wagakuni*, although they could use that word to designate Japan as a geographic unit in any era of Japanese history. In any case, the first-person, plural possessive pronoun mostly serves to encourage pupils to identify with Japanese warriors who fought for Hideyoshi, and not to contrast Japan as "our" state with Ming and Chosŏn as "theirs." Only at the end of the Meiji period do we see heavy usage of "our" with respect to officers, armies, government, demands presented to the Ming, and the like. Nationalism had prevailed in the minds of the textbook authors over any scruples they

might have had about anachronism. Pronouns were marshaled in the campaign to create national solidarity.

Nearly all Meiji history textbooks focus almost exclusively on political and military matters. Cultural issues, including religion, are relegated to secondary status, and treated in terms of how they related to power, not how they influenced people's beliefs, values, and styles of life.

Books that came out after the 1890 issuance of the Rescript on Education encourage reverence for the imperial institution more overtly than earlier books. Kamiya's *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* (1891) and the state-compiled texts of 1904 and 1909/11 are outstanding examples of the trend toward more frequent reference to the throne and more elaborate polite phrasing. The 1881 requirement that textbooks promote reverence of the emperor and love of nation affected even treatments of the invasions of Korea, though it is more readily apparent in some other chapters than in the sections dealing with Hideyoshi. All the Meiji texts that mention the Chinese offer to invest Hideyoshi as king discuss only his rejection of that offer and his recommencement of the campaign. None contemplates the possibility that in negotiating with the Chinese about investiture at all, whether as King of Japan or King of Korea or King of Three (or Four) Provinces of Korea or even King of Ming, Hideyoshi and his generals might have been arrogating to themselves a prerogative that properly (according to orthodox thinking in the Meiji period) could only belong to the Japanese emperor.

With regard to attitudes toward the throne, differences among early, middle, and late Meiji textbooks are differences of degree, not of kind. All of the primary schoolbooks I have examined convey the message that the core story of Japanese history is the story of the imperial institution. Early annals-style works include basic information about many emperors whose accomplishments were so slight as not to earn mention in later history books, and those same early books leave out much that was done outside court circles. Pupils studying those early texts could hardly have failed to intuit that they were supposed to focus on and have deep respect for the imperial institution, regardless of the absence of honorific language. By late Meiji, the deeds of people of other statuses are an integral part of the story in the textbooks. Even more than earlier, however, the language, style, and selection of facts in the textbooks combined to leave no doubt that being Japanese meant being connected with the "unbroken line" of the imperial family.

Schoolbooks after 1890 wove smoother patterns, with fewer discontinuities, to help students and teachers toward a vision of how and why things unfolded as they did in the late sixteenth century. Narrative strategy was deployed in service to the state. From 1903 the state reduced the odds that the story could be told wrong, from its point of view, by appropriating exclusive power to write the history textbooks. The narrative in those texts interlaced great sensitivity about personal and national honor, acceptance of the goal of projecting the glory of Japan and the imperial court, and emphasis on the virtuousness of loyalty and obedience. Out of such elements, causal relationships among events and motivations of individual personages of Hideyoshi's time could be puzzled out. More importantly, so far as the Meiji government was concerned, out of such elements, a national historical consciousness for modern Japanese subjects could be formed.

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APPENDIX

Selected passages from textbooks

(a) Monbushō. *Nihon ryakushi* (1875). Source: *Meiji-ki maikuro* 1991, ACB reel 0241 frames 690-692.

Hideyoshi, having brought about peace within Japan, next wished to show the glory of Japanese warriors overseas. After he appealed to the emperor, he made Hidetsugu *kanpaku* and gave himself the title *taikō*. Hidetsugu was Hideyoshi's nephew. Hideyoshi left Kyoto and encamped at Nagoya in Hizen. He ordered Ukita Hideie, Katō Kiyomasa, Konishi Yukinaga and others to conquer Korea. The Korean king, Yi Yŏn, fled to Ŭiju. The Ming ruler Zhu Yijun dispatched troops to assist Korea. The Japanese attacked the Chinese force and defeated it. Just then Hideyoshi's son Hideyori was born, and when this occurred, Hideyoshi returned to Osaka. At this same time, Hidetsugu's dissipation came to have no limits. Hideyoshi, in a rage, pursued Hidetsugu to Mt. Kōya and killed him there. Around this time, the Ming ruler, who had already proposed peace, sent envoys to Japan. Hideyoshi became furious at the disrespectfulness of the Chinese written message to him. He sent the envoys back and again dispatched troops to attack Korea. They defeated Korea, but by then Hideyoshi had died. He was sixty-three [by Japanese counting]. He left an order as he was dying, commanding the Japanese commanders to return home.

(b) Tsubaki Tokinaka, *(Shōgaku) Kokushi kiji honmatsu* (1882). Source: NKT, vol. 18, pp. 591-592.

When Hideyoshi first did battle in the Chūgoku, Nobunaga [1534-82] said to him, "In time, I will take possession of this place and enfeoff you there." Hideyoshi responded, "The place your

servant wants is not the Chūgoku or Kyushu. Putting my faith in the spirit of my lord, I desire, if I should have an army of several tens of thousands, to take over Korea and then Ming China, and to unify them with Japan. This is my wish, lord." Nobunaga laughed heartily.

When Hideyoshi had gained control over all of Japan, in the eighteenth year of Tenshō [1590] he sent a letter to Korea. He requested the Koreans to give him a free path through their land as he attacked the Ming. Korea did not respond. At length Hideyoshi resolved on what he would do. He made Ukita Hideie commanding general, and named Konishi Yukinaga and Katō Kiyomasa as commanders of the vanguard units, and sent an army of around 150,000 men on an expedition to the west. . . .

In the twelfth month [of 1592, the Chinese] ordered the mighty general Li Rusong [1549-1598] to lead an army of 50,000 men and come to the aid of Korea. Rusong, covetous of fame, stopped [Chen] Weijing and would not let him go on with the peace negotiation. In the first month of the second year [1593], Rusong came to P'yŏngyang and attacked. Yukinaga, who had trusted what Weijing had told him [that is, that a truce was in effect while negotiations went on], was unprepared, and lost, and withdrew to Seoul. The cities on his route all rose up and followed Rusong's lead. Kiyomasa was still in Hamgyŏng at this time, and the Ming threatened him with bluff language, saying, "Konishi and Ukita are prisoners. Ming armies numbering 400,000 are about to attack Hamgyŏng." Kiyomasa replied, "For a long time I have suffered from lack of activity. I entreat you, please come. If I kill 20,000 a day, I will be finished in twenty days." The Ming, frightened, did not dare to challenge him. Rusong had gone back to P'yŏngyang, and beating his drums he marched eastward. Our armies fell into disarray. Only Kobayakawa Takakage [1532-1597], with Tachibana Muneshige [1569-1642] and Mōri Hidekane, resisted Rusong at Pyŏkjegwan. Rusong, accustomed to victory, was unprepared, and our three commanders fought fiercely and dealt him a great defeat. Rusong barely escaped with his life. Chastened, he allowed Weijing to go on with peace negotiations. In the third month, Weijing came once again to the Japanese and said, "If the *taikō* will permit, the Ming will break off territory and invest him as king." Yukinaga, [Ishida] Mitsunari [1560-1600], and the others were unlearned and did not know the practices for the investiture of kings. Moreover they had long been abroad and had thoughts of going home. Consequently they reported to Hideyoshi, "The Ming wish to make you an emperor." Hideyoshi gave permission for peace, and in the sixth month, he had the two princes and other captives released and returned, and he ordered Naitō Joan [d. 1626] to go to China. The Ming ruler gave Joan an audience, and Joan was treated with the utmost courtesy. Finally a peace was determined upon. In the sixth month of the third year [1594], Hideyoshi ordered his commanders to have the armies come home.

(c) Kasama Masuzō, *Shinpen Shōgaku Nihon ryakushi* (1881). Source: Kasama 1881, fascicle six, leaves 11-13.

Tenshō 19 (*shinbō*, the year 2251 [1591]): Hideyoshi, who had once been asked by Nobunaga if he would conquer the Chūgoku, came to want to realize his ambition of attacking Korea and the Ming. Hearing that the government of the Ming ruler was in decline and his military preparedness was in decay, Hideyoshi desired this all the more. He sent Sō Yoshitoshi [1568-1615] and the monk Genso to Korea to let King Yi Yŏn know his intention to attack the Ming. Yi Yŏn dispatched his minister Kim Chŏng-il to go pay respects to Hideyoshi. After seeing him, Hideyoshi composed a letter to the Korean ruler, saying, "Toyotomi Hideyoshi of Japan respectfully responds to the King of Korea. My country was in a state of disorder for a long time. The emperor ordered that this be stopped. I took this order and attacked in the west and in the east, and finally I reported that I had achieved control everywhere. Now Japan is well governed, and the emperor's

capital city is prospering again. The span of a human life, however, is less than a hundred years. Why should we spend our days in melancholy? What I wish to do is to use your country as my path to enter into the territory of the Ming, and to make all the Ming states into my own. On the day that I enter the Ming, I want you to lead your troops in the vanguard on my side." Hideyoshi sent Taira Shigenobu and the monk Genso together to see the Korean king again. Upon receiving Hideyoshi's letter, the king was apprehensive; he took the message as full of empty scolding, and in the end he made no definite reply. Shigenobu withdrew and returned to Hideyoshi, who then grew still more resolute to carry out his ambitions. He met with many of the military leaders of Japan and told them his intention. The generals were all surprised, but no one dared to tell him that to his face. Ukita Hideie approached him and said, "Lord, when you launch this great endeavor, who will not do his best for you?" The matter was settled. Hideyoshi had the generals return to their domains and prepare troops and food supplies, and ordered them to meet in Nagoya in Hizen Province in the third month of the next year. All Japan was stable at this time, and it seemed about to rest in peace. Then the order to attack Korea came down, and once again things were in an uproar. When Hideyoshi's mother heard that he would go abroad, she was quite unhappy, and reached the point of refusing to sleep or eat. Hideyoshi placated her by telling her that he would have Hideie go in his place, and he himself would make Nagoya in Hizen his headquarters. He ceded the title of *kanpaku* to Hidetsugu, and he took the title *taikō* for himself.

(d) Ōtsuki Fumihiko, *(Kōsei) Nihon shōshi* (1885). Source: NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 740-741.

Hideyoshi had subjugated all of Japan, and next he wished to cross the seas and take the Ming state. The first thing he did was send a message to King Yi Yŏn of Korea, telling him that he wanted Korea to serve as the path for his advance into China. The Korean king did not agree. Hideyoshi then raised a great army, and he himself established a base camp at Nagoya in Hizen. He ordered a total of 300,000 Japanese troops to set out, with men such as Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga as their commanders, to attack Korea. The year was the 2252nd from the founding of our country (the first year of Bunroku).

The commanders crossed the sea, entered Korea, and laying siege to Korean cities one after another, they advanced and captured the capital, Hansŏng [Seoul]. The king of Korea fled to P'yŏngyang. The Japanese moved forward again and took P'yŏngyang. The king appealed to the Ming for assistance.

(e) Kamiya Yoshimichi, *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* (1891), vol. 3, pp. 19-21. Source: *Meiji-ki maikuro* 1991, ACA reel 0004; also Kindai Digital Library, National Diet Library.

Hideyoshi placed Ukita Hideie in command. Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga were appointed as leaders of the forward units. Kuroda Nagamasa [1568-1623], Shimazu Yoshihiro [1535-1619], Fukushima Masanori [1561-1624], Kobayakawa Takakage, Tachibana Muneshige, Mōri Terumoto [1553-1624], and others followed them. In the fourth month of the first year of Bunroku [1592], their boats crossed the sea. Yukinaga went first, and when he reached Pusan, he penetrated its fortifications and moved forward into Kyŏngsang Province. Other Japanese forces landed one after another on the continent, advanced, and struck various forts. Finally they entered the capital city. Korea's king Yi Yŏn fled to P'yŏngyang. At this juncture, Hideie, in Seoul, ordered the generals to advance and capture other areas. Kiyomasa moved forward into Hamgyŏng Province, Yukinaga into P'yŏngan Province, and other Japanese generals divided up the other provinces of Korea and advanced. Yi Song reported to the Ming that Korea was in a

state of emergency. The Ming ruler Zhu Yijun, greatly surprised, dispatched Zu Chengxun and Shi Rusuan to assist P'yŏngyang. Yukinaga attacked the Chinese forces and dealt them a major defeat. Rusuan was killed, Chengxun was put to flight, and Yukinaga at last took P'yŏngyang. When Kiyomasa went into Hamgyŏng Province, he heard that the king's two sons were north of Hamgyŏng. Kiyomasa changed his battle strategy and made a long march to the extreme northern part of Korea, where he finally made the two princes his prisoners and brought Hamgyŏng Province under his control. By this time, news of Chengxun's defeat had reached the Ming. The Ming ruler ordered his top general, Li Rusong, to save Korea. Yukinaga fought against the Chinese and was defeated, and returned to Seoul. Hearing of this, Korea's army gathered itself and came to the support of the Ming forces. Nearly all of our commanders withdrew, at this point, and returned to Seoul. Only Takakage, Muneshige, and a few others did not retreat, saying, "Now is the critical moment for us to exert all our force to serve the nation." Just at that moment the grand army of Rusong came marching along beating its drums in the wake of its victory. Takakage attacked the Ming army at Pyŏkjegwan and defeated them. Pursuing the Chinese soldiers as they withdrew northward, he drove them into the river, and there were so many of them in the channel that the river could not flow. Rusong assembled his troops and retreated.

(f) Yamagata Teisaburō, *Shōgakkō yō Nihon rekishi* (1888). Source: NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 155-157.

The vanguard units departed from Nagoya, and after them huge numbers of prows ploughed the sea together, and the war banners and pennants covered the sky. Yukinaga, going first, braved heavy wind and waves and went ahead, entered Pusan Bay, and immediately attacked the fortifications there and won a great victory. Kiyomasa, whose courage had no like, resented that Yukinaga had gone before him, and battled forward, and together he and Yukinaga pressed ahead, subjugating several provinces. Finally they laid siege to the capital. The king, Yi Jo [sic], fled to P'yŏngyang and appealed to the Ming for assistance. The Ming ruler, Shenzong [Zhu Yijun, or the Wanli Emperor], commanded his general Li Rusong to lead a great army and come to aid Korea. Our armies met him and attacked, and dealt him a major defeat. Rusong took flight and escaped. Kiyomasa advanced and took the two princes of Korea captive, and sent a message to Nagoya reporting this. There was at that time a Chinese named Chen Weijing [1540?-1597?]. Presenting tribute of gold and cloth to Yukinaga, he entreated for peace negotiations. Yukinaga made a pact with Weijing according to which three provinces of Korea would be separated from the rest, and the Japanese would rule them. This meant that Hideyoshi would be enfeoffed by the Ming ruler. Hideyoshi was pleased by this, and gave his consent. An envoy came to Japan from the Ming ruler and presented some fifty items including a letter of investiture, a gold seal, and other things. Upon examination of the letter bearing the Ming emperor's seal, when he found that it said, "We invest Hideyoshi as King of Japan," Hideyoshi was furious. He changed color, arose, and flung the document aside, and then assembled his generals and ordered a second campaign. He made Toyotomi Hideaki the commanding general, and Kiyomasa and Yukinaga and others were again the vanguard forces. The war had not yet ended when Hideyoshi fell ill and died. He was sixty-three. As his dying words, Hideyoshi said, "When I die, keep it secret for a while, and summon the commanders of the campaign in Korea home. If they should not return quickly and there should be unrest at home, I will have sent 100,000 troops to die on foreign soil in vain." When he finished speaking, he died. With this, all the commanders returned to Japan. Six years had passed since Hideyoshi raised his armies, and though he died before they achieved their final goal, he had shown the brilliance of Japanese might overseas, and that for several hundred years thereafter there would be no troubles from foreign enemies is truly Hideyoshi's strength.

(g) Yamagata Teisaburō, *Teikoku shōshi* (1893). Source: NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 210-211.

But for Hideyoshi it was not enough to have all of Japan under his control. When his desire deepened to conquer China and Korea and make them our territory, he named Konishi Yukinaga and others as generals, and ordered them to subjugate Korea.

Katō Kiyomasa was a man who had followed Hideyoshi for only a short time, but for bravery, strength, and military prowess, he had no match in Japan. He pressed forward into Korea and took the two Korean princes captive, and there was no opposing army that he could not attack and defeat. Because of this, the Korean people called Kiyomasa the Demon General, and he was feared even generations later.

Kiyomasa, Yukinaga, and the others fought ever more fiercely, defeating the Korean armies, and were on the point of penetrating into China, when, sadly, Hideyoshi, without being able to attain his great ambition, took ill and died in the middle of the war. In consequence, Kiyomasa and the others had no alternative but to withdraw from Korea. Hideyoshi was sixty-three when he died.

(h) Fukyūsha, *Shōgaku kokushi* (1900). Source: NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 354-355.

Taikō Hideyoshi wished to conquer the Ming state, and first he conquered Korea [literally, Chōsen (Chosŏn in Korean)]. Chōsen is now Kankoku [Hanguk]. . . .

As Korea's armies continued to be attacked and to lose, the king reported that there was an emergency and repeatedly requested assistance of the Ming. The lord of Ming gave a great army to a man named Li Rusong and ordered him to help Korea. In the first month of the next year, Rusong came and laid siege to P'yŏngyang. Yukinaga and others fled and returned to Kyŏngsŏng. Kobayakawa Takakage alone held his ground, went out to meet Rusong and attack him, and defeated him soundly. The Ming was very afraid, and when it sued for peace, Hideyoshi consented, and called his armies home. In the first year of Keichō [1596], envoys from the Ming came to our country and presented a letter of state. In that letter were the words, "We invest you as King of Japan." Hideyoshi became furious, and replied, "If I wished to be King of Japan, why would I need to have you invest me? What is more, do you not know that in our country there is an emperor?" That very day he gave the order for a second campaign. Our armies again entered into Korea. . . .

Hideyoshi rose from being a peasant's son and ruled all of Japan. He revered the imperial court, and in showing the brilliance of Japanese might overseas, was he not truly a hero without ancient or modern parallel? Later people built a shrine and worshiped his spirit there, and the emperor bestowed the honorific name Toyokuni Daimyōjin on him.

(i) Monbushō, *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1904). Source: *(Fukkoku) Kokutei rekishi kyōkasho* 1987, vol. 2, pp. 24-28.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi also came from Owari. At first he was called Kinoshita Tōkichirō and served Nobunaga. He was a man of low social status, but because he had outstanding intelligence, courage, and character, gradually he was used in important matters, and he changed his name to Hashiba Hideyoshi.

Sometime later, Hideyoshi, having received an order from Nobunaga, tried to bring the Chūgoku district under control. He attacked and penetrated as far as Bitchū, and was doing battle against the great army of Mōri Terumoto, the grandson of Mōri Motonari [1497-1571], when he received news of Nobunaga's violent death. Hideyoshi then quickly concluded peace with the Mōri clan and immediately returned to the capital region. He defeated [Akechi] Mitsuhide [1528-1582] at Yamazaki and put an end to his rebellion. At this time all Nobunaga's

other commanders, from Shibata Katsuie [1530-1583] on, were slow to respond; Hideyoshi's might alone grew stronger. Katsuie and others hated this, and they raised troops and tried to eliminate Hideyoshi, but contrary to their plans, they were annihilated by Hideyoshi. The unfinished business left by Nobunaga naturally all fell into Hideyoshi's hands.

From this time on, Hideyoshi engaged in massive construction on Osaka castle, and he moved there. He conquered Chōsokabe Motochika [1539-1599] and brought Shikoku under his own domination, and he subjugated Shimazu Yoshihisa [1533-1611] and established control over Kyushu. Finally he wiped out the Hōjō clan at Odawara and established his dominance over the Kantō region as well. Thereupon the Date family of northeastern Japan and others came to him and yielded, and the great disorder that had prevailed for more than 210 years since the Ōnin Rebellion subsided. All of Japan was at peace. This was in the eighteenth year of Tenshō [1590] in the reign of Emperor Goyōzei, just eight years after the death of Nobunaga, more than 310 years ago. During those eight years, because of his meritorious achievements, Hideyoshi had been appointed *kanpaku* and then Prime Minister of the Great Council of State, and the emperor had granted him the family name Toyotomi. Later he yielded the office of *kanpaku* to his adopted heir Hidetsugu, and took the title *taikō* for himself.

Once peace had been established within Japan, Hideyoshi desired to make other countries overseas, as well, submit to the august power of our court. First letting Korea know of his plans, he set out to conquer the Ming. He also sent envoys to Taiwan, the Philippines, and other places, urging them to yield. But when Korea rejected his message, Hideyoshi in the first year of Bunroku named Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga as commanders of the forward units and Ukita Hideie as commander-in-chief, and sent a great army of more than 130,000 men to conquer Korea. The commanders fought well, and our armies won victories everywhere they went, and in almost no time they captured Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul]. Yukinaga advanced and took P'yŏngyang, and when Kiyomasa had brought the northeastern region under his control, Korea was mostly subject to our armies. At this juncture the King of Korea, greatly frightened, appealed to the Ming for rescue. The Ming immediately sent a great army, and it came and assisted the Koreans, but our general Kobayakawa Takakage and others struck back and dealt the Chinese a great defeat. Thereupon the Ming approached Yukinaga and requested peace negotiations. Hideyoshi consented to this and ordered his officers to return home. But there was a misunderstanding in the peace negotiations, and not only did the Ming not keep its promise, but also in their state letter to Hideyoshi they expressed their intention to make Hideyoshi king of Japan. Hideyoshi became extremely angry and once again sent troops to Korea. Very shortly thereafter, however, Hideyoshi, who was sixty-three, fell sick and died. The Japanese commanders all were summoned home in response to his dying command.

(j) Monbushō, *Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi* (1909, 1911). Source: NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 534-536.

In the heyday of the Muromachi period, the shogunate cultivated friendly relations with Ming China, and Chosŏn Korea also frequently paid visits to us (*ware*). In the *sengoku* era [the era of the country at war, ca. 1482-1558], however, the power of the shogunate deteriorated considerably, and people from the borders of our western provinces (*waga saikai no henmin*) often plundered the seacoast areas of China and Korea. State-to-state relations between those countries and Japan were terminated. In Taiwan, the Philippines, and the islands off Southeast Asia, more than a few of these Japanese border people seized territory for themselves and came and went from there, but still these places did not enter into friendly relations with our government (*waga seifu*). This being the state of things, Hideyoshi desired to project the nation's might overseas in a major way. When finally Japan was domestically peaceful and stable, he first tried to enter into

friendly relations with the Ming, having Korea communicate his wishes to that country. He also had Ryūkyū report his wishes to the Ming, and he dispatched envoys also to the Philippines and Taiwan, and pressed them to submit to him. The Ming, however, did not respond to our demands (*waga yōkyū*), and Hideyoshi then explained to the Korean king that he wished to borrow the road through Korea to strike against the Ming, but the king feared the might of the Ming and did not comply with Hideyoshi's plans. The year after the destruction of the Hōjō family, Hideyoshi made up his mind and issued an order to conquer Korea. The next year, 2252 or the first year of Bunroku, he made Katō Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga the vanguard and sent a great army of over 130,000, and had them first attack Korea. Our commanders (*waga shoshō*) were all brave and bold, and when they fought, they won; when they laid siege, they captured, and in no time at all they conquered the capital city Kyŏngsŏng and drove the king into flight. Yukinaga advanced further and took P'yŏngyang, and Kiyomasa brought the northeastern region largely under his control and took the two princes captive, and [Japanese] reached the point of holding sway over nearly all of Korea. The king of Korea, greatly frightened, sought military assistance from the Ming, and the Ming immediately sent a great army to assist Korea, but our armies defeated the Chinese also. At this point the Ming appealed for peace through Yukinaga. Hideyoshi approved this, and ordered the officers to return to Japan. However, not only were there disagreements in the peace negotiations, but also in a state letter from the Ming to Hideyoshi there were words saying that the Ming invested Hideyoshi as king of Japan. At that, Hideyoshi, greatly angered at the insolence of the letter, dispatched troops a second time. But very soon thereafter, when Hideyoshi fell ill and died, and in accordance with his dying order, the officers all gathered their troops, and the battalions that had been on campaign abroad for nearly seven years came to their end. Hideyoshi was sixty-three.

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NOTES

1 Karasawa 1956, p. i. This was both the first sentence and the theme of this magisterial study of the history of Japanese language and ethics textbooks. Karasawa did not examine history textbooks, but almost certainly his conclusion would have been the same if he had.

2 Nakamura 1998, p. 168. As a commentator in the often heated public discussion of middle school history books in 2001, when local selection bodies had to make choices among several new textbooks that had been approved for use by the Ministry of Education, Hitotsubashi University Emeritus Professor Nakamura had occasion to make this point again.

3 Purposeful national consciousness is closely related to ideology, which Carol Gluck has described "as a conscious enterprise, a perpetual civic concern, an affair, indeed, of state." See Gluck 1985, p. 3 and passim.

4 Nakamura 1998, p. 169. In the same passage, he observes, "From my own experience in writing a textbook on Japanese history for high schools, I conclude that a textbook is a description of history (*rekishi kijutsu*), not a narrative of history (*rekishi jojutsu*)."

5 Data on numbers of copies of books sold, or numbers in circulation, are not available. Names of textbooks used in primary schools were presented in tables in *Monbushō nenpō*. For some but not all of those books, numbers of copies printed were reported in the 1870s. With only a couple of exceptions, Japanese history textbooks are among those on which Monbushō reports contain no data on numbers

of copies.

6 Yamagata's speech is described, and the key passage is translated, in Hackett 1971, pp.137-139.

7 Dudden 2005, esp. pp. 45-73. Takahashi's work is treated on pp. 67-68.

8 In a draft for the prime minister's 1890 Diet address that adumbrated the "line of sovereignty" and "line of interest" concepts, Yamagata's adviser Inoue Kowashi had linked education with national security. Speaking generally, including but not only with reference to teaching about history, Inoue wrote, "There are two indispensable elements in the field of foreign policy: the armed forces first and education second. If the Japanese people are not imbued with patriotic spirit, the nation cannot be strong, no matter how many laws are issued. . . . Patriotism can be instilled only through education. Every powerful nation in Europe strives to foster through compulsory education a deep sense of patriotism together with the knowledge of the national language, history and other subjects." Pittau 1978, pp. 102-103.

9 Three more revisions of rules in this period up to 1881 should be mentioned. (1) On 29 September 1879, the Fundamental Code of Education was abolished and an Ordinance on Education (*kyōikurei*) issued in its place. The new ordinance gave considerable discretionary decision-making power to localities. Textbook selection remained open and was left up to local educators. (2) On 25 March 1880, an Editorial Bureau was set up within the Ministry of Education and assigned the task of compiling primary and middle school textbooks. Of special interest to us here is that for more than two decades that bureau paid little heed to history, instead concentrating on other subjects. (3) At the very end of 1880, a second, or "revised," Ordinance (*kaisei kyōikurei*) reasserted the primacy of the central government and required that the approval of the Minister of Education be obtained for important decisions affecting education. In a change of great symbolic consequence, moral education (*shūshin*) was designated as the most important subject.

10 See "Kaidai" in NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 722-723. Editor Kimura Masakoto (1827-1913), who later won fame as a literary scholar specializing in *Man'yōshū* studies, had been trained in the *kōshōgaku* tradition of textual analysis. He served in a variety of government positions in the early Meiji years, spending time in the Office of Shintō Religion (Jingikan), the Ministry of Justice, and the Council of State (Dajōkan), as well as the Ministry of Education. Before leaving government service in 1893, he was appointed a member of the Japan Academy and professor at the Higher Normal School. *Nihonshi daijiten* 1993, vol. 2, pp. 743-744. A microfilm of *Shiryaku* is in the *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991 series, catalogue identifier ACA reel 0009 frame 874 ff. Kimura signed the explanatory note at the beginning of the book, identifying himself as the editor, but no individual author is credited. The rest of *Shiryaku* was made up of Chinese history, just eighteen leaves, and Western history, eighty leaves. About 130,000 copies were printed during the next three years, by far the most of any history textbook noted in the Ministry of Education's annual report, but it is doubtful that a copy was put into the hands of each primary school pupil who studied history. The passage from *Kōkoku* cited here appears in NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 15-16.

11 *Shiryaku*, in *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, p. 9.

12 The title page identified the Tokyo Normal School (Shihan Gakkō) as compilers. *Nihon ryakushi* was edited by Kimura Masakoto and Naka Michitaka. Kimura's name appears on the first page of text, as editor (*hen*), followed by Naka's, as reviser (*tei*). A microfilm of *Nihon ryakushi* is in *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, ACB reel 0241 frames 604 ff. Naka (1827-1879), from Morioka, was known for his knowledge of Confucianism, Japanese history, the Buddhist canon, and Japanese poetry. He served in the Ministry of Finance before moving to the Ministry of Education. *Nihonshi daijiten* 1993, vol. 5, p. 362.

13 Naka Arata draws attention to the contrast between the omission of honorifics (*gohōkyū*, i.e., the prefix *go/on/o/mi* and the auxiliary verbs *tatematsuru* and *tamau*) in this book and their copious usage in textbooks published later, after the influence of imperial family-centered nationalism had grown. Naka 1980, p. 163.

14 "Generation" might be an "era" or "reign" here: *dai-ichi dai, dai-ni dai, dai-san dai,* and so forth.

15 The "kaidai" for *Nihon ryakushi*, NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 724-726, points out that the account was not completely sanitized for the elementary pupils; instances of succession disputes, rebellion, or murder involving the imperial family were left in.

16 A Kagoshima samurai, Ijichi (1828-1887) had been picked to study at the Shōheikō, the official academy of the shogunate. There he associated with Saigō Takamori (one year his senior) and men from other *han* who were concerned about national affairs. He became an activist in the Restoration movement through the 1860s, and after 1871 served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then was appointed resident official in the Ryukyus. He was granted the lower fifth rank by the emperor in recognition of his meritorious services.

17 "Kaidai," NKT 1978, vol. 18, p. 727-728. A microfilm of the 1883 edition of *Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku* is in *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, ACB reel 0075 frames 714-884.

18 "Jogen," *Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku*, NKT 1978, vol. 18, p. 261.

19 Shively 1959 remains the classic portrait of a Confucian scholar in Meiji Japan. Less scholarly than Motoda, Ijichi devoted more of his life to activism and practical affairs, but the Shōheikō had almost surely given him intensive exposure to Zhu Xi thought, and his emphasis on the centrality of the emperor was consistent with Confucian orthodoxy. He spent his last several years working in the forerunner of the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo (Shiryō Hensanjo), the Office of Historiography (Shūshikyoku, later renamed Shūshikan), established by the government in 1875. Appointed in 1881, Ijichi became one of four editors of *Dai Nihon hennenshi* (Chronological History of Great Japan), along with Kume Kunitake (1839-1931), Fujino Masahira (1826-1888), and Hoshino Hisashi (1839-1917). See Mehl 1998, pp. 44-46; she calls Ijichi "the fourth and least important" of the men responsible for *Dai Nihon hennenshi.*

20 "Kaidai," NKT 1978, vol. 18, p. 728.

21 The 1879 edition of *Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku jibiki* (the glossary), also from Kōbundō, is in *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, ACB reel 075 frame 973 ff.

22 *Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku* is reprinted in NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 259-318. The passage dealing with Hideyoshi appears on pp. 304-306. The comment about enemy soldiers and the Demon General (*kijōkan*, K. *kwisanggwan*) is on p. 305 (emphasis added).

23 *Monbushō futatsu* no. 12, 4 May 1881, *Monbushō dai-9 nenpō* (1881; in *Monbushō nenpō*), pp. 18-21; article 15, regarding *rekishi*, is on p. 20.

24 See Nakamura 1992, pp. 44, 99.

25 The chapter titles alone suggest the literary flavor. The first ten, for example, are The August Grandson Creates the Foundation, Jinmu's Conquest of the East, The Statesmanship of Sujin, The Great Work of Governing the Nation, Jingū Conquers the Three Kingdoms of Korea, Nintoku's Thrift and Diligence, Mayuwa's Revenge, Kenzō and Ninken Succeed to the Throne, Paekche Gives Images of Buddha, and The Arrogant Disobedience of the Soga Clan. Tsubaki diverged from other writers in several ways, but he mentions that his sources for these chapters on the legendary era were the same, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki.*

26 *(Shōgaku) Kokushi kiji honmatsu* is reproduced in NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 525-640. The quotations are from pp. 591-592.

27 The provinces that make up the Chūgoku are Tanba, Tango, Tajima, Inaba, Hōki, Izumo, Iwami, Oki, Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bitchū, Bingo, Aki, Suō, and Nagato, corresponding to the modern prefectures of Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, and Yamaguchi, and the areas of Hyōgo and Kyōto that face the Japan Sea.

28 Kasama 1881. This edition is in the Kindai Digital Library (http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/) of the National Diet Library. The eight fascicles (*kan*) make a long book, but in a modern printing it would probably be fewer than 500 pages.

29 NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 449-455. A revision of *Nihon ryakushi* passed the inspection of the Ministry of Education's new textbook examination commission in 1887. The title was changed to *Shinsen shōgaku Nihon ryakushi,* but the format remained the same as in the several earlier versions, a reign-by-reign account of politics and the top court personnel from the age of the gods (*kamiyo*) to the Satsuma Rebellion.

30 NKT 1978, vol. 18, p. 252.

31 The eras in his periodization were: (1) before Empress Suiko (554-628); (2) imperial rule, when culture was imported from the continent; (3) the middle ages, the period of rule by warriors; (4) the Edo period; and (5) the years beginning with the Meiji Restoration, when European and American culture was introduced. He labeled four of the five eras "periods of enlightenment." The period of rule by warriors, in which Hideyoshi lived, he called "the dark age of warfare."

32 NKT 1978, vol. 18, pp. 740-741.

33 The ministry reported on the selection and the prize in 1889, in *Honshō jimu, shomu, kyōkasho,* in *Monbushō dai-17 nenpō* (1889; in *Monbushō nenpō*), p. 13. Kamiya is identified as an ex-samurai (*shizoku*) from Gifu Prefecture.

34 Ibid., p. 171. Kamiya's *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi* (Monbushō, 1891), 3 vols. or fascicles, is in *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, ACA reel 0004 frame 1 ff. and also online in the Kindai Digital Library of the National Diet Library. The statement of the book's purposes is on p. 1 of the preface to vol. 1.

35 *Kōtō shōgaku rekishi,* vol. 3, p. 23.

36 "Kaidai," in NKT 1978, vol. 19, Rekishi 2, pp. 741-742.

37 *Shōgakkō yō Nihon rekishi* is reproduced in NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 83-182.

38 Naka 1980, pp. 171-173.

39 "Kaidai," NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 742-743. Selections from the contents of *Teikoku shōshi* are reproduced in ibid., pp. 183-229. Yamagata reinforced the sense of shared identity by beginning the first sentence, "*Our* Great Empire of Japan is a nation made up of four big islands and many small islands" (p. 187, emphasis added).

40 Ibid., p. 254.

41 NKT, vol. 19, pp. 210-211.

42 *Meiji kentei-ki kyōkasho saitaku fukenbetsu ichiran: Meiji 33-nen 8-gatsu "Shōgakkōrei shikō kisoku" seitei igo,* in *Kyōkasho hensen kenkyū shiryō* 1996, pp. 12-13. The publisher of these materials, Kyōkasho Kenkyū Sentā, is located in Kōtō-ku, Tokyo.

43 NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 321-374.

44 *Meiji ki maikuro* 1991, ACB reel 0074 frame 111 ff.

45 Kajiyama 1988 is an excellent study of the politics of textbook adoption, the allegations of corruption, and the shift to state-compiled books. In English, see Richter 1999, especially chapter 3, "Marketing Print Culture: The New Generation of Meiji Publishers."

46 Monbushō 1904, reproduced in facsimile in *(Fukkoku) Kokutei rekishi kyōkasho* 1987, vol. 2, pp. 24-28. *Shōgaku Nihon rekishi* is also included in NKT 1978, vol. 19; the two volumes are on pp. 439-563, and the chapter on Hideyoshi on pp. 475-477. Nihon Shoseki was responsible for printing and distributing the text, but the Monbushō was the actual publisher.

47 On the authorship of the 1904 and 1911 Ministry of Education history textbooks, see Kita 1982, pp. 100-101 and Uyenaka 1983, pp. 106-107. Kita wrote new textbooks for both history and geography as he continued to perform his duties as an examiner of textbooks in other subjects. For advice on the history text, he consulted Professor Mikami Sanji (1865-1939) of Tokyo Imperial University and Satō Seijitsu (1839-1908).

48 School attendance figures are tabulated by Umihara 1996, statistical appendix, p. 30. As late as 1881, fewer than 8 percent of pupils had advanced to the fifth and sixth years, according to Naka 1981, p. 98.

49 Amaterasu Ōmikami is one of the "individuals" whose names are used for chapter titles. Something about the prevailing values in the Ministry of Education in 1903-1904 is revealed by the selection of people on whom the other lessons or chapters centered: Emperor Jinmu, Yamato Takeru no Mikoto, Empress Jingu, Emperor Nintoku, Shōtoku Taishi, Emperor Tenji and Fujiwara Kamatari, Emperor Shōmu, Waki no Kiyomaru, Emperor Kanmu and Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi, Sugawara no Michizane, Minamoto no Yoshiie, Taira no Kiyomori, Minamoto Yoritomo, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Ieyasu, Tokugawa Iemitsu, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi and Arai Hakuseki, and Tokugawa Yoshimune.

50 Cf. Monbushō 1910, vol. 1, pp. 79-84 and Monbushō 1911, vol. 1, pp. 78-84.

51 On the political firestorm that forced revision of the 1911 book, see Uyenaka 1983, passim; Brownlee 1997, pp. 118-130; Mehl 1998, pp. 140-147; Yamada 1976; and Ueda 1978. For Kita's own perspective on the controversy, see Kita 1982 (a work originally published in 1933 on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday), pp. 122-141. Kita (1871-1939) regretted losing his position in the Ministry of Education, but the incident did not ruin his career. Primarily a specialist in ancient history, with strong interests in religion and folkways, he was almost immediately hired as a lecturer at Kyoto Imperial University, where he rose to the rank of full professor of history. In 1924 he left Kyoto and moved to Tōhoku Imperial University, turning his research interests to the Tōhoku region.

52 "Toyotomi Hideyoshi," *Jinjō Shōgaku Nihon rekishi, kan* 2, Monbushō 1911, vol. 2, pp. 20-27; also in NKT 1978, vol. 19, pp. 534-536.

53 After the Russo-Japanese war, Kita recalled, a committee that included Mikami, Professor Tanaka Yoshinari (1860-1920, Mikami's colleague at Tokyo Imperial University and a specialist on the fourteenth century), and Dr. Ogino Yoshiyuki (dates unknown) was appointed to look into corrections and expansion of the history text. Kita 1982, p. 101.

54 See the Iwanami Bunko edition of this work, Oze 2000.

55 Rai 1999. This is a translation into *kanamajiribun* by Rai Seiichi (1891-1951) and Rai Tsutomu (1922-1999). On San'yō's characteristics as a historian and prose stylist, see Thomas Keirstead's essay in this volume.

56 Toby 2000.

57 *Chōsen chōhiroku* 1894. An annotated English translation by Choi Byonghyon has been published by the Center for Korean Studies at the University of California, Berkeley (Yu 2002).

58 Shibayama 1892. Kaikōdō was a publisher of books on military strategy, tactics, and history.

59 See FitzGerald 1979. By the 1970s, FitzGerald shows, many critical views had emerged, and by no means all schoolbooks were triumphalist. Earlier in U.S. history, treatments of the past were almost uniformly positive, imbued with self-satisfaction; see Carpenter 1963, pp. 196-211. In recent years, textbook adoption procedures in major states such as California and Texas have conditioned U.S. publishers to be extremely cautious about offending political, ethnic, religious, and gender sensibilities, with the result that major publishers' offerings have attempted to avoid controversy and have tended to become bland and shallow; see Fordham Institute 2004.

60 "We have defined a story as a narrative of events arranged in their time-sequence. A plot is also a narrative of events, the emphasis falling on causality. 'The king died and then the queen died,' is a story. 'The king died, and then the queen died of grief' is a plot. The time-sequence is preserved, but the sense of causality overshadows it. . . . If it is in a story we say 'and then?' If it is in a plot we ask 'why?'" Forster 1941, pp. 116-117 (originally published 1927). Paraphrased (without identification of Forster) in Gergen 1998.

GLOSSARY

Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀
Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介
bakuzen 漠然
bekkaku kanpeisha 別格官幣社
Bungakusha 文学社
Bunroku 文禄
Chen Weijing 沈惟敬
Chingbirok 懲毖録
Chōsokabe Motochika 長宗我部元親
Chosŏn 朝鮮
chūgakkōrei 中学校令
Chūgoku 中国
den ni iwaku 傳ニ曰ク
Engi 延喜
Fujisawa Genzō 藤沢元造
Gakkai Shishin Sha 學海指針社
gakusei 学制
Genso 玄蘇
gohōkyū 御俸給
Goyōzei (emperor) 後陽成
Hamgyŏng 咸鏡
Hansŏng 漢城
Hashiba Hideyoshi 羽柴秀吉
Hidetsugu 秀次
hikuki mibun no mono 低き身分のもの
Honchō tsugan 本朝通鑑
Ijichi Sadaka 伊地知貞馨
Inoue Kowashi 井上毅
Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成
Ishō Nihonden 異称日本伝
Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文
Jinjō shōgaku Nihon rekishi 尋常小学日本歴史
Jinmu (emperor) 神武
kaika 開化
kaishinsei 開申制
Kamiya Yoshimichi 神谷由道
kan 巻
kanamajiribun 仮名交じり文
kanpaku 関白
Kasama Masuzō 笠間益三
Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正
Katsura Tarō 桂太郎
Keichō 慶長
kijōkan 鬼上官
Kim Ok-kyun 金玉均
Kimura Masakoto 木村正辭
Kita Sadakichi 喜田貞吉
Kobayakawa Takakage 小早川隆景
Kōbundō 鴻文堂
Kogo shūi 古語拾遺
Kojiki 古事記
Kōkoku 皇国
kokutai 國體
Konishi Yukinaga 小西行長
kore o ōi ni yaburu 之を大いに破る
(Kōsei) Nihon shōshi 校正日本小史
kōshōgaku 考証学
Kōtō shōgaku rekishi 高等小学歴史
kunshin no bun ittei 君臣之分一定
Kurosawa Akira 黒沢明
kyōikurei 教育令
kyōka yō tosho kentei jōrei 教科用図書検定条例
kyōka yō tosho kentei kisoku 教科用図書検定規則
Kyōkasho Kenkyū Sentā 教科書研究センター
kyōkasho kentei 教科書検定
Kyŏngsang 慶尙
Kyŏngsŏng 京城
kyōsoku 教則
Li Rusong 李如松
Maeda Toshiie 前田利家
Matsushita Kenrin 松下見林
Mikami Sanji 三上参次
Minamoto 源
Monbushō 文部省
Mori Arinori 森有礼
Mōri Hidekane 毛利秀包
Mōri Motonari 毛利元就
Mōri Terumoto 毛利輝元
Naitō Joan 内藤如安
Nakamura Masanori 中村政則
Nanbokuchō 南北朝
Nihon gaishi 日本外史
Nihon ryakushi 日本略史
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
ninkasei 認可制
Nintoku (emperor) 仁徳
Oda Nobunaga 織田信長
Ogino Yoshiyuki 荻野由之
Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦
Oze Hoan 小瀬甫庵
Pyŏkjegwan 碧蹄館
P'yŏngyang 平壌

Rai San'yō 頼山陽
Rashōmon 羅生門
rekishi jojutsu 歴史叙述
rekishi kijutsu 歴史記述
resseisōkei 列聖相繼
Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛
Satō Seijitsu 佐藤誠実
Shenzong 神宗
Shi Rusuan 史儒算
Shibata Katsuie 柴田勝家
(Shinkoku) Shōgaku Nihon ryakushi 新刻小学日本略史
Shinsen Teikoku shōshi 新撰帝國小史
Shiryaku 史略
Shiryō Hensanjo 史料編纂所
shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō 小学校教則綱領
Shōgakkō yō Nihon rekishi 小学校用日本歴史
shōgakkōrei 小学校令
(Shōgaku) Kokushi kiji honmatsu 小學國史紀事本末
shōgaku kyōsoku 小学教則
Shōgaku Nihon shiryaku 小学日本史略
Shūshikan 修史館
Shūshikyoku 修史局
shūshin 修身
Sō Yoshitoshi 宗義智
sonnō aikoku 尊皇愛國
Tachibana Muneshige 立花宗茂
taikō 太閤
Taikōki 太閤記
Taira Shigenobu 平調信
Taira 平
Takahashi Sakue 高橋作衛
Tanaka Yoshinari 田中義成
Teikoku shōshi 帝國小史
Tenryaku 天暦
Tenshō 天正
Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康
Toyokuni Daimyōjin 豊國大明神
Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉
Tsubaki Tokinaka 椿時中
Ŭiju 義州
Ukita Hideie 宇喜多秀家
waga 我が
wagagun 我軍
wagahei 我兵
wagakuni 我が國
waga saikai no henmin 我が西海の邊民
waga seifu 我が政府
wagashō 我將
wagashōshi 我將士
waga shoshō 我が諸將
waga yōkyū 我が要求
Wanli (emperor) 萬暦
ware 我
Yabu no naka 藪の中
Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋
Yamagata Teisaburō 山縣悌三郎
Yi Jo 李昭
Yi Sunsin 李舜臣
Yi Yŏn 李昖 (King Sŏnjo 宣祖)
Yoshino no chōtei 吉野の朝廷
Yu Sŏngnyong 柳成龍
Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 (Wanli emperor)
Zu Chengxun 祖承訓