ABSTRACT

PIPER, MARIA ANYA BELL. Instructing Modern Citizens: Teaching the Nation and Citizenship in English and Japanese Textbooks, 1890-1914. (Under the direction of David R. Ambaras).

This thesis uses history, geography, and citizenship/ethics textbooks to analyze how both international and domestic circumstances affected the development and content of public elementary education in England and Japan from 1890 to 1914. Specifically, this study explores how authors and publishers taught students to accept the authority and sovereignty of the government, as well as prescriptions for becoming an ideal national citizen. I chose to compare England and Japan because scholars generally consider their education systems the antithesis of one another. As the first industrial nation, England dominated other countries in technological capability through the first half of the nineteenth century, after which other countries began to catch up. This perceived threat initiated an era of reform that resulted in the creation of a decentralized system of public education. Japan, on the other hand, was a latecomer to the modern stage and used public education to assist in building a nation-state. Japan’s public school system adopted a centralized approach. Thus, at first glance, the English and Japanese systems appear quite different in organization and locus of power, but in practice both systems operated more similarly than their formal designs suggest. The timing of the establishment of public elementary education in England and Japan, in 1870 and 1872, respectively, demonstrates that industrial and industrializing countries saw education as an important tool for building a strong nation, populace, and empire in the early twentieth century. This study examines elementary school textbooks to discern how each country used education to create a modern nation in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.
Instructing Modern Citizens: Teaching the Nation and Citizenship in English and Japanese Textbooks, 1890-1914

by
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BIOGRAPHY

Maria Piper grew up in Rapid City, SD. She attended Oberlin College in Ohio and graduated in 2008 with a Bachelor of Arts in East Asian Studies. In 2009, she moved to Japan to teach English on the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET). She returned to the United States in 2010 to pursue a Master’s Degree in History. She will pursue a career in secondary education.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES............................................................................................................................... v

INTRODUCTION. Comparing Education and Textbooks in England and Japan................................. 1

CHAPTER 1. The Rise of Public Elementary Education................................................................. 31

CHAPTER 2. Legitimizing the State and Sovereign in Elementary Textbooks............................ 69

CHAPTER 3. Duties of National Citizenship in Elementary Textbooks......................................... 105

CONCLUSION. Avenues for Future Investigation............................................................................. 135

BIBLIOGRAPHY.................................................................................................................................... 142
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Imperial Procession</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kumagawa Rapids in Mumamoto Prefecture Kyūshū</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>W.E. Forster</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Battle of Plassey</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Empire and Race</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Opening of the National Diet</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Taiwan Expedition</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sino-Japanese War</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Russo-Japanese War</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Japanese Train</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Children Saving</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>A Bowl Factory</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Queen Victoria</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Florence Nightingale in the Crimea</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Florence Nightingale Assisting a Sheep Dog</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction: Comparing Education and Textbooks in England and Japan

Throughout the whole world there is no such “national” nation, if the term may be allowed, as Japan. The Japanese realize the true meaning of the word and the idea more completely, and act up to it more adequately, than any other people. In Japan there is no mere chance collection of individuals speaking the same language; the Japanese nation is a living and sentient reality, throbbing with all the life and vigour of the millions of human beings within its island shores, all striving in one common direction. There exists no distinction between the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the state—whoever attacks the State, attacks each and every Japanese subject. The Japanese recognize to the full the duties of patriotism as well as the rights and advantages of citizenship. The individual interest always gives way to the national, and it is only in moments of abnormal strain that the contrary might occur. If common thought and unanimous self-sacrifice produce power, the secret of Japanese success in the world is not far to seek.¹

In nothing is the aspiring activity of the national spirit of the Japanese shown to such advantage as in the intense desire for education which permeates the whole nation, without distinction of class. It has been recognized that no nation can be truly and permanently great without a serious educational foundation, and as ignorance is but as shifting sand whereon to build a house, it is a national duty to be educated. Therefore the Japanese have acquired an educational system second to none in the world….The Japanese educational system strives first to develop the character of the children and to ensure their development into good citizens, it being thought far better to make members of the State sound in body and clear in intelligence than to produce mere intellectuality.²

In 1906, Alfred Stead wrote Great Japan: A Study of National Efficiency in which he glowingly described Japan’s success at nation building in the nineteenth-century, due in no small part to Japan’s superior education system. Although he claimed, “In this book it is by no means my intention to compare the national efficiency of Japan with that of other nations,” his writing makes it clear that he believes Japan to be a model country to which others should aspire.³ As a National Efficiency reformer, Stead looked to Japan as a model for what England should try to accomplish in the twentieth century. In order to achieve

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² Stead, Great Japan, 124-125.
similar means, he implied, England would need to reform its system with comparable policies. The goal would be to unite the nation’s people through education in order to enhance Britain’s position in the world. Other industrial and industrializing nations used education in a similar manner in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

**Historical context**

The late nineteenth century ushered in an era of national, compulsory education in wealthy and industrializing countries. The development of nationalized public education transformed the meaning and purpose of schooling, and it invariably affected social ideas about what constituted a modern state. The interest in expanding education to all citizens, regardless of class or gender, demonstrated a great shift in the way people and government leaders envisioned a modern nation. The advent of modern capitalism, advances in military technology, and the spread of imperialism prompted government leaders to recognize the importance of popular participation in the military and nation. All citizens needed to contribute to the power and progress of the country, and all citizens were assigned national duties. Moreover, over the course of the nineteenth century, the people themselves had started demanding greater participation in society and government through various political or social groups such as the Chartists in England in the 1830s and the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (*jiyū minka undō*) in the 1880s in Japan. The English and Japanese governments’ decisions to establish public education reflected both countries’ need to create modern citizens for a new society and teach the new citizens their responsibilities and duties.
From the perspective of government leaders and educational reformers, public education provided an essential means to teach children to respect authority and behave properly in society. Schools, as Louis Althusser has argued, also functioned as institutions that taught students the values of the ruling classes, thereby making these values appear universal.⁴ Schools taught all children, whether or not they were able to participate in politics as adults, that they had specific duties to the nation they needed to fulfill. These values and duties often served the needs of capitalist development as well as the state, and schools sought to create subjects who accepted and reinforced state and capitalist authority and reproduced the relations of production.⁵ Therefore, the goals of public education varied little between industrial and industrializing countries despite their having diverse cultures.

Most scholars do not consider England and Japan worthwhile sites of comparison during the late nineteenth century because they were at such different positions in terms of economic and political development. As the first industrial nation, England dominated other countries in technological capability through the first half of the nineteenth century, after which other countries began to catch up. The British empire spanned the globe and continued to grow throughout the period, thereby supplying the home economy with a large quantity of diverse raw materials for its factories. Furthermore, England enjoyed prominence in international affairs as the leader of the modern world. However, in the domestic sphere, social problems arose as a result of rapid population growth and urbanization from the 1750s onward. International concerns also surfaced in domestic debate over England’s declining

⁵ Ibid, 86.
lead in technological advances compared to other industrializing countries. Together
domestic concerns over the state of society and fears of decline laid the foundation for
reconsidering the roles of the working classes in modern society. In 1870, the Parliament
established the first decentralized public education system in response to these pressures.

Japan, on the other hand, entered the so-called modern world in the 1850s following the
arrival of American Commodore Perry’s gunboats after nearly two centuries of relative
isolationism. When the country was forced open to the Euro-American powers in the
nineteenth century, Japan’s military technology was no match for Western capabilities. In
1868, after over two centuries of warrior-rule (samurai) by the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-
1868), a group of disgruntled samurai from Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen domains
accused the Tokugawa regime of humiliating Japan by signing “unequal treaties” with the
West and overthrew the government. These samurai formed a new government that placed
the emperor at the head. (The emperor had been marginalized during the Tokugawa period as
a relatively unimportant, yet legitimizing figure, and the Japanese people’s knowledge of the
emperor was “nonexistent, vague, or fused with folk beliefs.”) The new Meiji regime (1868-
1912) began an ambitious program of industrialization, but it also sought to lay the
foundation for a modern, arguably Western, nation as a response to the threats posed by
Western imperialism. In 1872, only four years after the Meiji government took control, it

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established its first public elementary school system. By 1889, Japanese leaders had formed a centralized political (and educational) system that, while a constitutional monarchy, limited political activity and freedom of speech among the populace. Thus, England and Japan appear quite distant from each other in terms of industrial development and political structure, and one would expect this to be true in education as well. Yet, as this thesis will show, a comparative analysis reveals that they shared more similarities than differences in terms of educational content.

**Historiographical contribution**

Very few historians have compared English and Japanese education, let alone conducted a simultaneous study of textbooks from each country. One reason for this neglect concerns the nature of educational history. Most educational histories focus on a national, rather than comparative, perspective. In the national studies that use textbooks as a primary source, authors treat the texts as a window onto topics such as imperialism, nationalism, class identity, morals, race, or gender. Generally, national studies omit the influence of pedagogy on schooling and instruction and focus on how textbooks addressed ideas such as class conflict or race. National studies also provide an excellent method for analyzing how

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8 In the Japanese calendar, 1868 is considered the Meiji 1 and 1872 is Meiji 5.
concepts changed over time in one particular country, but they tend to neglect larger
ternational developments that influenced educational policy. Rather than attribute causation
simply to domestic circumstances, an international approach makes it clear that many
industrial and industrializing countries adopted similar policies to address comparable issues
through education. This transnational approach thus indicates larger shifts in the way both
people and their governments conceived of the nationhood, specifically with regard to
popular participation. This study will use textbooks in a similar manner to the national
studies described above, but will utilize a comparative approach to examine how textbooks
legitimized the nation and taught national duties.

Studies embracing a comparative approach, on the other hand, tend to examine
general concepts and political developments rather than specific educational content such as
textbooks. Such studies usually do not address Japan and England during this time period,
but they do present a useful methodology for conducting a study that includes international
trends. William Marsden, for example, compared the British and American systems and
textbooks for geography, history, and the social studies from the nineteenth century to the
present. Marsden found that many educators and education experts in the United States
considered textbooks necessary for both teachers and students, whereas English educators
advocated for less reliance on textbooks.\(^\text{10}\) Marsden also illustrated how education in these
countries responded to international trends within each of the scholarly disciplines.

The few authors who have compared English and Japanese education have also
focused more on the administrative structures of the two educational systems rather than on

their content. David Cloyd’s 1917 comparative work approached the materials in this way because he relied overwhelmingly on official publications. Cloyd represented the English and Japanese systems as starkly different in the way they functioned even though he acknowledged that various countries used public education as a way to build a new relationship between the government and its citizens.\(^{11}\) In her study of the period from 1868-1914, Mari Hiraoka argued that English educational reformers looked to the Japanese system as a model for their own efforts.\(^{12}\) Hiraoka’s analysis challenged the assumption that ideas flowed only from the West to Japan, instead arguing that information flowed freely between countries. Such findings lend support to the view that the two systems were more similar than has generally been understood.

Drawing on the strengths of the above methods, this thesis uses history, geography, and citizenship/ethics textbooks to analyze how both international and domestic circumstances affected the development and content of public elementary education in England and Japan from 1890 to 1914. Specifically, this study explores how authors and publishers taught students to accept the authority and sovereignty of the government, as well as prescriptions for becoming an ideal national citizen. I chose to compare England and Japan because scholars generally consider their education systems the antithesis of one another due to differences in each country’s form of government. At first glance, the English and Japanese systems appear quite different in organization and locus of power, but in practice both systems operated more similarly than their formal designs suggest.

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Furthermore, England and Japan developed their first public education systems in 1870 and 1872, respectively, demonstrating that industrial and industrializing countries used education at different points in their development to build a modern nation.

The periodization of this study rests on a number of factors in both English and Japanese history. The outbreak of World War I provides a natural endpoint because both countries fought in the war and modified aspects of their educational systems in 1918 to reflect the optimism that followed with the establishment of the League of Nations. The reasons for beginning in 1890 appear less obvious at first glance. On the English side, this period straddles a significant change in the organization of the educational system, which became more centralized when Parliament passed the Elementary Education Act of 1902. Scholars also point to this time as an era when domestic concerns over the health and welfare of the working classes combined with imperialist fervor to incite nationalism and a greater demand for civic education.\textsuperscript{13} Finally, the 1870 Elementary Education Act failed to make attendance compulsory until 1880 and free until 1891. Once the government eliminated tuition fees, parents had fewer disincentives for sending their children to school. In Japan, following the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript in 1890, education shifted decisively toward an emphasis on moral education, loyalty, filial piety, and patriotism. This period also saw the formal beginnings of Japanese imperialism and militarism with the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895, the colonization of Taiwan in 1895 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. In 1903, the government began writing and producing textbooks for Japanese language ( kokugo), ethics, history, and geography in order to standardize their quality and content. The

nationalism of this period, as scholars Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm have noted, shifted dramatically from its earlier forms.

**Popular nationalism, official nationalism, and demand for education**

Anderson’s and Hobsbawm’s analyses of nationalism shed light on why modern countries’ educational systems converged around similar models in the late nineteenth century. Although Hobsbawm generally worked within a Eurocentric framework, Anderson took a global approach. Anderson argued that “official nationalism” developed as a response to popular nationalism “as a means for combining naturalization [of the nation] with retention of dynastic power.”\(^{14}\) Populist nationalism relied upon “national print-languages” that all members of society could learn and understand.

Anderson asserted that print-capitalism spurred the development of populist nationalism because it created a product (through technological advances) quickly and cheaply for a large population of eager consumers. By using a vernacular language, as opposed to languages such as Latin, in print media, all people with sufficient literacy could understand the content. Print media started creating a sense of community among people from geographically great distances, which fostered popular nationalism.\(^ {15}\) The sense of community depended on a process of inclusion and exclusion, where people started identifying with the other people within the same national boundaries, at the expense of outsiders. This popular nationalism was the precursor to “official nationalism” that was developed to harness the energy of the people to maintain the monarchical institution as the

\(^{14}\) Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 86.

\(^{15}\) Ibid, 44.
head of the nation.\textsuperscript{16} In Hobsbawm’s analysis, the new nationalism combined the “linguistic and cultural community” of popular nationalism with official nationalism’s “sense of historic mission.”\textsuperscript{17} The monarchy or imperial institution served to connect the nation to its past and lead it into the future.

Within this framework, public schooling emerged as a project to teach students the national language and instruct students to adopt a specific national identity. Education reformers and some textbooks encouraged students to believe that their language helped to create a culture that was inherently different from those of other countries.\textsuperscript{18} Language and identity went hand in hand in late nineteenth-century England, where some argued that the language conveyed specific national and racial characteristics to students. For example, R.E. Hughes, a critic of National Efficiency and an educational reformer, argued that “reading allowed the ‘thoughts of the race’ to be made available to the student.”\textsuperscript{19}

In Japan, the nationalist views that permeated society following 1890 emphasized the importance of cultural nationalism, which depended on the perceived distinctiveness of Japanese language and history. These ideas developed in the Tokugawa period in the form of Nativism (\textit{kokugaku}), which sought to differentiate Japan’s history from China’s.\textsuperscript{20} In the 1890s, Miyake Setsurei built on this tradition and used a discussion of Japanese literature and

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 85-86.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Hobsbawm, \textit{Nations and Nationalism}, 101.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Heathorn, \textit{For Home, Country, and Race}, 34.
\end{itemize}
history to bolster national pride. Schools arguably conveyed information to students that advanced national goals, but the English and Japanese governments did not build public education systems exclusively to indoctrinate their people; the governments were also responding to a popular desire for education.

The establishment of public elementary schools in England and Japan cannot be viewed merely as part of an official or unofficial nationalist project. Growing literacy rates prior to the formation of public schooling reveal that a large number of people in England and Japan wanted an education. In England, for example, between 1850 and 1870 the percentage of people able to sign their wedding register, thereby providing rough evidence of literacy, rose from sixty-one percent to seventy-four percent, and a variety of schools existed to accommodate a large portion of the population. However, rural communities were at a disadvantage since they contained fewer schools for their population. However, according to a census report from 1851, the urban population at the time had surpassed the rural population, "comprising more than 50 per cent of the whole." It therefore makes sense that most schools would be located in towns where a greater number of prospective pupils resided. Japan, on the other hand, already had a highly literate population even before the Meiji era. According to Richard Rubinger, the percentage of males in the early half of the nineteenth century who could write their name and address increased steadily throughout the

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period, rising to sixty-five percent in the 1850s.\textsuperscript{24} A large number of writing schools (terakoya) existed in nineteenth-century villages to accommodate demands from commoners for education, and some estimate that there were thousands of terakoya in existence during this period.\textsuperscript{25} Both England and Japan experienced an increase in basic literacy prior to the establishment of public school systems in the 1870s, which reveals that a significant portion of both populations desired access to education. Ronald Dore noted, “There can be no doubt that the literacy rate in Japan in 1870 was considerably higher than in most of the underdeveloped countries today [1965]. It probably compared favourably even then with some contemporary European countries.”\textsuperscript{26} The English and Japanese governments, therefore, created educational systems partly in response to already existing demands while also trying to ensure a higher quality of education for all citizens.

However, the type of education that the English and Japanese governments developed did not necessarily conform to popular demands. In the 1880s, approximately a decade after England and Japan established universal, public education, both governments began to push schooling as a means of creating national citizens (kokumin in Japanese) to combat international and domestic problems through instruction in ethics/citizenship, history, and

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\textsuperscript{24} These statistics came from a survey from Tokiwa village in 1881, which broke down the respondents by age and level, which Rubinger used to break down literacy over time. At the time, the urban population of Japan was estimated at sixteen percent, demonstrating the rural education had also increased dramatically in the Tokugawa period. Richard Rubinger, \textit{Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 142-145; for discussion on urbanization, see W.G. Beasley, \textit{The Rise of Modern Japan: Political, Economic and Social Change Since 1850}, rev. ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 10.

\textsuperscript{25} Rubinger, \textit{Popular Literacy}, 128.

geography. But students did not passively absorb national ideologies. In an oral history of early twentieth century English working-class children’s experiences, Stephen Humphries argued that students often ignored or even openly rejected the lessons taught in school. Moreover, at times, teachers also openly contradicted the messages contained in textbooks. A similar study of Japanese schooling in the Meiji era has not been conducted, but multiple studies point to analogous conclusions. Brian Platt has described how and why local people resisted what they considered the state’s intrusion into their villages early in the Meiji period. David Ambaras also provided an example of how the very poor rejected educational opportunities because they worried about the stigma that accompanied attending a “free school.” In his discussion of the 1930s, Ambaras also alludes to tensions that developed between teachers, students, and parents, which illustrate the complex relationship students (and parents) had to the school apparatus. Although arguably dissimilar from Humphries’ analysis, Platt and Ambaras point to the many ways in which people made their own decisions about whether and how to embrace public education.

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31 Ambaras, *Bad Youth*, 116-119.
Technologies of Power

Individuals actively participated in the process of becoming citizens or subjects, but the state also actively encouraged people to become citizens or subjects by using techniques of power that Michel Foucault called surveillance and discipline. Foucault examined the process of creating subjects in terms of power and systems of thought (as opposed to a Marxist notion of class domination through the superstructure).32 One of the most important aspects of Foucault’s method concerned seeing power as a force, tactic, or maneuver that creates subjects rather than merely repressing subjects.33 Power also normalized people, knowledge, and behavior through a variety of tactics but notably via discipline.34 Foucault argued that institutions needed to be analyzed “from the standpoint of power relations, rather than vice versa, and that the fundamental point of anchorage of the relationships, even if they are embodied and crystallized in an institution, is to be found outside of the institution.”35 This idea required that one analyze relationships to avoid the risk of granting privilege to one actor over another and that one examine a person on equal terms with the institution or apparatus one seeks to investigate. Thus, the process of normalization through discipline and surveillance required a person to actively become and remain a subject.36

Besides merely addressing relations of power and people, Foucault’s method also tied the production of knowledge to power. He analyzed texts by asking: “Where is power in this

33 Ibid, 35-36.
35 Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power” Critical Inquiry 8, no. 4 (Summer 1982), 791.
36 Ibid, 782-283.
knowledge? How does this knowledge complement the technology of power?” Foucault’s questions can also be applied to textbooks, which constitute nodes in power relationships. On the one hand, textbooks offer knowledge of the larger world, and contain an element of legitimacy merely because they are textbooks and are therefore designed to present knowledge to the reader. Moreover, as F. Glendenning noted in his study, even false or speculative stories included in textbooks gain legitimacy for merely being contained in a textbook and have a greater possibility of becoming retold.

In late-nineteenth-century England and Japan, publishers and government officials dictated the specific knowledge authors need to include in textbooks, and together publishers and authors “tried to impose an orthodoxy or a prescribed reading on the text.” In order to achieve this orthodoxy, publishers, authors, and government officials decided what information textbooks would pass on and what they would silence—leading to the privileging of certain knowledge and people over others. Authors used these strategies to guide readers to a specific meaning, and once the stories were written, they contained a power of their own. As Lynn Hunt argues in her introduction to The New Cultural History, “Historians of culture, in particular, are bound to become more aware of the consequences of their often unselfconscious literary and formal choices. The master narratives, or codes of unity or difference; the choice of allegories, analogies or tropes; the structures of narrative—
these have weighty consequences for the writing of history.”41 Thus, the inclusion of texts and the ways in which they were written had profound implications for way stories were read and understood, but they also depend on the readers’ acceptance of the narrative. Textbooks became a powerful tool because they told students that they were part of a nation, culture, and distinct heritage. Schools used this narrative to create national citizens and subjects. However, these cultures, heritages, and national values were often what scholars have called “invented traditions.”

**Invented traditions**

In the introduction to the landmark studies on the topic, *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm outlined the complicated and rapid process of creating new traditions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the West. Invented traditions, he argues sought “to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they [invented traditions] normally attempt[ed] to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.”42 Hobsbawm identified three different types of invented traditions: “a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups… b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcations of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.”43 Invented traditions provide evidence of problems that their creators saw in contemporary society as well as perceived solutions to

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43 Ibid, 6.
those problems. They also illustrate how the state and various interest groups used history as a tool for political purposes. Textbooks played a role in legitimizing invented traditions as well by including explanations of national holidays, symbols, and rituals.

National holidays and symbols formed a popular type of invented tradition in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and these holidays adapted notions of tradition and culture specifically for the purpose of legitimizing and historicizing modern conceptions of morality and authority. This project of inventing traditions demonstrates the impact of international efforts to teach people to become subjects and citizens. In England, for example, Empire Day represented the historical union of the king, flag, and empire.\(^{44}\) This holiday served to make all English people (regardless of class) into patriotic citizens who truly believed in England’s greatness.\(^{45}\) The monarch played an important role as the unifying symbol of the empire who was “all knowing and all caring.”\(^{46}\) In Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan, Takashi Fujitani argues that “Japan’s modern national pageants were constructed within the context of the invention of a transnational ceremonial language.”\(^{47}\) Japanese leaders studied European ceremonies and holidays with special attention to the ceremonies involving the monarchy such as birthdays, jubilees, etc., and modeled their own ceremonies and holidays on these traditions. However, Fujitani also notes “the particulars of the rites evolved with an eye turned toward the special

\(^{44}\) H. Osman Newland and Russell L. Jones, The Model Citizen: A Simple Exposition of Civic Rights and Duties, and a Descriptive Account of British Institutions, Local, National, and Imperial, with Special Reference to Scotland (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1910), 182-183.


\(^{47}\) Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy, 100.
requirements of the Japanese political order."\(^{48}\) In the Japanese case, national holidays such as Empire Day (Kigensetsu) provided a means for Meiji leaders to commemorate the mythical origins of the emperor and remind their people of Japan’s distinctive history and character.\(^{49}\) The Japanese education system’s success (and by extension the success of the English system, which used the same strategies) at making national citizens was due in part to the use of invented traditions, but the physical aspect of education, such as discipline and surveillance, played a role as well.\(^{50}\)

Combining Hobsbawm’s notion of invented traditions with a Foucauldian approach helps to explain the apparently successful creation of subjects and citizens in England and Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fujitani applied this Hobsbawm-Foucauldian combination in his study of pageantry and the imperial institution in Japan. The emperor formed the bridge between the present and the past, and therefore provided a symbol of continuity, even though many of the “traditional” ceremonies and rituals the emperor performed were modern inventions. Fujitani incorporated Foucault’s notion of surveillance by relating it to imperial pageantry, rituals, holidays, and ceremonies that legitimized imperial authority. Fujitani argued that Meiji leaders used these state symbols and traditions to project the image of continuous imperial surveillance, which was intended to elicit cooperation and submission among the Japanese people.\(^{51}\) Besides imperial processions, which physically sent the emperor to the provinces in the 1870s, Meiji leaders found other ways of projecting the imperial gaze onto the common people. For example, by 1897 all

\(^{48}\) Ibid.
\(^{49}\) Ibid, 98-99.
\(^{50}\) Ibid, 18-25.
\(^{51}\) Ibid, 18.
lower elementary schools displayed imperial portraits, which brought the emperor’s gaze into
every school. Meiji leaders also mobilized the masses by incorporating elementary school
children into new national rituals and ceremonies with directives issued by the state as well
as physical surveillance by members of the school and community. Thus, children learned
nationalism from a very early age, and national holidays, symbols, and ceremonies continued
to reinforce the concept of the nation and the authority of the emperor.

Even though Fujitani focused specifically on Japan, it is reasonable to conclude that
these rituals and ceremonies worked similarly in the West because these traditions were part
of a larger international movement. David Cannadine argues that the British monarchy faced
criticism in the press and population through the 1870s, in part because of their involvement
in politics. But between the late 1870s and 1914, public ritual “became splendid, public and
popular.” For example, in the early and middle years of Queen Victoria’s reign, the queen
faced constant derision from the press and her subjects. But once the monarchy was removed
from active politics in the 1880s, “the way was open for it [the monarchy] to become the
center of grand ceremonial once more.” The monarchy moved to the position as head of
state and rose above politics, thereby acting “as a symbol of consensus and continuity to
which all might defer.” Textbooks reflect this shift and described the proper monarch as

52 Ibid., 84.
53 Ibid, 214-216.
54 David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the
‘Invention of Tradition,’ c. 1820-1977,” in The Invention of Tradition, 120.
55 Ibid, 121.
56 Ibid, 133.
one who left politics to Parliament.⁵⁷ Although Cannadine did not discuss the effects of the royal gaze in England, it is still possible to argue that royal ceremonies worked in a somewhat similar manner to the Japanese case. As a representative of the government and nation, the monarch’s gaze would have a certain amount of power. Furthermore, like their Japanese counterparts, English schoolchildren participated in official national holidays (notably Empire Day) through special activities at school or in the city. Tony Bennett also discussed how public exhibitions brought students into the nation by teaching them how to see and thus become part of the mechanism of surveillance rather than merely objects to be observed.⁵⁸ It is clear from both English and Japanese textbooks that the monarch and other national symbols were included to remind students of their affinity and loyalty to the nation.⁵⁹

**Contending Ideologies**

Up to this point, it would seem as though the English and Japanese elites produced unified national ideologies that were presented to children in schools and textbooks. However, Carol Gluck argues that in the Japanese case, what many call national ideology, in reality, consisted of multiple ideologies that “coexisted, overlapped, or interacted with one

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another.” Ideologues from inside and outside the state apparatus promoted ideas that competed with one another to support the existing order, modify it, or create a new social order. Even state agencies sometimes espoused ideologies that openly contradicted those of other agencies. Within the educational apparatus, Ministry of Education officials, principals, and teachers sometimes presented different or competing messages when instructing their staff or students, even though they were supposed to teach the official ideologies. Although the Ministry sought to stifle this ideological competition by compiling and creating its own national textbooks for specific subjects, teachers still accounted for “the element of greatest unpredictability into the well-laid plans of education officials.” Thus, even the so-called state ideology of Meiji Japan included a plurality of possible messages, each seeking to reinforce or produce different conceptions of the contemporary social order.

Because English leaders embraced and celebrated the ability to have many opinions on the same topic, the concept of state ideology is generally inapplicable to the British case. For example, Arnold-Forster discussed how people could speak their minds in society instead of being jailed for treason. It was assumed that people would have different opinions, and it was a mark of England’s political freedom and progress that all people had the right to speak and vote based on their individual beliefs. Even though English leaders embraced this diversity, some ideologies were presented in a national framework and had the ability to connect people from various parts of the political spectrum. National Efficiency and social-

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61 Ibid, 9.
62 Ibid, 151.
imperialism were two such ideologies that downplayed class divisions by making the interests of the nation appear in the interest of all citizens rather than just the wealthy.\textsuperscript{64} Yet, even within these overarching ideas, the people who supported them maintained different notions of what to accomplish and why or how to achieve their goals.\textsuperscript{65} The official organization of the English system reflected this ideal of freedom. Thus, by design, English schools had much more freedom than their Japanese counterparts. In many public schools, principals and head teachers could choose which textbooks to use in their classes as long as their local authority approved them. Principals and teachers also had the opportunity to impart their own competing ideologies to students; these could either support or refute the messages in textbooks or current trends in national politics.\textsuperscript{66}

The Textbooks

Even though teachers could present different messages, textbooks still offer a valuable source for examining the information the government, publishers, and authors wanted to present in schools in England and Japan. Because each country had national agencies that created the curriculum, evaluating and comparing English and Japanese textbooks in multiple disciplines illuminates the information that powerful elites thought important to impart to students. However, it is still difficult to ascertain whether teachers accepted and conveyed these ideas to their students. Because of the difficulty of finding


\textsuperscript{66} Humphries, \textit{Hooligans or Rebels}, 43-44.
evidence that addresses actual material taught in classrooms, the present study focuses specifically on textbook content and draws its conclusions from both textbooks and secondary literature in order to understand the general trends in educational content.

In England, the process of selecting and publishing textbooks for the country’s public schools demonstrates how social class determined the type of materials students would use. The focus on affordable public elementary education necessitated the use of readers, which fulfilled the dual roles of teaching reading and subject-specific knowledge, instead of formal textbooks. Public schools used readers more often than formal textbooks because they were cheaper to produce and buy than the latter, which were used mainly by children from the middle and upper classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, professional educators and academics primarily authored subject-specific readers (whereas in earlier periods general authors had written textbooks), and publishers produced and distributed them to a wide audience of working-class children. According to government reports, “the vast majority of children schooled in England and Wales in the period 1880-1914 read from several different sets of these readers in class.”

Evidence of how teachers used readers (also called textbooks in this study) remains relatively scarce, perhaps because historians considered the content more important than how the students learned the material. However, R.D. Bramwell suggested that schools emphasized the oral component in teaching reading in public elementary education and

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67 The term “public” in this thesis refers to a state managed or funded school or system.
69 Ibid, 398.
focused on fluency in pronunciation. Unfortunately, Bramwell ignored the use of textbooks in history, geography and citizenship instruction, but because teachers used these textbooks to simultaneously teach reading, it makes sense that these books would also have been read aloud in class. I have found no evidence indicating whether students were encouraged or required to engage in private reading or whether students could take their textbooks home at night.

According to Heathorn and Chancellor, textbook authors came predominantly from the middle (professional) classes of English society, so textbooks arguably incorporated classed ideas that posited differences between their producers and their consumers. Although many publishers neglected to credit authorship for history and geography texts, authors of citizenship readers tended to receive credit for their work. Yet very little is known about many of these authors’ backgrounds. The most famous author cited in the present study is H.O. Arnold-Forster, author of *The Citizen Reader* and *Things New and Old*, who was the adopted son of W.E. Forster, the Member of Parliament who introduced the 1870 Elementary Education Act in Parliament. Arnold-Forster was the son of William Arnold, an education official in India, and the grandson of the famous educator Thomas Arnold. He authored a number of textbooks and worked as an official in the British government. Another citizenship textbook author, Charles Henry Wyatt, worked as the clerk for the Manchester School Board when he published *The English Citizen: His Life and Duty*. The few other

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71 Ibid, 8-11.
men identified in this study, John B. Finnemore, William Hughes, J. Francon Williams, and H. Osman Newland, left little trace of their accomplishments outside of education, and thus appear to have worked mainly as educational writers. Finnemore, for example, has seven children’s books and readers credited to him in the British Library catalogue, not including the book used in this study. Hughes and Williams were specialist writers for geography, and Newland wrote a number of readers and educational materials on geography, economics, and citizenship.\(^75\) One exception to this pattern is Reverend C.S. Dawe who earned his title as a reverend, but also appeared more interested in writing elementary historical readers.

Japanese textbooks are similarly vague in terms of authorship and few scholars or contemporaries discussed how textbooks were used in Meiji classrooms. Even prior to the 1903 shift to state-authored textbooks, publishers neglected to attribute authorship. With regard to textbook use, it seems plausible that students primarily read textbooks aloud in class, but this conjecture is based on scarce information from the early Meiji period. For example, Mark Lincicome’s examination of Meiji-era education noted that one primer advocated teaching new students “to cultivate the faculty of memory (kioku-ryoku) by repeating everything two or three times.”\(^76\) He also noted that some textbooks included songs that “were intended to be read aloud, not sung.”\(^77\) Kido Takayoshi, a Meiji government official, provided another clue in a diary entry from September 25, 1876, where he outlined his visit to the Women’s Normal School. The entry for the geography and ethics classes read, “Reading aloud from *Outline of the World’s Geography*. Day students, class A. Reading

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\(^75\) According to British Library online catalog. www.bl.uk.


\(^77\) Ibid, 216.
aloud from *Ethics and Morals*. Day students, class B."\(^{78}\) (It is not clear whether the students were learning these subjects or were in a class on pedagogy). Even though instructional methods changed throughout the Meiji era, it seems possible that students primarily read textbooks aloud in class to work on pronunciation and fluency.\(^{79}\)

Japanese textbooks published between 1890 and 1914 largely resemble English textbooks in terms of their basic organization, and this similarly reflects the impact of early Western textbooks on Meiji education. Prior to the Meiji era, *terakoya* used books called *ōraimono* that contained lists of names, people, places, villages, or provinces that students used to practice reading and writing.\(^{80}\) Then in the early Meiji era, schools started using Western textbooks that were translated and prepared by Japanese Enlightenment leaders including Fukuzawa Yukichi.\(^{81}\) These textbooks essentially adopted Western standards without adapting messages or content to the Japanese setting. When the Ministry of Education and Tokyo Normal School educators decided to prepare textbooks more applicable to Japanese life, they still followed the organization and approach of Western textbooks rather than the *ōraimono* from the Tokugawa (1603-1868) period. The Tokyo Normal School’s Compilation Department created the first textbooks intended for Japanese students, \(\)
but even these were largely compilations of translated material.\textsuperscript{82}

Both English and Japanese textbooks used either a developmental approach (beginning with basic information and continuing to more advanced material) or an approach specific to the subject. History textbooks in both countries, for example, always presented material chronologically and focused on political history. Some English textbooks, such as the \textit{Chambers’s Alternative History Reader} (1898) and the \textit{Advanced History of England} (1904) interjected some social history into their traditional narratives, but for the most part traditional history textbooks provided a narrative account of political development and the monarchy. English geography books differed more drastically depending on whether they used a regional or developmental approach. Early English geography books started by teaching basic concepts such as rivers, mountains, valleys, etc., then progressing to the geography of the British Isles and then the British Empire.\textsuperscript{83} More advanced non-developmental texts mainly addressed geography in terms of regional attributes and included descriptions of the people, products, and characteristics of the land.\textsuperscript{84} Japanese state-authored textbooks used the latter framework, which was also reflective of the influence of older Japanese gazetteers called \textit{fudoki} and \textit{chishi} (to be discussed in chapter two). Japanese geography textbooks taught students about the economic and geographical characteristics of Japan’s prefectures and colonies. Citizenship and ethics textbooks contrasted most dramatically in terms of organization and presentation. English citizenship textbooks

\textsuperscript{82} Abigail Schweber, \textit{Imposing Education: The Establishment of Japan’s First National Education System, 1872-1879} (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004), 48-49.

\textsuperscript{83} The Britannia Geography Readers Books I-III, Arnold’s School Series (London: Edward Arnold, 1896).

generally discussed political structures such as the monarchy, Parliament, military, and education, as well as the public duties of English citizens. Japanese ethics textbooks, on the other hand, presented moral lessons on public and private aspects of life through anecdotes. Japanese ethics textbooks required students to adapt the moral lessons taught in textbooks to their own lives, which required a higher level of reasoning than the direct approach of English books.

Illustrations also accompanied the text in both English and Japanese books. English textbooks mainly included line drawings of important figures in history such as kings or queens, famous buildings, and depictions of historical battles, but textbooks from later in the period sometimes included photographs. Some textbooks also included pictures or drawings of historical artifacts and national symbols. Publishers chose to include pictures of the monarch and famous buildings in an apparent attempt to create pride in the symbols of English progress and character. The English people were rarely included in these pictures. Japanese textbooks up through 1910 only included line drawings, not only of famous men in history and buildings but also of landscapes and events. For example, history textbooks included pictures of emperors and shoguns, imperial processions (in which the procession itself was the object to view, not the emperor) and battles, whereas geography textbooks showed landscapes that included technological developments like trains and factories, famous landmarks such as Mt. Fuji, and rural farming landscapes.\(^{85}\) In Japanese textbooks, this difference makes sense because history texts told stories of individual nation-builders, and geography textbooks depicted a nation of people and progress. When the Japanese

\(^{85}\) For an analysis of the emperor’s place in illustrations of processions see Fujitani, \textit{Splendid Monarchy}, 140.
people were represented in the pictures, they were always shown fulfilling their proper societal roles.

Textbooks therefore provide a crucial lens through which to compare the educational systems and elementary school content of England and Japan. This study proceeds in three main parts. The first chapter outlines the development of public elementary schooling in England and Japan and concludes that although the official organization of English and Japanese education occupied opposing ends of a spectrum in terms of the centralization of authority, both systems converged towards the middle in terms of actual operation. Chapter two evaluates similarities and differences in textbook representations and legitimations of governmental authority. Chapter three examines how each country’s textbooks depicted the ideal modern citizen in terms of duties to the nation and state across his or her lifetime. Throughout, I emphasize that textbook content reflected international educational trends as well as domestic circumstances.
Figure 2: Kumagawa Rapids in Kumamoto Prefecture, Kyūshū (Source: Tokiomi, Kaigo, ed. “Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho.” [Normal Elementary Geography Textbooks, Level II], p. 411)
Chapter One: The Rise of Public Elementary Education

International and domestic pressures and needs led to the creation of nationalized, public elementary education systems in England and Japan in the late nineteenth century. Developments in technology and trade in the 1800s sparked fierce international rivalry between economic powers, which in turn influenced the justifications for and the purpose of public elementary education. In England, the desire to maintain industrial and economic power in international markets, spearheaded by the country’s early industrialization, compelled leaders to reconsider the working-class person’s place in society and, consequently, the purpose of popular education.86 Other industrializing countries, such as Germany and France, used national education to create well-educated, nationally-minded citizens to improve the overall technical ability of their workforces; these technological improvements caused a number of English contemporaries to worry about England’s continued technological success. In Japan, the fear of Western imperialism and colonization, provoked in part by European semi-colonization of China, fueled the Meiji leaders’ desire to modernize in an effort to earn the respect of the West and thus to maintain their own country’s sovereignty. Japanese leaders used public education as a means to create a modern citizenry that would help Japan achieve these goals.

The public elementary education systems established by the British and Japanese governments appear different in structure and location of power. The English elementary school system created in 1870 gave the majority of power over schools to school boards, 86 “Popular education” refers to education for the working classes and poor.
whereas the first Japanese education system established in 1872 entrusted power to the Ministry of Education. However, both systems used comparable tools to accomplish similar goals. Administrative structures also influenced the way public schools realized their objectives. In 1902, England’s decentralized system was comprised of approximately three-hundred local education authorities (LEAs) and one nationally-managed Board of Education. The teachers and administration of each school maintained the responsibility for making syllabi and, in some cases, even choosing textbooks. By 1903 in Japan, on the other hand, the government had established a centralized educational system headed by the Ministry of Education (Monbushō), which authorized or compiled national textbooks and the national curriculum. In form, the basic design of the educational systems differed dramatically in both countries. In practice, both systems operated similarly as different parts of the educational apparatus competed for power with the others.

In the 1890s England and Japan started to consolidate power over education at the national level. For example, the English Board of Education (established in 1899 to take over the duties of the Education Department) ended up exercising far more control over the elementary school curriculum because it had the ability to decide how grant money would be spent and who was qualified to receive it. The Board, therefore, created grants that funded specific subjects, thereby creating a pseudo-national curriculum. In Japan, on the other hand, the Ministry of Education suffered from funding difficulties from its inception in 1872

that resulted in its delegating a substantial amount of power to the prefectural and local levels. By the twentieth century, the Ministry of Education took greater control over the content of elementary education by authoring and authorizing national textbooks even though the funding for education was left to the local level. Thus, the curriculum in both England and Japan became more nationalized from the establishment of the education systems in the 1870s to the early twentieth century.

In order to situate the subsequent analysis of English and Japanese textbooks on history, geography, and ethics/citizenship education, this chapter will examine the development and organization of national education systems in England and Japan. In both systems, the structures and content of education evolved in response to growing and changing pressures concerning each country’s position in the world, international trends in education, and domestic concerns regarding the lower classes of society.

The Development of Decentralized Public Elementary Education in England

W.E. Forster’s Elementary Education Act of 1870, passed by Parliament after decades of debate, represents a decisive moment in the history of British education. The act provided the first publicly constructed and maintained secular schools intended for the working classes. However, even before the act passed, English educators made significant strides toward accommodating all members of society. Before 1870 the English education system was comprised of a wide variety of schools, including Sunday schools, industrial schools, elementary schools, charity schools, endowed grammar schools, and private middle

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schools.\textsuperscript{90} Because a diverse system existed, the quality of education and access to it varied considerably between schools and localities. Reformers sought to improve the overall quality of education in the 1830s in response to the seemingly high rate of pauperism and working-class discontent. In 1839, Parliament created the Department of Education and Science supervised by the Privy Council and also established a complex system of grants that financially supported existing schools.\textsuperscript{91} One condition of the provision was that recipients of grant support undergo government inspections. These grants improved the schools’ financial stability, but critics complained about surrendering academic freedom in order to secure government funds. Furthermore, because voluntary schools, which were maintained by Anglican institutions, received a significant proportion of these grants, tensions arose between advocates of Anglican schools and nonconformists who condemned the use of public funds for the support of denomination-specific schooling.\textsuperscript{92}

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\textbf{Figure 3: W.E. Forster (Source: Wyatt, The English Citizen, p. 85)}
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\textsuperscript{90} W.B. Stephens, \textit{Education in Britain, 1750-1914} (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 1-2.  
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid, 36.

Voluntary schools were affiliated with the Anglican Church whereas nonconformists failed to identify with the Anglican Church.
Opponents of government involvement in education, including traditional liberals, Anglicans and, importantly, working-class parents, condemned Parliamentary interference throughout the nineteenth century. Parents criticized the government’s actions due to a perception that the government should never interfere with a parent’s right to choose how to raise his/her children.93 Parents also worried about the cost of education, as many families needed their children to work for financial support and traditional education impinged on working hours.94 In response to these concerns, many working-class parents and Anglicans supported the use of Sunday and industrial schools as the best form of educating working-class children because they would not need to lose working hours. Perhaps most importantly, many parents considered a school education unnecessary for the work they expected their children to perform as adults. Parents questioned the necessity of an elementary education since they (parents) had achieved success without it.95 Prior to the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the average working-class child in England attended school for an average of two to three years. Moreover, the curriculum was not uniform across schools so children left with widely varying knowledge and reading and writing abilities.96

From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the 1860s, the question of whether the working classes needed an education gradually evolved into a conversation over what popular education should hope to achieve. Until the 1860s, the dominant position of the upper and middle classes was that popular education needed to reinforce social values and obedience. Advocates, along with employers, also expected working-class education to train

93 Stephens, Education in Britain, 87.
94 Ibid, 59.
95 Ibid, 34, 87.
96 Ibid, 87.
students in discipline and time management. Thus, some supporters of working-class
education wanted to use popular schooling as a way of strengthening control and maintaining
elite privilege. Such views offer evidence for Louis Althusser’s argument that schools
operated as one ideological state apparatus intended to reinforce and reproduce the existing
social structure. Some middle-class reformers also argued that working-class education had
the potential to fix a number of domestic problems that had arisen such as an increase in
crime, endemic poverty, and social unrest. Reformers interpreted these problems as signs of
societal demoralization and deterioration, although they undoubtedly arose at least in part
due to a rapid increase in population. Between 1751 and 1871, the British population
quadrupled in size, and this demographic boom led to increased urbanization. Interested
parties considered popular education imperative to curbing social unrest among the working
classes while simultaneously instilling middle-class values.

Champions of the working classes also put forth their own educational demands. The
Chartist Movement, a working-class movement, advocated for more popular educational
opportunities between 1838 and 1848. This movement fought for political reform and is best
known for the “People’s Charter,” which demanded universal male suffrage, vote by secret
ballot, removal of the property ownership requirement for members of Parliament, payment
for Parliamentary service, annual elections, and a redistricting of Parliamentary seats.

97 J.M. Goldstrom, “The Content of Education and the Socialization of the Working-Class Child, 1830-1860” in
Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century, ed. by Phillip McCann (London: Methuen and
Co, Ltd., 1977), 98, 107; Stephens, Education in Britain, 12-20.; Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological
State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation,” in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays by Louis
98 Stephens, Education in Britain, 77-78; Donald K. Jones, The Making of the Education System, 1851-81
Besides these primary objectives, Chartists promoted the expansion of educational opportunities for the working classes to create a “self-improved and self-reliant” population.\textsuperscript{100} Newspapers and penny presses effectively allowed the Chartists to cheaply disseminate their message across the country, but these media required a literate working class. Chartist Sunday schools offered lessons in reading and writing for children, and the Chartists argued that education provided the means for the working classes to improve their condition and autonomy.\textsuperscript{101} Although Parliament took decades to institute the reforms demanded by the Chartists, this movement provided one of the main impetuses for the expansion of working-class education throughout the nineteenth century.

The calls for an increase in popular schooling occurred alongside the National Efficiency movement, which envisioned grand changes in the construction and curriculum of English education. Calls for National Efficiency began in the 1850s following the Great Exhibition of 1851 and had support from people across a broad spectrum of English politics who came together in the face of international market competition and a perceived decline in Britain’s economic, technological, and military superiority. In particular, the Great Exhibition sparked concern among contemporaries about the future of English industry and science because they saw other European countries quickly advancing in technological innovation. Prince Albert, for example, alleged that French and German systems of scientific education negated Britain’s own economic advantages and blamed the lack of a national elementary school system for this shortcoming. Moreover, National Efficiency advocates


\textsuperscript{101} Niemi and Plante, “Democratic Movements,” 190.
criticized the British system of administration as inherently inefficient and called for reforms that would give more power to trained experts rather than classically educated bureaucrats.\textsuperscript{102} England’s superiority also rested on the supremacy of the British military, but tactical and strategic disasters in the Crimean War (1853-1856) provoked concerns about Britain’s military power; these concerns reverberated in the military disasters forty years later in the Second Boer War (1899-1902).

National Efficiency supporters also wanted to distance Britain’s administration from liberal economic principles, which seemed to put Britain at a disadvantage with respect to international trade and administrative organization. A centralized government appeared advantageous at this time because it put experts in control of organizations that required specific knowledge. National Efficiency advocates admired the Prussian (later German) and French education systems, which had helped to create a more efficient, productive labor force and military.\textsuperscript{103} English reformers called for a shift in the role of science and technological development in governance and, in this respect, supporters of National Efficiency sought to make technical and scientific education the foundation of a successful industrialized society.

Supporters of educational reform questioned the effectiveness of English education and advocated a non-partisan, Parliamentary investigation to determine the system’s main flaws and make recommendations to solve them. Members of Parliament also tasked the commissioners to evaluate whether Parliament should establish a system of compulsory

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\textsuperscript{103} Searle, \textit{The Quest for National Efficiency}, 6-7; Jones, \textit{The Making of the Education System}, 3.
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attendance going forward. The Newcastle Commission conducted this investigation in 1858 and published their findings in 1861. The investigators decided not to recommend a compulsory system of education, mainly due to the financial circumstances of working-class families who depended on their children’s labor in order to “relieve the pressure of severe and bitter poverty.”\textsuperscript{104} They also hesitated to support compulsory attendance due to the difficulty of enforcing this policy. Instead, the commissioners argued, “It is far better that it [a child] should go to work at the earliest stage at which it can bear the physical exertion than that it should remain at school.”\textsuperscript{105} The report identified a number of deficiencies in the existing system and recommended potential solutions. It cited high government expenditure as a significant problem along with defective teaching, over-centralized administration, and the disproportionate allocation of funds between wealthy and poor communities.\textsuperscript{106} The commissioners criticized the 1839 grant system and proposed a new system based on “payment by results” as a potential solution. Parliament took these recommendations into consideration and in 1862 established a grant system called “payment by results” to reward schools for student attendance and high achievement in reading, writing, and arithmetic (the so-called three Rs).\textsuperscript{107}

By the 1860s, fears of British decline appeared to have come true. At the Paris Exhibition of 1867, England dominated only ten of ninety classes of manufacturers, whereas

\textsuperscript{104} Newcastle Commission, \textit{Popular Education in England}, (London:1861) 188, Quoted in Jones, 41.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
in the 1851 exhibition Britain led in at least half of the categories. In 1867, Parliament passed one of the Chartist movement’s reforms, which expanded the franchise to members of the artisan class, thereby allowing people with seemingly little education or knowledge a say in politics. These domestic and international developments combined to initiate interest in the creation of a more comprehensive, nationally-funded popular elementary school system. One contemporary, Robert Lowe, “believed that a national system of education was the country’s last defence against anarchy, to be used…as an instrument with which to teach the working classes to recognize the higher cultivation of the social superiors.” Other MP’s such as A.J. Mundella and W.E. Forster hoped that education could help persuade the newly enfranchised class to vote for industrialists who seemed more likely to have working-class interests in mind. Thus, the expansion of voting rights combined with worries over England’s decline in industrial might encouraged the creation of a national education system that focused on teaching students more than just the rudimentary three Rs. Public education also needed to teach children technical skills and the value and responsibilities of citizenship.

The most significant education act of the nineteenth century followed only three years later, when Parliament passed Forster’s Elementary Education Act of 1870. The act founded the first state-funded, albeit decentralized, elementary school system which enabled more working-class children to attend school. When W.E. Forster introduced the bill on February 17, 1870, he forcefully concluded:

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110 Green, *Education and State Formation*, 301.
We must not delay. Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education... and if we leave our workfolk any longer unskilled, notwithstanding their strong sinews and determined energy, they will become over-matched in the competition of the world. Upon this speedy provision depends also, I fully believe, the good, the safe working of our constitutional system.\(^{111}\)

Forster highlighted the importance of education to England’s industrial and domestic future and advocated better quality working-class education. Members of Parliament debated the proposed bill at length, with the discussion largely centered upon whether to use national moneys to fund religious instruction. The final bill created a so-called “dual system” which denied Anglican voluntary schools rate-support but still allowed them to receive financial assistance for educating the poor. This compromise effectively created two educational systems, religious and secular, that were supported by government funds.\(^{112}\)

The final act established over 2,000 locally elected school boards to run the government funded schools, which provided a secular education to the nation’s young.\(^{113}\) However, it failed to make education either free or compulsory, leaving both issues to the discretion of the local school boards. The Mundella Act of 1880 made schooling compulsory to age 10, and the Elementary Education Act of 1891 finally removed tuition fees. Relying on locally elected school boards presented problems for the success of the “dual system,” however. In some places, the local people favored the voluntary schools instead of public schools to the extent that they procrastinated in forming a school board or elected supporters of voluntary schools to serve on the board, often to the detriment of the public schools. Some

\(^{111}\) “W.E. Forster’s speech on the motion for leave to introduce the Education Bill” in *English Historical Documents 1833-1874*, XII (1), ed by G.M. Young and W.D. Handcock (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956), 914.

\(^{112}\) Jones, *The Making of the Education System*, 67. Rates were local taxes decided on by villages and towns that went towards financing local institutions and projects.

\(^{113}\) Ibid, 66.
schools also faced inadequate buildings or supplies due to school board members’ unwillingness to increase local taxes since their terms lasted only three years and rate increases proved unpopular in an election.\textsuperscript{114}

Despite these problems, Forster’s Elementary Act of 1870 succeeded in changing the relationship between government and education. The laissez-faire liberalism of the mid-nineteenth century faded in the face of international rivalries and domestic issues. As the National Efficiency movement gained momentum and a greater percentage of English males earned the right to vote, contemporaries considered elementary education even more vital to the future of the country. The Act of 1870 also initiated a new period of utilitarian, moral education that intended to instill social values without religious instruction. Furthermore, it placed more power than ever before in the hands of a central authority, the Education Department, which gained the ability to define curriculum guidelines for government grants. Informed by the operations of the Education Department, domestic needs, and international educational trends, the ideas of what constituted elementary education changed rapidly in the decades that followed.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1884, Parliament responded to increased domestic demands for an expansion of the franchise by extending voting rights to all males paying more than ten pounds per year in rent, which reaffirmed the necessity for young men to learn about their civic duties.\textsuperscript{116} A

\textsuperscript{114} Stephens, \textit{Education in Britain}, 91-93.  
renewed interest in imperialism and colonialism also drove the new approach to education. Concern over England’s slow birthrate in comparison with other countries, combined with the scramble for Africa in the 1870s and 1880s, exacerbated fears that other advanced European “master races” would overtake Britain in economic power and markets simply by producing more people. Furthermore, Britain’s imperial expansion required more people to colonize and maintain the empire.117 Supporters of “new imperialism” used Social Darwinism and racial rhetoric to generate enthusiasm for this project. They contended that Britain needed to populate the empire with English people to maintain its position in the world, and if they failed to do so, other “master races” certainly would.118 These concerns surfaced again following the Second Boer War (1899-1902) when a significant number of male recruits failed the health examination, thereby raising concerns over the health of the working classes.119 Thus, the “new imperialism” that emerged by the twentieth century required a large, healthy population of English citizens, and public education adapted to accommodate this need.

Beginning in the 1880s, the need to cultivate good citizens led to support for including specific subjects in the elementary school curriculum. History, geography, and citizenship were considered useful for teaching students about the empire and their duties to the nation.120 In 1876, the Education Department started awarding grants for history education, and in the 1880s it required that history readers “make up at least a third of

120 Heathorn, For Home, Country, and Race, 35; 41.
By 1890, teaching manuals “pointed to the close affinities between history and geography.” Even though the Education Department emphasized history, geography was actually a more popular subject in elementary schools even up to 1899, when seventy-five percent of teachers preferred it to history. Geography readers allowed school children to visualize the empire and therefore learn to support the imperialist narrative taught in history readers. Geographers also argued that geography naturally served to “promote a sense of the national culture,” validate the nation, and racially and economically justify the empire. Even though both history and geography enjoyed support inside and outside of the educational apparatus, in 1900 the Education Code made history instruction essentially compulsory in elementary schools. Some elementary schools also offered instruction in citizenship to teach students about their duties and the government. In 1899, the Education Department made citizenship instruction compulsory in evening continuation schools (schools meant for working-class students over twelve). History, geography, and citizenship formed the basis for an education designed to introduce students to the empire and instill patriotism and national unity.

121 Ibid, 40.
123 Ibid, 176.
124 Quote from Heathorn, For Home, Country, and Race, 119; MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, 186.
125 Both history and geography could be omitted from the subjects taught if the school provided a good reason according to David Cannadine, Jenny Keating, and Nicola Sheldon, The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 19; MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, 176.
The incorporation of history and geography into the elementary school curriculum correlated with the professionalization of these disciplines within English universities as well as the formation of discipline-centered organizations. Professional historians and specialists increasingly sought to continue their subject-oriented influence in education by writing textbooks. By the 1870s, academics and specialists dominated the writing of historical textbooks and readers and greatly influenced the presentation of historical and geographical material. Whereas earlier authors had focused on lists of key dates, people, and geographical formations, with little context or connection to the present, specialists used narrative histories and geographies that had the potential to excite students. By the end of the nineteenth century, academics wrote the majority of textbooks, which helped legitimize the historical discipline at both the university and elementary level. Furthermore, the founding of the Geographical Association in 1893 and the Historical Association in 1906 created an effective lobby for including these subjects in the elementary curriculum. These organizations increasingly connected geography and history to effective national imperial citizenship and the formation of national culture and stability.

By 1890, the concept of elementary education had changed significantly from the ideals embraced by the writers of the 1870 Elementary Education Act. Although originally conceived as schooling for the working poor, which carried a stigma for all who attended, by

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the 1890s public elementary schools proved more efficient than their private counterparts and started attracting lower middle-class students. Moreover, the requirement that elementary schools provide grants for the three Rs failed to restrict elementary education to three core subjects partly due to support from the Education Department beginning in the 1880. Elementary teachers increasingly used history and geography readers, because they served the dual purposes of teaching reading and civic duty. The rise of imperialistic fervor resulting from the scramble for Africa, fears of economic decline, and worries over domestic racial degeneration influenced the elementary school curriculum as reformers saw schools as a tool for fixing these problems and encouraging students to become good and loyal citizens.

1902 marked another important turning point for English elementary education. The dissolution of the payment by results system in 1896 indicated a significant shift in how society understood the objectives and responsibilities of elementary schools. In 1899, Parliament dramatically altered the administration of the Education Department, consolidating it with the Science and Art Department under a new name, the Board of Education. The designers of the new board intended to create the potential for a radically different educational system, and the new organization ended up complementing the 1902 Elementary Education Act.

134 Heathorn, For Home, Country, and Race, 40-41; McKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, 176.
135 Stephens, Education in Britain, 97.
The Education Act of 1902 demonstrated how the National Efficiency movement significantly affected educational policy. Difficulties during the Boer War (1899-1902) had revealed organizational deficiencies resulting from an overly decentralized yet bureaucratic system. The war added momentum to the National Efficiency movement, and the 1902 Act reflected this impact.\(^\text{139}\) It abolished over 2,500 school boards and multiple national departments, replacing them with approximately 300 local education authorities (LEAs) and one Board of Education.\(^\text{140}\) The act attempted to rectify the problems produced by the dual system of voluntary and public schools as well as popularly elected school boards. National Efficiency proponents, such as Robert Laurie Morant, the act’s drafter, and Prime Minister Arthur Balfour argued that LEAs allowed experts rather than popular opinion to create educational policies.\(^\text{141}\) The 1902 Act signified a shift in the conception and organization of a public elementary school system from a decentralized model with more local authority and control to a regionally-based administration that worked to serve both regional and national interests.

Although the English public elementary school system centralized significantly by 1902, it remained largely decentralized when compared to the German, French, and, as we shall see, Japanese models. The Board of Education held the authority to mandate specific subjects, but schools and teachers retained the power to make decisions regarding textbook selection, teaching methods, and time allotted for those subjects. The Board of Education wrote and distributed suggestions and guidance, but teachers could choose whether or not to

\(^{139}\) Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, 72-75; 87-89; 205-211.


\(^{141}\) Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, 210-212.
follow them.\textsuperscript{142} The system formed in 1902 remained relatively unchanged until the 1918 Elementary Education Act. However, although the teachers and schoolmasters technically retained autonomy in their schools, the Board of Education’s guidelines exerted significant influence over the presentation of content in elementary school textbooks and readers. Therefore the Board of Education held more sway over the material presented by teachers who relied on textbooks for instruction. Even though the English system officially gave local schools a greater amount of freedom, state needs and international forces initiated a change in national curricula to focus more on the creation of citizens than the early training based on the three Rs.

\textbf{The Development of Centralized Public Elementary Education in Japan}

In 1868, Japan’s new Meiji government started its program of building a modern domestic nation through dramatic changes to the Japanese social structure, a rapid program of industrialization, and a complete rebuilding of the country’s political system. The first decade of the Meiji era (1868-1912) was fraught with domestic disturbances by disgruntled samurai (the former warrior class who ruled in the Tokugawa period) and peasants upset by rising tax rates and land redistribution. Still, in 1872, only four years after the Meiji era began, the Japanese government promulgated its first comprehensive, compulsory system of education, called \textit{Gakusei}, as one structure to help build a modern country with modern citizens in the eyes of the West. The timing is notable not only because it happened so early in the Meiji period, but also because the plan was designed by the lesser officials in the Meiji

government while many of the primary officials were abroad on the Iwakura Mission (1871-1873), during which they travelled around the United States and Europe to study the sources of Western power. The leaders of the caretaker government used this opportunity to institute a comprehensive education system based largely on the French system, which included multiple types of schools at various levels including elementary schools, technical schools, teacher education institutes, and universities.\textsuperscript{143}

Even though this seems like a blatant attempt by the caretaker government to take control of national policy, some officials had genuine reasons for the timing. In his proposal for legislation in 1872, Ōki Takatō also justified the timing and creation of the system.

\begin{quote}
We humbly submit that, in order that the nation should be strong and rich and at peace, the talents of the civilized people of our society must be developed. The existing practice of school establishment and education law are inappropriate for this purpose…Once the aforementioned system [the Gakusei] is fully put into place and the various traditional styles of schooling are abolished throughout the nation…when all of this is accomplished, the darkness will be banished.”\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

Writing subsequently in the Enlightenment journal \textit{Meiroku Zasshi}, one Ministry of Education official, Mitsukuri Shūhei, stated, “if we do not educate [the children] thoughtfully, they will invariably grow up so bigoted and stupid that they will be unable to compete even among barbarians.”\textsuperscript{145} Government officials also saw the creation of public education as necessary, in historian Brian Platt’s words, to “integrate families and children into the institutions of the new government on a daily basis, train them for responsible and effective participation in the life of the nation, and enhance mobilization efforts by inculcating a

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{143}{Schweber, \textit{Imposing Education}, 16-20.}
\footnotetext{144}{Yamazumi Masami, ed. \textit{Kyoiku no Taikei} (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), 27. Quoted in Schweber, \textit{Imposing Education}, 18.}
\end{footnotes}
personal identification with the nation.”

Although a lack of funds from the Ministry of Finance thwarted full implementation of the plan, the Gakusei’s design created a more comprehensive, hegemonic system than its English counterpart. It provided the framework for continuing education past elementary school, and created a unitary, egalitarian system without resorting to separate schools based on class or gender.

However, the Gakusei rose at the expense of existing schools (terakoya) and previously established conceptions of knowledge and education. In Tokugawa Japan, the samurai, a small percentage of the overall population, received a Confucian-based education at domain-run or private academies. Commoners attended terakoya (often run by poorer samurai), which instructed them in basic literacy and numeracy. Samurai elites considered a Confucian education necessary for effective governance and social control over the farmers, artisans, and merchants below them. The focus on the three Rs in commoner education increased the literacy rate among the non-samurai classes even prior to the Meiji era. However, as the Meiji government moved toward accepting Western ideas and practices, Confucian-based education for elites declined in favor as the Western style, which emphasized utilitarian subjects, grew in popularity.

The mantra of “civilization and enlightenment” (bunmei kaika) essentially defined the purpose of Japanese education in the Gakusei period (1872-1879). Japanese education was

147 Schweber, Imposing Education, 23-25.
based on Western conceptions of knowledge, teaching practices, and materials.\textsuperscript{149} Students continued to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, but schools also incorporated Western subjects such as history and geography as well as gendered subjects like sewing or drawing.\textsuperscript{150} Furthermore, many of the textbooks used in this period were translations of foreign books that were neither adapted for a Japanese audience nor necessarily appropriate for teaching Japanese. One of the early primers for Japanese language came almost directly from a literal translation of the American \textit{Marcius Willson Reader}.\textsuperscript{151} The teaching methods adopted early in the \textit{Gakusei} period in the Tokyo Normal School also included lessons in Western notions of developmental education (to be discussed later) as taught by the American educator Marion Scott.\textsuperscript{152}

The \textit{Gakusei}, or Fundamental Code, made an effective break with the past, at least in theory, but questions about implementation, funding difficulties, and popular rejection continued to stifle progress. Although the system took on a distinctly Western organization and structure, the government’s failure to fund it meant that the government-established schools lacked trained teachers, an adequate supply of textbooks, or even a steady number of pupils.\textsuperscript{153} Funding difficulties and decisions at the national level required that the prefectures and local taxes pay for the schools, and sometimes this new financial burden provoked violent resistance by peasants.\textsuperscript{154} However, according to Platt, the drafters of the

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\textsuperscript{149} Tomitaro Karasawa “Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks” \textit{Japan Quarterly} 2, no. 3 (July/September 1955): 367.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid, 368.
\textsuperscript{153} Schweber, \textit{Imposing Education}, 50, 70-75, 112.
\textsuperscript{154} Platt, \textit{Burning and Building}, 135; 185-195.
\end{flushleft}
Fundamental Code never meant to provide full funding for local schools because being dependent on the government for support was “one of the ‘evil traditions’ of Tokugawa education”\(^{155}\). Moreover, the Meiji government’s meager resources forced the Ministry of Education to prioritize which sections of the code to implement. The first Minister of Education, Ōki, determined that the primary schools, teacher education, and textbook translation took first priority, although he never addressed how the Ministry would pay for them.\(^{156}\) Prioritization meant that the university structure, designed to provide assistance to each district, never became reality and ensured that only a small proportion of children benefited from the new system. The prefectural governments and local authorities individually funded the majority of the schools in their districts, enforced teaching and attendance standards, and implemented national statutes according to their own abilities, thereby leading to a less centralized system than originally designed.\(^{157}\)

The prefectures also had trouble deciding how to go about implementing the Fundamental Code because the Ministry of Education did not have any way to enforce compliance, the Home Ministry sometimes countermanded the Ministry of Education’s instructions, and the code itself used vague language.\(^{158}\) Ministry of Education officials found themselves faced with an influx of questions over what the Fundamental Code meant and how it should be executed. Their response came in the form of official policy that directly addressed local concerns. According to Platt, “This process initiated a dynamic in which central policy was driven by queries from local governments generated by local officials as

\(^{155}\) Ibid, 135.
\(^{157}\) Ibid, 109.
\(^{158}\) Ibid, 38-39.
they encountered problems relating to the implementation of the Ministry’s plans. Thus, although drafters envisioned the Gakusei as highly centralized, the lack of funding necessitated a prefectural approach to implementation, creating a more decentralized and diverse system than originally intended. Because individual prefectures enacted and funded the Gakusei, they adapted the system to their own individual needs, circumstances, and abilities rather than to Ministry requirements. Furthermore, the Meiji leaders who returned from the Iwakura Mission considered the system too progressive for an emerging power and, they too, failed to politically or financially support it. By the late 1870s, a majority of Meiji leaders denounced the Gakusei plan as overly ambitious and impossible to fully implement. Widespread local resistance to the government schools also influenced the Meiji leaders’ decision not to pursue it after 1879.

In 1879, the Meiji government promulgated a new Education Code (Kyōikurei) that effectively decentralized public education further and granted allowances to adapt the curriculum to prefectural conditions. This new system further increased the burden at the local level for funding schools, and as a result, local authorities increased tuition costs or even closed schools. The order also “shortened the period of compulsory attendance from four years to sixteen months, reduced the number of required subjects and allowed localities to adapt subject matter to practical needs, and abandoned the ‘school district’ system and

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159 Platt, Burning and Building, 149.
160 Schweber, Imposing Education, 29.
162 Schweber, Imposing Education, 29-31; Platt, Burning and Building, 2-7.
163 Platt, Burning and Building, 219.
restored the village as the basic unit of local educational life.\textsuperscript{165} However, instead of improving local schools by granting greater flexibility in the curriculum, the 1879 plan was criticized for reversing the progress made under the \textit{Gakusei} system.\textsuperscript{166} In 1880, Kōno Togama took over the position of Secretary of Education and immediately revised the 1879 Code, attempting to reconcile the aforementioned criticism by giving more authority to the prefectural governors.\textsuperscript{167} The revision also required schools to use the Ministry-determined curriculum. Even with these changes, the government failed to allocate national funds to cover the cost of education, thereby placing the financial burden on individual localities. In June 1881, the national government stopped providing any funding for elementary schools.\textsuperscript{168}

The \textit{Gakusei} plan represented the Meiji government’s first experiment in constructing a national education system while simultaneously trying to build the other institutions of a new nation-state. Like most other policies and procedures initiated by the early Meiji government, the leaders implemented and terminated programs through trial and error, sometimes without effective coordination. This all occurred against the backdrop of popular dissatisfaction and infighting among various factions in the government.

The Meiji government devoted a great deal of resources to solidifying its power against domestic disturbances in the 1870s and 1880s, such as the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877 and the Chichibu Incident in 1884. The Satsuma Rebellion, an uprising of disgruntled

\textsuperscript{165} Platt, \textit{Burning and Building}, 219.
\textsuperscript{166} Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, \textit{Japan’s Modern Educational System: A History of the First Hundred Years}, Research and Statistics Division, Minister’s Secretariat (Tokyo, Japan, 1980), 72.
\textsuperscript{167} Before the promulgation of the Revised Elementary Education Code of 1880, the head of the Ministry of Education was called Secretary rather than Minister. The Ministry of Education was also sometimes translated into “Department of Education” rather than “Ministry.”
\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Japan’s Modern Educational System}, 74-75.
samurai led by a resentful former member of the Meiji leadership, Saigō Takamori, lasted approximately nine months and effectively ended domestic military uprisings against the new government. The Chichibu incident of 1884 lasted only about two weeks but represented one of the largest peasant uprisings in the early Meiji period. Land redistribution, increased taxes, and poverty among farmers, due largely to the Meiji government’s deflationary policies in the 1880s prompted these farmers to revolt against Meiji authority, but they were also influenced by the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (jiyū minken undō). They organized themselves into political groups, and some of them identified as “soldiers of the Liberal Party” (one of the two main parties formed in 1881, as part of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement).¹⁶⁹ Needless to say, the need to suppress such rebellions diverted the Meiji government’s attention and resources from projects such as education.

By 1885, the Meiji government solidified its domestic power and worked to gain respect from the Western powers in an attempt to overturn the unequal treaties. During this process, Japanese conservative leaders suppressed internal dissent (best represented by the People’s Rights Movement) by placing limits on speech and political activities in order to ensure the government’s stability and power.¹⁷⁰ The government implemented regulations intended to restrict the political activities of government employees, including teachers, soldiers, sailors, and police officers as well as women and students.¹⁷¹ In an 1881 attempt to quash domestic criticism while gaining the West’s trust and respect, the government, using

¹⁷¹ Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis*, 76.
the voice of the emperor, formally announced its intention to promulgate a constitution by the end of the decade and form a national assembly soon afterward.\textsuperscript{172} Internal disputes in Meiji leadership between Ōkuma Shigenobu, the supporter of liberal, British-style government, and Ito Hirobumi, supporter of a centralized, German model, made it difficult to decide which European system of government to adapt for Japan. However, once Okuma’s power declined and he was expelled from the government as more conservative ideologies took hold in 1881, support for a liberal, laissez-faire system like Great Britain’s lost favor in official circles as well.\textsuperscript{173} Ito favored the German model, largely because he accepted Hermann Roesler’s theory that economic laws could and should be adapted to local institutions and existing administrative structures.\textsuperscript{174} German constitutional scholars also argued that their approach would permit the state to limit challenges by popular representatives. Centralization appealed to Japanese conservatives because it seemed to be an adequate compromise between Westernization and Japanization that granted considerable authority over domestic affairs.\textsuperscript{175} In 1882, Ito travelled to Europe, spending a significant portion of his time in Germany and Austria, and returned to write the Meiji constitution based on the German model. The Emperor promulgated the Meiji constitution in February 1889, and it went into effect in 1890.\textsuperscript{176} At the same time, moral education became the

\textsuperscript{172} Japan’s Modern Educational System, 91.
\textsuperscript{173} Shively, “The Japanization of the Middle Meiji,” 83.
\textsuperscript{174} Roesler held a post as a foreign adviser to the Japanese government and helped the Japanese leaders draft commercial law according to Erik Grimmer-Solem, “German Social Science, Meiji Conservatism, and the Peculiarities of Japanese History,” Journal of World History 16, no. 2, (June 2005): 199.
foundation of Japanese education as government officials and other concerned elites deemed it one of the best ways to create national subjects and citizens.\textsuperscript{177}

The centralization of the educational curriculum in the mid-1880s thus illustrates the way Meiji leaders adapted the educational system to both domestic and international circumstances while simultaneously reaffirming their power. This shift also reflects a genuine interest in improving the overall quality of education in the nation’s schools. The Meiji regime adopted a more authoritarian style government in the 1880s that used education as a way to inculcate values, suppress dissent, and maintain control. Thus, a study of the development of Meiji education demonstrates the difficult landscape Meiji leaders tried to traverse when developing a modern government and educational system. Yet from an international standpoint the Meiji government’s actions paralleled the general trend towards standardization and centralization occurring in Western countries such as Germany and France — as well as in England.

The Revised Elementary Education Code of 1880 significantly changed educational policy and the administration of government cabinets and ministries, including the Ministry of Education. Mori Arinori, a major figure in the Meiji government who studied abroad in Great Britain and served as ambassador to the United States, took over the position of Minister of Education in 1885.\textsuperscript{178} Mori sought to rectify educational policy regarding funding and compulsory attendance, since both aspects remained highly problematic. Although the \textit{Gakusei} technically required students to attend elementary school, in practice, enforcing this


\textsuperscript{178} Karasawa “Changes in Japanese Education,” 371.
policy proved difficult for the national government to regulate and was thus left to prefectural jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{179} The 1886 Elementary Education Order authorized by Mori obligated parents to send their children to school until completion of the ordinary four-year course of study, but it also made tuition fees the primary source of funds for elementary schools, thus raising the very real possibility that parents would continue to keep their children out of school. In an attempt to mitigate this expected drop in attendance in rural communities, the 1886 Order provided for a simplified elementary school course paid out of local funds “to rapidly achieve a minimum level of elementary education throughout the nation.”\textsuperscript{180}

Under Mori, the Ministry of Education also initiated some significant changes that gave it more authority over educational content by creating a system of textbook authorization. In the \textit{Gakusei} period, many of the textbooks that schools used, if they used any at all, were direct translations of American or British textbooks.\textsuperscript{181} However, the messages in these textbooks appeared dangerous to critics who believed that translated textbooks resulted in domestic instability as demonstrated by the People’s Rights Movement; subsequently, Japanese textbooks appeared which emphasized Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety. Then, in 1883, complaints over the use of inferior textbooks and poor-quality printing encouraged the Ministry of Education to adopt a system of textbook authorization. By 1886 the Ministry mandated that schools use only Ministry-approved textbooks.\textsuperscript{182} Prefectural authorities individually selected texts based on the prefecture’s needs, and all

\textsuperscript{179} Schweber, \textit{Imposing Education}, 72-73.
\textsuperscript{180} \textit{Japan’s Modern Educational System}, 99.
public schools in the prefecture were required to use those textbooks for four years. This system was intended to ensure the quality and content of the textbooks while still providing prefectures a level of autonomy.\footnote{Dairoku Kikuchi, \textit{Japanese Education: Lectures Delivered in the University of London} (London, John Murray, 1909), 326.} However, the Education Order failed to stipulate how the Ministry would authorize textbooks, and the Ministry revised the process again in 1887 so that the textbooks would be approved based on merit. Merit was determined by evaluating whether the textbook was “fit for the objects of the Primary School Order.”\footnote{Hosoye, \textit{Development of the Modern Textbook System}, 28-29.} The government checked the content and quality of school textbooks through this authorization process and helped to improve (from the government’s perspective) the overall quality of public education.

When considering the quality of education at the prefectural and local level, however, the education orders from the Ministry of Education seem like a genuine attempt by the national government to standardize both the kind of material taught to students and teaching practices while offering guidance on pedagogical methods. According to Mark Lincicome, the theory of developmental education (\textit{kaihatsu-shugi}) developed by the Swiss educationalist Johann Pestalozzi dominated the methodological instruction at the Tokyo Normal School, the prestigious, government-run teacher training college. The Pestalozzian method of developmental education “denoted a pedagogical approach that eschewed ‘pouring in’ (\textit{chūnyūi}) knowledge through traditional methods like memorization and recitation. Its goal was to cultivate the unique, innate abilities of every child...according to the child’s
individual learning level and capacity.”

Throughout the 1880s, teachers and prefectural officials openly embraced the principles of developmental education largely because of its use in the Tokyo Normal School, even though many teachers had difficulty using the method. The Ministry of Education also embraced developmental education in the 1881 *Outlines of Regulations for Primary School Education*, and incorporated its principles into the curriculum for all subjects except morals and Japanese history. The Ministry of Education’s educational orders reacted to problems and issues at the local level and cannot be interpreted solely as a imposition of national standards on prefectures and teachers. The Ministry also designed orders to help struggling teachers employ accepted pedagogical practices.

By the 1890s, however, the Tokyo Normal School’s support for developmental education waned in accordance with the move towards moral education. On October 30, 1890, Emperor Meiji promulgated the Imperial Rescript on Education. The Rescript claimed that the unbroken line of the imperial household “is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education…Ye, Our subjects, bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers.” This followed the Elementary School Order of 1890 that changed the basic purpose of elementary schooling from general education to schooling intended to develop children’s bodies, morality, and good citizenship. Thus, this order, along with the Imperial Rescript, illustrates a

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186 Ibid, 81, 123.
significant departure from previous ideas regarding the purpose of elementary education, even those of the 1880s.\textsuperscript{189} Accepted pedagogical practices changed in accordance with this shift. The theories of the German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart became increasingly popular because of his stance on the importance of moral education in schools.\textsuperscript{190} The 1890 Elementary School Order, the Imperial Rescript on Education, and the Outline of the Course of Study in 1891 demonstrate a shift toward a more unified set of ideologies in Meiji politics and education.\textsuperscript{191} The interest in developing good citizens and moral education at the highest levels of the Meiji leadership in the 1880s certainly put pressure on the Tokyo Normal School teachers to adopt a more suitable educational philosophy to accomplish national objectives.

Between 1890 and 1918, the Ministry of Education worked to improve the elementary school curriculum and administration to suit the constantly changing international and domestic atmosphere. Internationally, Meiji leaders witnessed the fervor of European imperialism, and these leaders understood that Japan needed its own army to protect its sovereignty. In this sense, the shift towards moral education in the 1890s reflected a desire by the Meiji leaders to mold Japanese children into responsive and productive subjects who would work for the benefit of the state. School provided the first step in molding Japanese children for this purpose and with the development of a capitalist economy in the 1880s,

\textsuperscript{189} Japan’s Modern Educational System, 101-102.
\textsuperscript{190} Lincicome, Principle, Praxis, 96.
\textsuperscript{191} Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 21.
Japanese industry depended on having enough people willing to work for low wages and bad conditions for the sake of national progress.\textsuperscript{192}

Popular support for public education grew throughout the 1890s due to changes in school funding, as the government began allocating funds in 1896 to subsidize the salaries of elementary school teachers.\textsuperscript{193} Increasing national pride resulting from military expeditions also caused attendance figures to rise. Japan’s military victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and participation in the Boxer Expedition (1900-1901) earned respect from the West and inspired feelings of patriotism among many Japanese. The government took advantage of the support for education in an attempt to initiate a more universal phase of elementary education.\textsuperscript{194} The government regulated some aspects of child labor, defined the school age as age six to fourteen and, most importantly, eliminated tuition at ordinary elementary schools.\textsuperscript{195} On September 1, 1900, the new Elementary Education Order came into effect. It revised the 1890 structure by replacing the 1886 course schedule with a compulsory four-year lower course and, if possible, the establishment of a two-year upper course.\textsuperscript{196} The Ministry revised the curriculum for the elementary school courses in an effort to improve pupils’ retention. Along with decreasing the number of hours required for instruction, the Ministry combined three subjects, calligraphy, reading, and composition, into one Japanese language course in a further effort to simplify the curriculum.\textsuperscript{197} Officials also modified compulsory attendance requirements to exempt a considerable number of children.

\textsuperscript{192} Gordon, \textit{A Modern History of Japan}, 96-97.
\textsuperscript{193} Japan’s Modern Educational System, 99.
\textsuperscript{194} Gluck, \textit{Japan’s Modern Myths}, 150-151.
\textsuperscript{195} Japan’s Modern Educational System, 105-107.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid, 102-103.
\textsuperscript{197} Miyata, \textit{Development of School Curricula}, 22.
based on family economic circumstances. Attendance figures thus appeared significantly higher than they actually were, even though the number of children with elementary school exemptions reached over a million by 1903. In 1907, the Ministry of Education extended the required period of compulsory attendance to six years, thereby requiring that all elementary students receive instruction in history and geography (taught only in the upper-elementary course) for the first time.

A popular acceptance of the ideology of Risshin Shusse, or “rising in the world,” also accounts for the increasing popular support for education. In the early Meiji era, Samuel Smiles’ *Self-help* was a popular text in schools and widely read among the elite population. Its messages of self improvement and character building through education took hold in the 1870s and remained embedded in Japanese society into the 1890s. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a prolific writer in the early Meiji era, wrote *An Encouragement of Learning (Gakumon no Susume)* in 1871. The ideas in the text had a substantial impact on reasoning behind education, and many of these messages were gradually accepted in society. Throughout the period, journals espoused the value of attaining an education for the purpose of rising in society, causing more students to desire a middle school education. Some schools offered correspondence courses for middle school material, and enrollment in physical middle schools grew substantially in the 1890s to 1900s. As the necessary precursor to middle school education, the way to rise in society necessarily included completing the elementary

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199 Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*, 150.
201 Ibid, 180-184.
course. The Ministry of Education’s decision to expand the period of compulsory attendance was in no small part a response to this demand for more education.

From mid-1890s onwards, the national government sought to centralize and standardize textbook production. This came about due to a series of corruption scandals in which publishers were accused of bribing prefectural textbook selection committees in order to receive a contract. The publishers then lowered the quality of paper, binding, content, and availability of textbooks in order to maximize their own profits. This compromised public trust in the textbook authorization system and in 1894, the House of Peers took up a bill that would have begun creating nationally regulated textbooks but failed to pass it. Again in 1900, the House of Representatives took up a similar motion which stated, “There can be no doubt that primary education is of the greatest importance to the state. Hence the present Primary School Textbook Examination Board System should be abolished, and primary school textbooks should be compiled by the state.” Yet again, the measure failed, but the government passed reforms that imposed punishments and fines to stop corruption. In 1903, a significant number of corruption cases went to trial and the scandal that resulted provided the final push for instituting a system of national textbooks. In an effort to restore public trust, the Imperial Ordinance of April 1903 required that elementary schools use only textbooks with Ministry of Education copyrights for ethics, history, geography, and Japanese language. In 1909, the former Minister of Education Kikuchi Dairoku described the advantages of this new system in lectures delivered at the University of London: “The

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203 House of Representatives, 15th Session, 1900, quoted in Miyata, Development of School Curricula, 27-28.
advantages of the new books, or rather of the new system, which became at once evident, was [sic] the great reduction in the price of books, being in some cases as great as 70 per cent. of the former price... a very much superior quality of paper, printing, and binding, and regularity of supply, notwithstanding that the transportation was in an awkward condition on account of the [Russo-Japanese] war.”

The state published the first textbooks in 1903 for the 1904-05 school year and again in 1910, 1918, 1933, and 1941. Changes in international politics provoked each of the revisions after the first edition. Historian Karasawa Tomitarō’s analysis of textbook revisions identified a clear shift in ideology from the 1903 textbooks to those published in 1910, which he argued was a response to the Russo-Japanese War. According to Karasawa, the first set of textbooks clearly showed an acceptance of Western people and ideas, specifically capitalism and individualism. However, following the Japanese victory against the Russians, the content started emphasizing duty to the nation and loyalty to the emperor more fervently. This focus on the emperor, although present prior to the Russo-Japanese War, escalated afterwards due to the unfortunate economic conditions of many poor and rural Japanese. Riots broke out in Tokyo from Japan’s failure to receive war reparations or territorial gains from Russia leading to increased fears of social disintegration. The nationalism in textbooks and emphasis on the emperor demonstrate a clear attempt by government officials

207 Ibid, 378.
to unify the Japanese people on the side of the nation and to divert people from anti-
government protests.

A desire to foster patriotism and concerns about social problems triggered the
extension of the period of compulsory attendance in 1907 and the modification of national
textbooks in 1910. The new curriculum ensured that every school child received instruction
in moral and physical education from their first year, and from fifth grade took history and
geography to supplement the lessons learned in morals and Japanese language. In
combination, these subjects sought to create able-bodied, moral, and knowledgeable subjects
of the emperor, a process that will be discussed in more detail in chapter two. Meiji politics
were constantly in flux, with leaders debating even the most basic ideas such as the purpose
of elementary education. However, as noted earlier, similar conversations occurred in
England, where some considered the values of loyalty and sacrifice paramount to the purpose
and success of English education. Thus, both countries sought to achieve analogous ends
through their elementary schools. Looking at Meiji education through an international lens
reveals that the Japanese education system was less exceptional than many historians have
argued. Japan’s system appeared to outsiders to permit easier centralized implementation, but
this was the result of decades of trial and error struggles to create national values.

The discussion to this point might lead one to conclude that the adoption of foreign
concepts only went one way, from the West to Japan. Yet British leaders, especially National
Efficiency proponents, envied the Japanese government’s ability to effectively and efficiently
manage the country without going through the same Parliamentary pains and politics.\textsuperscript{209}

Some English commentators, such as Alfred Stead who was mentioned in the introduction, even held up Japan as a paragon of progress and so-called natural patriotism. In his 1906 book, \textit{Great Japan: A Study of National Efficiency}, Stead extolled the Japanese values of patriotism, loyalty, and sacrifice as biologically based and worthy of envy:

\begin{quote}
The love of the Japanese for their country is a real, an active force, which is shown in every action, and which colours all national development. Ask a Japanese whether he would be prepared to sacrifice himself and his career for his country’s good, and without hesitation he will answer in the affirmative. It does not need consideration, it is instinctive; for to the Japanese patriotism is part of their life, not, as with us, a thing apart. The Japanese patriotism, with its resulting pride of country, demands national efficiency in every department of the nation, and since this demand is made by the whole and united force of the entire population, national efficiency is no mere formula, empty save of theories.\textsuperscript{210}
\end{quote}

Stead’s vehement admiration for Japanese patriotism revealed more about his own critiques of contemporary English society rather than a genuine understanding of the Japanese people. He echoed the demands for the type of elementary schooling that grounded children in the seemingly natural qualities of patriotism and citizenship. Yet, Stead clearly felt divided when trying to balance his belief in a Japanese national instinct versus education’s ability to instill national values, even though he certainly considered Japanese education pivotal to Japan’s modern success.\textsuperscript{211}

National elementary education in Japan and the West evolved together as a result of international competition for foreign markets and industrialization. In a 1917 book on European and Asian systems of education, the American scholar David E. Cloyd related this

\textsuperscript{209} Searle, \textit{The Quest for National Efficiency}, 57.
\textsuperscript{211} Ibid, 132.
development to the forging of a new relationship between the state and its citizens in modern nations:

At no time in the history of society has the educational system occupied the central position in social institutions so completely as it has during the past fifty years. Each individual, each vocation, and each institution is looking to the educational system for strength and guidance. ... The spirit of cooperation characterizes the work of all these nations. All institutions of society are working together for the individual and common good as never before known.... The compulsory school laws that protect children from industrial exploitation and society from an uneducated and inefficient citizenship are filling up the schools and calling for an enormous expenditure of public and private funds. The state is modifying its government so as to make more efficient the local and state control of the organization and administration of education to guarantee the greatest social returns.²¹²

Cloyd identified a distinctive trend in European, Japanese, and Chinese educational systems. He believed that each country had similar goals with regards to its educational system.

Japanese and English leaders considered public elementary education vital to protecting national interests and securing their countries’ global positions. In England’s case, reformers sought to use public education as a tool for reviving Britain’s declining economic power, whereas Japanese reformers thought that public education provided a means to gain economic prosperity and prestige. Both governments saw education as a way to build a modern nation with a strong military capable of colonizing foreign lands and protecting national interests. The English Education Department and Japanese Ministry of Education created national curricula that served both the needs of the state and arguably also improved the overall quality of education. Textbooks adopted the standards created by the national government, and for this reason provide an excellent starting point for investigating how the State sought to mold children’s understandings of their relationship to political authority and national or civic morality.

Chapter Two: Legitimizing the State and Sovereign in Elementary Textbooks

The content of elementary education in England and Japan reflected international concerns as well as culturally-specific domestic circumstances. Educational histories tend to analyze textbooks in terms of their national context, but by juxtaposing textbooks one can detect the similarities which support David E. Cloyd’s notion that modern countries in general looked to education to forge a new relationship between the state and its citizens.213

As discussed in the previous chapter, educational systems in England and Japan developed differently in terms of the organization and concentration of power. However, both systems moved toward a more centralized organization in the 1890s. The centralized system developed in Japan concentrated most of the power in the Ministry of Education, whereas the English system technically allocated most power to the Local Education Authorities (LEAs). In practice, both ended up entrusting significant control to various levels in the educational apparatus, but the elementary school curriculum remained largely in the hands of each country’s national educational authority. This led to the development of a standardized curriculum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that normalized certain types of knowledge.214

In Japan, the educational criteria set by the Japanese Ministry of Education ensured some standardization in textbook content even before Japan turned towards a national

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textbook system in 1903. Japanese publishers’ economic success depended on how well their textbooks addressed the national standards; they therefore produced textbooks intended to appeal both to the prefectural committees and the government. In England, publishers aimed to produce textbooks for a wide audience in accordance with national guidelines, which standardized the content of many textbooks. Therefore, both English and Japanese textbook publishers chose to standardize their content in accordance with national guidelines and contemporary debates.

The standardization of textbook content must be understood as an exercise of power, but this power can be analyzed in several complementary ways. From the perspective of Marxist analysts such as Louis Althusser, the standardized content in textbooks formed part of a public education project that validated ruling-class ideologies by instructing the lower classes to accept the current organization of the state and society in school:

Children at school also learn the ‘rules’ of good behaviour, i.e. The attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is ‘destined’ for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination.215

Michel Foucault adapted parts of Althusser’s Marxist approach, but modified his analysis to focus on relations of power that created new forms of knowledge and subjects. The process of making subjects required that people choose to become and remain subjects, but multiple power relations, not simply class domination, went into forming subjects. For example, in * Discipline and Punish,* Foucault incorporated an insightful quote by Joseph Servan who argued that subjects needed to subjugate themselves:

215 Ibid, 89.
When you have thus formed the chain of ideas in the heads of your citizens, you will then be able to pride yourselves on guiding them and being their masters. A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; it is at the stable point of reason that he secures the end of the chain; this link is all the stronger in that we believe it to be our own work; despair and time eat away the bonds of iron and steel, but they are powerless against the habitual union of ideas, they can only tighten it still more; and on the soft fibres of the brain is founded the unshakable base of the soundest of Empires. 216

Schools instructed students to embrace the values of society in order to reinforce and reproduce social structures. The physical discipline and surveillance present in the classroom and the content of the textbooks combined to teach students the power present in society. But textbooks provided a necessary complement to the physical practices of discipline and surveillance. Between 1890 and 1914, history, geography, and citizenship/ethics textbooks legitimized the state and social structure while simultaneously pushing students to accept their social position and strengthen their loyalty to the nation. The combination of the physical classroom and textbook messages encouraged students to fully accept and embrace these messages and become active subjects.

This chapter examines the approaches textbooks took in each country to teach students about their position in society and the rule of government. The structure of government in England and Japan necessitated different approaches to legitimizing government authority. English textbooks emphasized the sovereignty of the people whereas Japanese textbooks described sovereignty as an imperial right. However, textbooks from both countries sought a balance between two, sometimes opposing, narratives of tradition and progress. Textbooks from each country adopted similar approaches to teach students to

216 Joseph Servan, quoted in Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 102-103.
accept the authority of the government through a discussion of tradition and progress while also encouraging students to embrace their place in society.

**Validating the Nation, Government, and Society in England**

To accomplish the goal of reinforcing existing social structures and society in England, textbooks historicized the concept of the nation and discussed its relationship to the state to legitimize the government. Textbooks had to teach students to conceptualize the nation as a natural and immutable group of people grounded in a physical reality. However, the notion of time complicated this process because of the necessity to describe the nation as simultaneously timeless and progressive. This problem required the juxtaposition of two main ideas, tradition and progress. English textbooks based the story of the nation in a seemingly timeless past while also normalizing development as a part of history.\(^\text{217}\) In order for the narrative of progress to work effectively, textbooks had to develop an understanding of the traditional past as a means of ensuring that students constantly compared the past to the present in a way that highlighted the benefits of progress without losing a sense of continuity.\(^\text{218}\)

English history, geography, and citizenship textbooks each offered a unique strategy to accomplish this task. History textbooks presented a chronicle of the political development of the historical nation to the present centered on the monarch as a symbol of authority and potential progress. Citizenship readers connected the past, present, and future by instructing

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students in how the government worked by comparing the present to the past. They also explained what students needed to do to maintain and improve society in the present and future. Geography textbooks connected the English people to the physical land through an environmentally deterministic discussion of racial and national characteristics. Textbooks explained the narrative of national progress as an evolution from chaotic, savage paganism to modern republican government. This presentation associated the nation with a continual development towards a superior form of government. But textbooks also needed to relate this historical nation to the present English population, which they described as the unique product of racial and cultural mixing — a superior race compelled consistently to evolve and improve.219

Textbooks claimed that the English race benefited from early invasions of various peoples who introduced unique racial characteristics that one could associate with the present generation. Romans brought a love of order and technology as well as the values associated with Christianity. The Teutons contributed their looks (fair hair, tall height, blue eyes) and love of war.220 The Danes brought wisdom and peace in governance, and Normans supplied their “love of freedom and enterprise.”221 The *Advanced History of England* attributed the love of freedom to the native English whose “strong love of liberty made them impatient of any but the mildest form of government, and led them to adopt those principles the developments of which now form the safeguards of the freedom and prosperity of the

219 *Britannia Geography Readers, Part II*, 12, 223-224; *Britannia Geography Readers, Part I*, 188-189; *Cambridge Historical Readers*, 54.
220 *Cambridge Historical Readers*, 26-27.
221 Ibid, 54.
One geographical reader claimed, “Now you see what a mixed people we are. We may call ourselves English, Welsh, Scots, or Irish, but after all, we are a mixture of Ancient Britons, English, Danes, and Normans, and this mixture has made use the finest race in the world.” According to history and geography textbooks, the English (or British, depending on the source) race therefore contained all the necessary elements for a superior, civilized, self-governing, liberty-loving, industrious nation.

Textbooks also portrayed the English character as slightly flawed by its inherent love of warfare, which H.O. Arnold-Forster associated with physical attributes. He described early Britons as people who were “tall and handsome, and fought bravely in battle; but it seems as if they were rather too fond of fighting, for not only did they fight against the Romans and other enemies who came from abroad, but they often quarreled and fought among themselves.” This quote served a number of purposes in this text. First, it portrayed fighting against invaders and enemies as natural and noble, but also identified in-fighting or fighting in excess as unnatural. He also implicitly connected the physical characteristics of height and handsomeness to bravery. The author of the Cambridge Historical Reader commended the early Britons on their bravery and skill in war against the invading Roman army. “Even the well-trained Roman legions found an enemy worthy of their steel, and were compelled to recognise the bravery with which the Britons defended their native land.”

These textbooks, therefore, normalized the idea of fighting to protect the country and nation,

223 Britannia Geography Readers, Part II, 224.
225 Cambridge Historical Readers, 12.
while highlighting bravery as a noble virtue; these were both described as biological traits based in the English race.

The textbook accounts, the narrative of English history from the early days to the more recent centuries, showed a slow progression from barbarity to civilization. By the nineteenth century, they argued, English development gained speed and intensity. For example, according to Rev. C. S. Dawe, the English spirit propelled the government to enact “a series of reforms which may be regarded as steps on the paths to freedom.” 226 Freedom and the English race converged in this textbook to combine with the concept of progress, which presented English history as the narrative of the continuous struggle for the right of liberty and self-government. In the summary of its contents, the Advanced History of England characterized English history as mainly “the record of steady progress and ever-increasing prosperity.” 227

Geography textbooks connected the English race, or nation, to the land by discussing how the physical characteristics of the land helped to create a healthy population. For example, one textbook described English weather as affecting the physical health and the English work ethic:

This equable, or equal climate is of great service to use in two ways. It is good for our health and good for our work. Great heat and severe cold are both unhealthy. They cause sickness, shorten life, and hinder work…. Great Britain is a very healthy country. The climate makes us healthy and strong, and we can work in the open air for a longer period during the year than the people can in other parts of the globe. 228

228 Britannia Geography Readers, Part II, 220-221.
English weather, according to the Britannica Geography Reader, encouraged students to live healthy lives with long hours of work in the outdoors. But textbooks also emphasized the usefulness of being an island due to the natural protection the water provided as well as easy access to the sea for international commerce. Textbooks also portrayed the sea as a physical protection throughout history from invasion by the unfit; the sea ensured that only the fittest groups succeeded in invading thereby benefitting the development of the English race. Furthermore, texts claimed that access to the sea encouraged the development of maritime technology, which provided an advantage in terms of international trade. Finally, readers asserted that England’s geological and geographical characteristics gave the English the necessary skills and tools to make it the greatest country in the world as demonstrated by the industrial revolution.

Textbooks argued that race formed the traditional foundation of the English nation in terms of the early peoples who populated the land and the characteristics they brought with them. Race validated and legitimized the supposedly English rights of liberty and protection. The monarchy occupied an interesting, and sometimes conflicting, position in textbooks because the actions of the monarch had the ability to either stifle or facilitate progress towards self-government and liberty. Although the monarchy sometimes impeded this development by ignoring Parliamentary authority and repressing dissidents, by and large, the monarchy gradually developed into an institution that respected Parliamentary law and ruled accordingly. Thus, the monarchy represented a necessary step towards respecting human

229 Ibid, 13.
liberty and sovereignty. One textbook attributed the unification of the people to the monarchy, which “put new life into the whole system. It roused national feeling, and while quickening the growth of freedom, it also greatly helped forward the union of the people into one nation.”

The view of the monarchy is particularly apparent in textbooks’ ambivalent depictions of two important historical figures, King John and Oliver Cromwell. Even though textbooks accorded King John the title of the most despised king, authors still had to give him credit for signing the 1215 Magna Carta, which the *Cambridge Historical Reader* argued formed “the foundation of all our modern freedom.” This signified that he recognized, to some extent, the fundamental rights of his citizens, even though he later tried to nullify the charter. Textbooks, therefore, could not depict King John as wholly bad, but as somewhat beneficial to English political development. Oliver Cromwell, on the other hand, represented a significant break with the monarchical tradition since he led Parliament’s war with King James I and established a republican system following his victory. Yet, textbooks argued that in reality, Cromwell rejected the people’s voices and ruled almost like a king, thus earning the spite of the English people. Following Cromwell’s death, the representative government fell and the monarchy returned to power under James II. What might appear a backward shift was treated as a cause for celebration by the *Cambridge Historical Reader*, which described the English people as joyous over the king’s return. “Like a repentant child thatlavishes its love upon the friends whom it has grieved, repentant England lavished

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232 *Cambridge Historical Readers*, 87.
wealth and power upon the restored king.”  

However, once James II proved similar to his authoritarian father, the reader’s author noted, this love and praise of the king quickly diminished.  

These depictions thus reveal an effort by textbook authors to balance the concepts of tradition and progress in the narrative of the march towards liberty and self-rule in texts. The monarchy, as a traditional institution, had to respect the inherent character and freedom of the people in order to maintain legitimacy. A constitutional monarchy, according to textbooks, provided the necessary balance of power between the ruler and ruled and reflected the inherent character of the English people. Dawe went so far as to describe freedom as an English birthright:  

> England boasts of being free and the mother of free nations. Freedom is now the birthright of all Englishmen, whether living in the mother country or the colonies. But that blessing, which we now regard as our birthright, has only come to us after centuries of strife and struggling. We have already seen how by the Rebellion and the Revolution the power of the sovereign was brought within due limits. But much remained to be done before personal liberty was brought home to the door of each Englishman.  

This birthright included the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom to enter into work contracts, the right to justice, and “above all, the right to take part in levying taxes and making new laws by means of our representatives in Parliament.”  

Although citizenship textbooks acknowledged that in earlier periods rule by the people often meant rule by the few, the reforms in the nineteenth century ushered in a rapid  

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234 *Cambridge Historical Readers*, 181-182.  
235 *Advanced History of England*, 159-161.  
236 Dawe, *Growth and Greatness*, 234.  
237 Ibid.  

The subject of entering into work contracts was a pillar of the pro-capitalist, anti-slavery ideology in the nineteenth century. Capitalism required that availability of “free labor.” For an analysis of the intersection of the anti-slavery movement and domestic criticism of free labor see: Patricia Hollis “Anti-Slavery and British Working-Class Radicalism in the Years of Reform” *Anti-Slavery, Religion and Reform*, ed. by Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkestone, Kent: William Dawsome,1980),
expansion of the franchise, leading one author to argue, “It has been truly said that Englishmen are admirably fitted for self-government…it cannot be denied that we are far ahead of most other countries in the matter of the discharge of the duties appertaining to the life of true citizenship.”238 Yet while the various reforms extended voting privileges to a larger percentage of the English population, the changes favored those who already benefited from preexisting economic and social policies. In 1867, Parliament voted to extend the franchise to some members in the artisan class, who resided mostly in cities. The 1884 act granted the same privilege to people in rural communities as well, which gave men in both rural and urban areas who paid at least £10 in rent per year the right to vote. Yet, even though the 1884 reform act expanded the franchise by 2,500,000 new voters in the United Kingdom, one in three men in England and Wales, two in five men in Scotland, and one in two men in Ireland were still unable to vote under the new law.239 The bill certainly increased the ability for male working-class participation in government, but many members of the working classes and the poor still lacked the right to participate.

Because textbooks taught that governmental legitimacy required the people be able to participate, children of working-class males without the privilege of voting learned an important lesson: only the people who achieved a level of success in England under current policies earned the right to influence future policy in this way. This served both to reinforce the subjugation of the working classes as well as to push them to accept the conditions in

place using education and hard work as tools in the ladder of success.\textsuperscript{240} (Arnold-Forster discussed this process in his section labeled “How to Rise,” which will be examined in more detail in the next chapter.) Thus, accepting and adopting the values of the existing social structure led male children to assist in legitimizing the government.

Although textbooks justified English rule at home by arguing that the people maintained sovereignty, the textbooks’ simultaneous support of British imperialism conflicted with the purported right of all people to enjoy self-rule. Arnold-Forster implied this by claiming, “When we speak of a country doing right and wrong, we mean that the people who live in it, and who decide how it shall be governed…Think for yourselves a moment, and you will see that it is you and I, and all of us who take any part in governing the country, who decide the matter.”\textsuperscript{241} Textbooks presented the acquisition of new territories as results of European struggles for power and dominance but argued that the necessity of maintaining territories once acquired arose due to the “uncivilized” nature of the native people. When colonized people revolted or resisted British authority, textbooks portrayed these acts as examples of the colonized people’s savagery rather than a natural or commendable response. Three specific incidents in India demonstrated this point: the “Black Hole” of Calcutta, the Battle of Plassey, and the Indian Mutiny.

\textsuperscript{240} H.O. Arnold-Forster, \textit{The Citizen Reader}, Reprint of New and Revised Edition (1904; repr., London: Cassell and Company Ltd.1907), 188.
\textsuperscript{241} Ibid, 15.
These revolts against what textbooks portrayed as British rule or authority (even though the first two occurred before India formally came under British rule) demonstrated to school children the barbarity and apparent treacherousness of the Indian people and reinforced the idea that colonized countries needed England’s civilizing influence. One textbook argued that these incidents stimulated interest in the Indian colony. “The attention of the British people was more seriously given to their great Indian possessions and this led to a deeper sense of responsibility for the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects.”

Although these incidents received attention in English textbooks, the general welfare of the people in the colonies remained unexamined, and textbooks described colonization in such a way as to promote British and European civilization as the most advanced and worthy of admiration. Notably, textbooks portrayed rule by the British East India Company and the British government as one and the same. This made British rule in India appear more established and the Indian acts

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of rebellion more treacherous. Because of this failure to delineate between the rule of the East India Company and official British rule of India, the inclusion of these stories in texts may have said more about contemporary English concerns about the cost of the maintaining the empire and justifying it to children at the turn of the century than about the time period actually under consideration in the textbook.\textsuperscript{243}

The British Empire functioned in textbooks as proof of English racial and civilizational superiority, which justified England’s right to rule over other countries. Because the English character formed the traditional foundation for England’s modern and progressive government, these other countries could not naturally adopt the principles of self-rule. They required structured guidance from the English themselves. Under British tutelage, other countries could hypothetically follow England’s lead to self-governance. In \textit{The Model Citizen}, H. Osman Newland and Russell L. Jones confronted this contradiction between the right to self-rule and English colonialism:

> We not only have free local institutions and our free national institutions, but we also have our free Imperial institutions. One day, perhaps, we may have an Imperial Federal Parliament, in which Imperial matters will be discussed and arranged, and at which the representatives of every portion of the British Empire may meet together to govern for the common good. That is an ideal for which we may all work; but there are many difficulties to overcome before it can be realized.\textsuperscript{244}

These authors justified English imperialism as better than other imperialisms because of the government’s separation between king and Parliament. They argued, “The Imperialism of

\textsuperscript{244} H. Osman Newland and Russell L. Jones, \textit{The Model Citizen: A Simple Exposition of Civic Rights and Duties, and a Descriptive Account of British Institutions, Local, National, and Imperial, with Special Reference to Scotland} (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1910), 182.
Britain is therefore unique in the history of the world\textsuperscript{245} (France, a republic without a monarchy, failed to receive a mention in this analysis).

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Empire and Race (Source: Arnold-Forster, The Citizen Reader, p. 61).}
\end{figure}

If British generosity and civilization formed one pillar of moral justification for British empire, the economic benefits formed the other. Textbooks emphasized the value of colonial acquisitions to the life of the working-class English at home, and stressed the

\textsuperscript{245} Ibid, 183-184.
connection between colonial trade to the symbol of the British flag. The following passage demonstrates how one geography textbook connected the symbol of the Union Jack to the economic success of the British imperial mission.

The commercial and political value to the Mother Country of her Colonies and Dependencies, acquired by conquest or treaty, purchase or settlement, is incalculable, and without such boundless fields for emigration... such markets for British goods... such facilities for the collection of raw materials from, and the distribution of our manufactures to... and fortified stations for our men-of-war on all the great ocean highways—without such possessions and dependencies in all parts of the world, Britain could never have acquired her present predominance either in the commercial or in the political world. One-fourth of the entire trade of the United Kingdom is with India and the colonies; and were the rest of the world closed to our commerce, there is no product which we now derive from foreign countries that could not be supplied by one or other of our trans-oceanic possessions... Trade follows the flag, and “colonial trade is safer and steadier than ordinary foreign trade.”

Trade between colonial possessions and the mother country, argued William Hughes and J. Francon Williams, provided a stable and dependable supply of everyday necessities. Furthermore, free trade within the British Empire helped account for England’s economic prosperity and improved the lives of the working classes by increasing their purchasing power. Wyatt supported these claims and argued that these economic improvements caused the people in the working classes to be “more contented and better able to cope with the toils of industry.”

The Corn Laws, on the other hand, represented the potential disaster that could arise from protectionist policies. Textbooks authors discussed the origin of the Corn Laws impartially but emphasized that the effects of protectionism proved devastating when combined with massive crop failures. The resulting high price of grain demonstrated how protecting one group’s economic interests had the potential to cause others to starve.

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246 Hughes and Williams, *The Geography of the British Colonies*, 8. emphasis in original. Quoted extract from Lord Hartington’s speech, August 12, 1890.
Textbooks implied that free trade represented the fairest system for the majority of the working class. Textbooks treated the members of Parliament who fought to repeal the Corn Laws as heroes who improved the lives of the people in the working classes. But they also praised them for stimulating the growth of free trade principles throughout the British government. In this way, some textbooks implicitly threatened the working classes with starvation if they did not whole-heartedly support free trade, and this threat encouraged working class voters to support policies that might hurt their own economic interests. In reality, some of the working classes could benefit from protectionist policies. For example, the British government protected the wool industry in the 1700s, thereby saving a domestic industry that would have been severely damaged if free trade principles had allowed the tariff-free importation of Indian textiles. Textbooks omitted this strategic (and successful) use of protectionism in British history to advance the conception that free trade benefitted English society.

English textbooks worked to legitimize the existing government and social structure to English children by contextualizing and historicizing the ideology of the ruling classes and encouraging students to embrace these principles as their own. They accomplished this goal by connecting the present-day English citizens to a grand narrative of tradition and progress while also reinforcing the legitimacy of the government, existing social structures, and dominant economic values. Textbooks used racial justifications to explain England’s political development and advanced civilization. In this narrative, progress was a result of both

geographical and racial characteristics. Japanese textbooks adopted similar methods to legitimize the authority and sovereignty of the emperor. The main difference between these presentations concerned the location of sovereignty in the English and Japanese governments. Whereas English textbooks presented sovereignty as inherent in the character of the English people, Japanese textbooks portrayed the emperor as the origin of the Japanese national character and the sole sovereign of the nation.

**Tradition, Progress, and the Japanese State**

In 1868, the Meiji Restoration initiated a return to imperial rule that drastically altered the shape and organization of the Japanese government. Prior to this point, Japan had been ruled for over two-hundred years by the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1868) a group of warriors who instituted a social order that was designed to remain static. It placed warriors at the top (who accounted for approximately ten percent of the total population) followed by peasants, artisans, and merchants. The warrior class had its own hierarchical structure with the Shogun, chosen from the Tokugawa clan, at the top who resided in Edo (present-day Tokyo) followed by regional lords (*daimyō*) who maintained control in the provinces. This system of government resulted in a long period of relative peace. Once the Tokugawa regime had been overthrown, the Meiji leaders (themselves a group of samurai from the southwestern domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen) needed to determine how to build a modern country based on Western models. After significant debate, the new Meiji government adopted a policy of Westernization and modernization intended to protect Japan from Western imperialism.
Meiji leaders adopted the motto “rich nation, strong army” (fokoku kyōhei) and introduced a number of reforms to accomplish this goal. The government initiated a new tax system, abolished the existing status system, built a modern army, and funded industrialization projects.\textsuperscript{250} These changes ensured that the first decades of the Meiji government would be tumultuous, as it faced numerous challenges from many elements of domestic society including disgruntled samurai and peasants. Furthermore, in international relations, the Meiji government sought with initial lack of success, to break the unequal treaties signed between the Tokugawa government and Western powers, which limited Japan’s sovereignty and placed Japan in a disadvantageous international position. In an effort to gain the respect of the international community and the loyalty of the Japanese people, Meiji leaders adopted and adapted the same apparatuses in use by Western countries to produce a modern nation-state and social order marked by respect for symbols of authority. Public education emerged as a way to aid Japan’s nation-building project by both creating skilled citizens and fostering support for modernization among the Japanese people.

In the early Meiji era, government oligarchs ventured to transform Japan rapidly into a modern, industrial, and capitalist society with the emperor as the head of the nation. But they faced a difficult problem: most Japanese had no idea who he was.\textsuperscript{251} Meiji leaders enlisted the help of national preachers and schoolteachers to disseminate government messages to the people as well as politicians to advance their project of modernization, and they sent Emperor Meiji on imperial progressions across the country to present him to the

\textsuperscript{250} Andrew Gordon, \textit{A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present}, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 70.
people and the people to him. In 1868, Ōkubo Toshimichi, a prominent leader in the Meiji government, “warned that while the imperial army had won temporary military victories, the traitorous forces still had not been eradicated. Moreover, the government had no laws establishing procedures for international relations, the han [provinces] of the land had not been completely won over, and the people lived in fear.” In an effort to solidify rule and unify the people under the banner of the emperor, during the first two decades of the Meiji era, the emperor took “Six Great Imperial Tours” (roku daijunkō) that took him to the four main islands in Japan. National symbols such as the “rising-sun” flag (hinomaru), two of the three imperial regalia (the sword and jewel), and items with a chrysanthemum emblem (a new symbol invented in the early Meiji era to denote the imperial household) accompanied the emperor on his progressions and these symbols gradually became associated with the nation and the emperor. Historian Takashi Fujitani argues that pageants and written and non-written representations of the emperor helped the people “begin to imagine that the emperor was at the apex of a panoptic regime and that he was the Overseer who disciplined the realm and the people with his gaze.” In the 1890s, Meiji leaders decided to send imperial portraits to schools to project the imperial gaze rather than sending the emperor himself.

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253 Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 43.
254 Ibid, 47.
256 Ibid, 53.
In the 1880s, the government faced a growing population of politically-active people demanding greater rights for themselves and a more limited role for the emperor. In 1881, the Meiji government responded to the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (jiyū minken undō) by promising to inaugurate a new constitution by the end of the decade. Rather than embracing the principles demanded by the Popular Rights Movement, in 1889, the Meiji government issued, under Ito Hirobumi’s direction, its constitution based on German models that restricted the rights of the people while giving full sovereignty to the emperor. This process constituted an example of what Benedict Anderson has called “official nationalism.” As a reaction to the popular nationalism of the Freedom and Popular Rights movement and its threat to their authority, government leaders sought to harness these popular demands for participation and national strengthening by focusing them around the emperor in the 1889 constitution.

By 1890, the Ministry of Education had centralized decisions regarding the curriculum and content of elementary education in accordance with the Meiji Constitution and the new 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, and education was increasingly seen as a tool to bolster the power of the state. In 1889, Minister of Education Mori Arinori explicitly acknowledged this when he informed the school principals under his direction that “the reason for supporting education is for the sake of the state….You must remember that

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258 See Anderson, Imagined Communities, 83-111.
education is not for the sake of the student but for the sake of the state.”\textsuperscript{259} The new elementary curriculum of the 1890s sought to foster national morality based on the Imperial Rescript on Education and put the “sacred and inviolable”\textsuperscript{260} emperor at the head of the developing Japanese nation. This emphasis on moral education, discussed in chapter one, meant that elementary schools, and specifically history education, played a significant role in creating loyal Japanese citizens who accepted the emperor as their legitimate and historical sovereign.

An analysis of the organization of Japanese history textbooks reveals the types of connections authors wanted students to make between history and state legitimacy. Unlike the English textbook system with its diverse presentations of material depending on the publisher and series, by 1903, the Ministry of Education took over the compilation and publishing of history (as well as ethics and geography) textbooks.\textsuperscript{261} History education took the role of explaining political developments chronologically with a focus on individual figures such as emperors and shoguns. Even though many emperors had little real influence in terms of politics in the course of Japanese history, the Ministry made sure to connect political developments to the imperial institution at all times both in the text and through a timeline included at the back of each book. Moreover, the historical narrative always began with the mythical “age of the gods” that connected the imperial family to an unbroken, divine

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\item \textsuperscript{259} Mori Arinori in a directive to principles under the Ministry of Education, January 1889, quoted in Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, \textit{Japan’s Modern Educational System: A History of the First Hundred Years}, Research and Statistics Division, Minister’s Secretariat (Tokyo, Japan, 1980), 94.
\item \textsuperscript{261} It is important to note that history and geography were included in the upper-elementary course curriculum, which was not compulsory until 1907. Both History and Geography were taught as one course divided into two sections. For example, the 1911 fifth grade history textbook began with the “age of the gods” and ended with “the Yoshino Court.” The sixth grade textbook started immediately after and went through to the present.
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lineage. Textbooks presented this story as factual, but not all contemporary Japanese historians agreed with this depiction.\textsuperscript{262} National history textbooks also utilized a developmental approach, with early stories including relatively little detail and gradually progressing to more complex narratives as time went on. The main goal of history textbooks in this period was to connect the emperor to both the historical past and the narrative of national progress.

Establishing imperial legitimacy on a direct, unbroken lineage from the gods provided the Meiji leaders with a powerful tool to establish and reinforce the Meiji government’s own legitimacy as agents of the emperor. The Meiji leaders understood the necessity of juxtaposing the progressive and modern nation to a timeless traditional past, and history textbooks presented the Japanese people as historical subjects of the emperor for generations upon generations from the beginning of time.\textsuperscript{263} The national myths formed a strong foundation for imperial rule, while also forming the cornerstone of Japan’s modern national culture and patriotism. National myths also served to connect the physical land of Japan, called \textit{Yamato}, to timeless and divine imperial rule. For example, the national history textbook from 1910 as well as an earlier, privately published textbook from 1902 used the myth of the age of the gods as the authentic foundation of Japanese history. The fifth grade textbook from 1910 opened with “Amaterasu Omikami [the sun goddess] is His Majesty the

\textsuperscript{263} Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities}, 87; \textit{Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan nii} [Elementary Japanese History: Level Two], 96-97.
Emperor’s distant ancestor. Her virtuous and influential rule was universal, like the sun.²⁶⁴ It continued by describing how Amaterasu then sent her descendent, Ninigi to Japan, and she said, “This country is mine and my descendants will rule it.”²⁶⁵ According to the legend, the first emperor of Japan, Emperor Jimmu, was the great grandson of the god Ninigi. Emperor Jimmu went from Takachiho, a mountain in Kyushu, to suppress a riot in the eastern land of Yamato (in present day Nara prefecture) and thereby established imperial rule in Japan.²⁶⁶

From the start of the Meiji era, government leaders had recognized the usefulness of history to their project of reinforcing imperial sovereignty. In 1869, the emperor (or elites acting in his name) commissioned a history by the noble Sanjō Sanetomi in order “to set right the relation between monarch and subject, to make clear the distinction between civilization and barbarity, and to implant the principle of virtue throughout the empire.”²⁶⁷ The purpose of history to the new regime was clear: to foster respect for the sovereignty of the emperor. The focus on legitimizing the emperor based on the idea of an unbroken line from the gods took on such an important function by the twentieth century that any person who questioned this narrative was accused of also questioning the validity of the entire imperial institution. In 1891, Kume Kunitake, the Chair of the History Department at Tokyo Imperial University, published an article titled “Shinto is an Ancient Custom of Heaven Worship,” in which he treated the age of the gods as allegorical rather than literal.²⁶⁸ On March 4, 1892, Kume was

²⁶⁴ All translations in the thesis by the author and may be approximate. *Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan ichi* [Elementary Japanese History: Level One] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1911), 1.
²⁶⁶ *Shinsen Shōgaku Kokushi Sho* [Newly Compiled National History] (Tokyo: Kokkōsha, 1902), 4-7.
asked to resign his post as chair of the History Department due to the public outcry against his article.  

Ideological debates about imperial history had a direct impact on the content of textbooks. In 1911, a major controversy erupted over the terms used by national elementary textbooks to refer to the period in Japanese history from 1336 to 1392, when the imperial court separated into a northern and a southern branch. Initially, textbooks used the neutral name “the Period of the Northern and Southern Courts” to refer to this period. However, a powerful lobby of Japanese politicians, journalists, and nationalist ideologues insisted on granting sole legitimacy to the Southern Court, also known as the Yoshino Court, and demanded that the textbooks use the term “the Period of the Yoshino Court.” Although the Meiji Emperor was himself descended from the victorious Northern Court (which had been established under the control of powerful warriors), a long tradition of loyalist historiography had emphasized the legitimacy of the Southern Court and denied the existence of two equally legitimate lines to the throne; moreover, the Meiji leaders had used the story of the Southern Emperor Go-Daigo’s overthrow of the Kamakura shogunate and subsequent restoration of imperial rule as a model for their own Meiji Restoration. The controversy subsided when the textbooks adopted the ideologically preferred term, but this episode illustrates the zeal with which many embraced the imperative to make history serve the nation.

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270 Ibid, 118-119.
While imperial legitimacy was presented as deriving from an ancient past with ties to the gods and the current government described as a return to the traditions of direct imperial rule, Japanese history textbooks, like their English counterparts, also incorporated a narrative of progress and civilization to bolster the authority of the monarchy. For example, the 1910 national history textbook for sixth graders portrayed the Meiji Emperor’s decision to establish a National Diet as a generous gift from the sovereign to his subjects. “At this time the citizens presented their first political idea and in the fourteenth year of Meiji (1881) the emperor announced that by the twenty-third year of Meiji [1890], the government would establish a National Diet.”

Rather than present the political decisions of the 1880s as part of a response to the pressures of the Movement for Freedom and People’s Rights, textbooks deployed a narrative that depicted Emperor Meiji as generous and deeply committed to giving his subjects a voice in government.

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Textbooks also emphasized Japan’s success in military endeavors, thus promoting respect for the government’s authority because it had raised the nation’s status in East Asia. Accounts of the 1874 Taiwan Expedition provide a clear example of this process. In 1871, a group of Taiwanese aborigines killed fifty-four stranded Ryūkyūan (present-day Okinawan) fishermen; in response, the Japanese government launched a military expedition to punish the aborigines for the murder of Japanese nationals (thereby asserting sovereignty over the Ryūkyūs) as well as to establish colonies in Taiwan.\(^{272}\) The Japanese government failed to colonize any part of the island and instead received a diplomatic settlement from the Chinese government.\(^{273}\) The 1910 sixth grade history textbook defended the Japanese government’s decision to attack the Taiwanese aborigines because they killed “Japanese” nationals (kokumin) and because the Qing (Chinese) government failed to prevent, control, or punish the guilty people.\(^{274}\) This textbook thus portrayed the emperor and Japanese government as willing to use military force to protect its people from outside threats: “In the seventh year of Meiji, our government sent Lieutenant General Saigō Tsugumichi with an army to subjugate the aborigines in retaliation for their sins.”\(^{275}\) A line drawing accompanied the story and depicted Japanese troops fighting the aborigines in the Taiwanese mountains. This image showed the Japanese in modern, “civilized” uniforms firing at the aborigines from the ground as the latter flailed and fell off the sides of the mountains. The picture illustrates the way textbook authors wanted students to see this conflict—and the Japanese army—as heroic and

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\(^{273}\) Ibid, 388.

\(^{274}\) Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan nihon [Elementary Japanese History: Level Two], 69-70.

\(^{275}\) Ibid.
civilized (Reports and woodblock print images from the time of the expedition had presented a more complex picture, with some depicting Japanese soldiers engaged in the practice of taking aborigines’ heads.)\textsuperscript{276} Moreover, the textbook glossed over apparent failures of the expedition, instead claiming that the Qing government surrendered its dominant position in East Asia by paying reparations to Japan.\textsuperscript{277}

![Figure 7: Taiwan Expedition (Source: Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, II [Japanese History], p. 69).](image)

The Sino-Japanese (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese (1904-1905) Wars likewise featured prominently in the 1910 history textbooks. According to detailed explanations in the textbooks, which followed the government’s own explanations, Japan had sent emissaries to Korea to foster amity between the two nations. But when domestic problems arose in Korea and the Chinese government continued to interfere in Korean-Japanese relations, the solution

\textsuperscript{276} Eskildsen, “Of Civilization,” 402-417; See also Edward Howard House, \textit{The Japanese Expedition to Formosa} (Tokyo: s.n, 1875).

\textsuperscript{277} \textit{Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan ni} [Elementary Japanese History: Level Two], 70.
was war (the actual process leading to war was of course far more complex). The line drawing that accompanied the passage showed the Chinese soldiers on horseback with pitchforks being shot down by the first line of the Japanese army. This picture demonstrates how the Ministry of Education wanted children to visualize the war—as a war between Japan, a modern and advanced nation and China, a traditional and ineffective country that had not achieved nationhood. As the war that launched Japan’s status as a power in the world, the Russo-Japanese War also received a lengthy description in the 1910 history textbook. In a striking contrast to earlier military engagements, the drawings that appear with this text demonstrate the military might of both countries. As one might expect, one image depicts a battle at sea, where the Japanese arguably won the war. At the end of the passage, the textbook claims, “Our army faced many hardships but they fought bravely on both land and sea and were victorious. There have never been such battles at land and sea in history.” History textbooks portrayed Japan’s military endeavors as one highlight of Japan’s national progress, but history was not the only discipline used to present this type of narrative. Geography formed another crucial component to this process.

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278 Ibid, 78-81; Andrew Gordon, A Modern History of Japan, 113-118.
279 It is important to note that many media portrayed the view in this way. See MIT’s website “Throwing Off Asia II: Woodblock Prints of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)” by John Dower at http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/throwing_off_asia_02/toa_essay03.html
280 Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan ni [Elementary Japanese History: Level Two], 92.
Like English geography textbooks, Japanese textbooks connected the Japanese people to their empire, country, and region. Geography books fulfilled this goal by connecting the physical land with political and industrial development. The organization and presentation of geography texts reflected the influence of both Western geography and Japanese publications called *fudoki* (a classical gazetteer) and *chishi* (earth records). The *fudoki* were premodern compilations of information on Japan’s provinces and districts, and *chishi* were what Kären Wigen argues in his book *A Malleable Map: Geographies of Restoration in Central Japan, 1600-1912* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 134-136.

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Wigen has called “regional digests,” whose authors “selected, summarized, and interpreted regional data, often for didactic ends.”\textsuperscript{282} The national geography textbooks published in 1910 organized domestic material mainly by regions and prefecture, and included basic information regarding subjects such as topography and industry. The fifth grade textbook opened with a general description of the Japanese empire, and the sixth grade textbook closed with world geography and another summary of the Japanese empire.

In the opening of a privately published fifth grade textbook from 1902, the author(s) introduced students to the empire through a description of Japan’s physical characteristics, which formed the basis for Japan’s greatness.

\begin{quote}
Our Empire of Japan is made up of five large islands and many small islands. These islands stretch from the northeast to the southwest…Our country is surrounded by oceans. To the east is the Pacific Ocean, the largest ocean in the world…each of these islands has many tall mountains and large plains…Because of these [physical characteristics], our country is a great country, unparalleled in the world.\textsuperscript{283}
\end{quote}

The introduction to the 1910 geography textbook offered a more complex, yet similar picture. “Our Empire of Japan is in the eastern part of Asia; it stretches from the northeast to the southwest.”\textsuperscript{284} Instead of offering a claim of Japanese exceptionalism, however, the national textbook finishes its discussion by naming the islands that make up the Japanese empire and the regions within them.

Geography textbooks demonstrate the Meiji leaders’ determination to have the Japanese people identify with the prefectural boundaries drawn during the Meiji period and the Japanese nation as a whole. Regional and prefectural boundaries were drawn by the Meiji authorities, and although they drew considerably on earlier divisions of geographic space

\textsuperscript{282} Ibid, 136.
\textsuperscript{283} Shōgaku Chiri Kyōkasho, kan ichi [Elementary Geography: Level One] (Tokyo: Mongakusha, 1902), 1-4.
from the Tokugawa period, not everyone identified with the new political divisions.\textsuperscript{285} Geography textbooks sought to connect the people and land to a new system of governance, and, to downplay the artificiality of the new boundaries. Furthermore, the order of presentation reflected an implicit location of Japan’s center in the Kantō region (the region that includes Tokyo). In 1889, Meiji leaders had decided to make Tokyo the nation’s modern capital, and the emperor maintained his permanent residence there.\textsuperscript{286} Following the introduction to the Japanese empire, which included a breakdown of the islands and regions of Japan, the textbook proceeded to discuss the Kantō region, moving from Tokyo to the surrounding regions. It next addressed the region to the north, then the west and south, and moved progressively further from Tokyo. The decision to begin the discussion with Tokyo demonstrates that the Meiji government wanted people to identify the political capital (and by association the emperor) with progress, although it never made this explicit. Textbooks described Tokyo as the political and industrial capital, and depicted the city (through line drawings) as modern and industrial.\textsuperscript{287}

The sixth grade geography course from 1910 finished with a discussion of the world divided by continent. As one might expect, the examination of continents began with Asia but did not include a discussion of Japan. The textbook described China as a large country on the Asian continent and continued by listing China’s primary geographical features. The end of the section discussed China’s trade with foreign countries and pointed to England’s control of Hong Kong, implicitly suggesting the Chinese government’s inability to maintain

\textsuperscript{285} Wigen, \textit{A Malleable Map}, 4.
\textsuperscript{286} Fujitani, \textit{Splendid Monarchy}, 37.
\textsuperscript{287} \textit{Jinjō Shōgaku Chiri Sho, kan ichi} [Elementary Geography: Level One], 9-12.
full sovereignty over its land. Following a similar format in the descriptions of Siberia, Southeast Asia, and Australia, the textbook turned to Europe. This section began, “England is an island country off of the Western coast of Europe and is a leader like us. Its area is smaller than ours, but each territory adds up to make an extensive country, and no country is its rival. Its commerce and industry are at the height of greatness, and its navy’s magnificence is peerless in the world.” The comparison between Japan and England set up a conversation of what characteristics make a nation great and how Japan resembled England. This passage also described a country at the height of progress and civilization to which Japan must also aspire. After spending a fairly considerable amount of time on the cities of Europe, the textbook addressed the Americas, but curiously omitted any discussion of Africa.

At the very end, the textbook outlined the features of the Japanese empire. This included physical features of the land and the present state of agriculture and industry. However, the final paragraph made the first mention of the emperor and his place in the empire. “Our country’s unbroken line of emperors gave us our constitutional empire.” This section outlined the composition of the Japanese government, including a list of agencies and the organization of the educational system. The textbook concluded this section with the claim, “Thus, national prestige is growing, the country’s power is advancing, and now we are a beneficial force in the world. Our country’s prosperity is not by accident.”

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289 Ibid, 423.
section connected imperial progress to the emperor and the Meiji government’s dedicated efforts to modernize.

Figure 10: Japanese Train (Source: Jinjō Shōgaku Chiri Sho, kan ichi [Elementary Geography: One], p.15).

The ending to the 1910 sixth grade geography textbook intended to elicit feelings of national loyalty and patriotism by connecting progress to the emperor, a goal also pursued by history and ethics textbooks. The emperor’s position as the symbol of the nation ensured that patriotism (as constructed to fit Western models) meant loyalty to the imperial institution and government. Japanese ideologues adapted the Confucian values of loyalty and filial piety to the family-state ideology that placed the emperor as the head of the Japanese nation as early as 1876 when Kawaji Toshiyoshi declared, “the nation is a family, the government the parents, the people the children.”291 This family-state ideology ensured that filial piety to one’s own family could not supersede one’s responsibilities to the nation and made it a duty

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291 Quoted in Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 187.
to aid the emperor with his goals. According to the fourth grade ethics textbook from 1910, the emperor’s role as father of the Japanese people justified the assertion that filial piety and loyalty constituted the most important principles for good Japanese people to embrace. The textbook argued that this loyalty to the imperial institution allowed the Japanese state to develop and advance into a modern nation.\textsuperscript{292} The conclusion of the 1910 sixth grade history textbook also argued that progress rested in the imperial institution and the historic loyalty of the Japanese people to the emperor. This summary illustrated the complex method of interweaving the narratives of tradition and progress in Japanese national life: it validated imperial rule by describing it as a timeless, continuous tradition but also connected the imperial institution to progress and the concept of improving the lives of all Japanese people.\textsuperscript{293}

Although the differences in educational content appear rather stark when comparing the location of sovereignty in the English and Japanese systems, the general methods and principles taught in the textbooks remained remarkably similar. The textbooks of both countries worked to legitimize the rule of government and transform popular nationalism into “official nationalism” that focused on the monarchical/imperial institution. The monarch/emperor became the symbol of national progress as well as a symbol of the nation’s past. Such similarities lead to the conclusion that modern, industrial nations adopted these ideological and pedagogic methods from an international repertoire of ideas and adapted

\textsuperscript{292} Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan shi [Elementary Ethics, Level Four] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1910), 49. This case was not explicitly contrasted to China.

\textsuperscript{293} Jinjō Shōgaku Rekishi Sho, kan ni [Elementary Japanese History: Level Two], 96-97.
them to their countries’ specific domestic needs. In his book on Japanese efficiency, mentioned in the introduction, Alfred Stead commended the Japanese educational system for its ability to use education to build national character and strengthen the nation:

The Japanese educational system strives first to develop the character of the children and to ensure their development into good citizens, it being thought far better to make members of the State sound in body and clear in intelligence than to produce mere intellectuality...Moral training, physical exercise, reading, writing, and such exercises are to be found in every school....Japan cannot afford to see the first six years of her children’s lives uninfluenced in the direction of progress and good citizenship.294

National Efficiency supporters looked to Japan as a model for problems that they identified in British society and used Japan as a model for the 1902 reform of the elementary education system.295 Such conclusions are bolstered by similarities in textbook presentations of the duties of modern citizens, which is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter Three: Duties of National Citizenship in Elementary Textbooks

By the twentieth century, English and Japanese textbooks promoted civic duty and responsibility in national terms to create citizens willing to work to improve the country’s international position. The behaviors prescribed in these textbooks taught students the various roles and responsibilities they needed to perform as they grew and developed. In both countries, education functioned as the primary duty that children needed to embrace. As individuals grew, they were told to accept responsibility for their success and cultivate a work ethic, self-reliance, and thrifty habits. The next stage of life required that students accept their gendered social roles and respective spheres of influence. Finally, citizens of all ages needed to embrace national duties, which involved demonstrating loyalty and patriotism. All duties incorporated the common theme of sacrifice, and as duties increased in scale and significance, the potential magnitude of sacrifice grew as well.

Even though English and Japanese textbooks identified the qualities of good citizens similarly, they also included some notable differences. For example, in England, citizenship readers offered the most explicit instruction in what the roles and duties of citizens included, but the subject invariably focused on the state and public life. Although Japanese ethics textbooks taught students civic instruction, the lessons encompassed a much broader scope including stories of private as well as public life. So while Japanese textbooks contained anecdotes intended to teach students modern morality, English citizenship textbooks focused on teaching citizens to respect and interact appropriately with their government and offered few private conceptions of morality. English history textbooks, on the other hand, often
examined historical figures’ morality, so although citizenship readers rarely dwelled on the personal angle, students likely received some instruction on these issues through other subjects.

The most significant difference between English and Japanese education for citizenship or ethics concerns curriculum requirements. In Japan, ethics education formed the foundation of all four years of compulsory education, which the Ministry of Education expanded to six in 1907.\(^{296}\) From 1890, the Japanese elementary school curriculum required history and geography instruction only in the fifth and sixth grades, which meant that until 1907, of the three subjects considered in this thesis, most Japanese students received only ethics education. Furthermore, as already noted, in 1903 the Ministry of Education established a national system of textbooks, which were periodically revised to reflect current needs and trends. In England, however, the Education Department\(^ {297}\) required history instruction in elementary schools beginning in the 1880s, while citizenship education became required in the 1890s and then only in continuation schools, which provided additional instruction to children beyond the compulsory school age of twelve.\(^ {298}\) However, even without a government requirement to do so, many individual elementary schools included citizenship education, as evidenced by the extreme popularity of some citizenship readers. H.O. Arnold Forster’s *The Citizen Reader*, for example, sold a staggering 500,000 copies between 1886 and 1910. It went through twenty-four editions and was occasionally revised to


\(^{297}\) In 1899, the Education Department became the “Board of Education.”

suit national guidelines and changing social attitudes.\textsuperscript{299} Even though English textbooks were published privately, with little national oversight, authors and publishers still modified textbook content to take the Education Department’s (or Board of Education’s) guidelines into account. Thus, although government requirements and the approach toward civic education differed in England and Japan, the overall concept of an ideal citizen remained remarkably similar.

**Education: The duty of the child**

Citizenship and ethics textbooks emphasized the importance of children actively seeking and receiving an education. The inclusion of education as an important duty to the nation can be considered as part of a larger process of legitimizing the existence of the educational system itself. But schools also taught social morality and skills considered necessary for success in an industrialized nation. Textbooks’ emphasis on the importance of education could also be seen as an effort to reinforce school attendance and justify the purpose of elementary schooling to parents who had trouble affording it due to the loss of children’s wages or the actual cost of tuition.

Textbooks justified the importance of education in various ways, but they generally framed it in terms of its use to the nation and society. In the elementary citizenship reader, *The Model Citizen*, authors H. Osman Newland and Russell L. Jones argued that the school provided students a safe environment in which to learn the values necessary to society.

“There [at school] we make our first friends and our first enemies; there we find not only that we cannot do always as we like, but that there are others of the same age as ourselves who are stronger and more clever than we are, and this makes us try to equal and surpass them; there also we learn toleration for others.”300 This quote presented the concept of sacrificing one’s desires and embracing discipline. It also normalized competition by seemingly encouraging students to work hard to surpass others. In general, this passage elucidated that the school taught students the most basic rules of society.

Textbooks in both countries explained that education taught students how to take care of themselves both physically and mentally. According to the 1910 version of the Japanese national sixth grade ethics textbook, education served to “develop each citizen’s [kokumin] morality, increase his/her knowledge, and make physically healthy children.”301 One note must be made regarding the decision to translate kokumin as citizen. I chose to do so because of the way textbooks used the term to describe the duties, responsibilities, and rights of the Japanese people. Although some translate the term to mean Japanese people, I argue that in context the term is used much more similarly to the English word “citizen” and was thus chosen for continuity.302 In his Citizen Reader, Arnold-Forster argued that education inculcated “habits of punctuality, of good manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness…cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour

and truthfulness of word and act." Textbooks taught students the values necessary for success in society, and education formed the basis for this success.

Furthermore, textbooks emphasized that accepting these values and excelling in formal studies provided the means for a boy to improve his class situation. A boy who passes all his standards, and does well at school, may win one of these prizes, which will enable him to go on to a higher kind of school... If he does well here too, he may get another scholarship which will enable him, when he is old enough, to pass on to one of the Universities... and in time he may become a doctor, a lawyer, or a clergyman, and rise to the head of his profession.

Although Arnold-Forster depicted education as the first step towards upward mobility, this narrative failed to address the fact that the government designed English elementary schools primarily as a terminal program rather than a stepping-stone to secondary education. English educationalists generally considered elementary and secondary education different in nature and purpose.

English textbooks recognized competition among peers for educational advancement while also describing education as a national duty. According to Arnold-Forster, children needed to attend school regularly to ensure that all students had equal access to education.

But even more importantly, actively seeking knowledge and enhancing one’s abilities was an essential duty of English citizens. “Every boy or girl who goes to school willingly and
cheerfully is doing his or her duty as a good citizen, for of course it would be no good at all for the law to send children to school if the children wasted their time and neglected their work when they got there.” In order to attain the benefits of education, students needed to actively strive to make use of the opportunities available to them.

English textbooks also described education as a marker of civilization and the means to maintain England’s position in the world. “You should be glad to go to school, because by training your mind…you will be better able to serve your country and be a good citizen. And, lastly…because it is only by the instruction you get there that you can hope to get on in your trade or profession, whatever it may be, and to prevent being left behind by cleverer workers and quicker hands in foreign countries.” All citizens needed to promote education, according to Charles Wyatt, because it benefitted the nation as a whole. “It is the duty of all good citizens to promote education. Parents must help the authorities by keeping their children regularly at school. It is not only a public duty, but it is a duty of the parent to the child to see that he suffers no disadvantage through neglect of education.” Thus, textbooks even empowered children to demand access to education from their parents because they learned that receiving an education was the “proper” route to adulthood. Moreover, Newland and Jones argued that access to education distinguished “civilized” from “uncivilized” children. “The most important of our local institutions is the school. Most of us love our

308 Ibid, 23.
309 Ibid, 189-190.
school. If we do not, we ought to, because we owe to it that education which distinguishes us from the savage, and which enables us to earn our own living honestly.”

In Japanese textbooks, however, education was depicted as enabling all students to rise to a higher level together, but was not necessarily a system that allowed certain students to achieve a significant amount of success over other pupils; put differently, textbooks did not promote the idea that education should permit individuals to rise solely for their own benefit according to their individual merit. This openly contrasts with the design of the educational system, which was designed to allow only the top achievers in each level to advance to the next level, provided they had the financial means to continue. Thus, the textbook interpretation attempted to downplay competition, which reflected a desire on the part of Ministry officials to harness the spirit of risshin shusse (rising in the world) and put it to use for national goals, even though the structure of the system rewarded individual achievement. The 1910 sixth grade ethics textbook argued, “The reason for children to enter school and to receive an education is to ensure that the common people will not be subordinate and our nation will become equally fit.” This quote demonstrates the Meiji leaders’ perception that having an educated (and therefore “civilized”) populace bolstered Japanese claims of equality and also demonstrates the lasting humiliation caused by the unequal treaties, which placed the Japanese people in a subordinate status because Westerners considered the Japanese to be less civilized. Thus, according to the national

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311 Newland and Jones, The Model Citizen, 31.
textbooks, Japanese education allowed commoners to raise their level of education to a higher but generally equal level to that they could compete internationally and earn the respect of the West. History textbooks told stories of individuals who excelled based on their own skills and hard work, such as Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but the sections that addressed education in particular aimed to promote the rise of all Japanese, even though the educational system itself was designed to reward students based on merit.

Japanese ethics textbooks also reinforced the idea of education as a fundamental obligation of Japanese subjects to their sovereign, as stated in the Imperial Rescript on Education: “Ye, Our subjects…pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers.” This involved aggressively embracing the markers of civilization such as avoiding superstition and actively developing knowledge. Students were taught never to underestimate the value of learning because the lessons taught in school provided skills they could use in the future for their benefit. The 1910 fourth grade ethics textbook explained this concept by recounting the story of Hachiman Taro Yoshiie, a famous warrior from the Minamoto clan who used his knowledge of military arts to defeat his foes. This story connected military success to knowledge and learning, an undoubtedly poignant message in the years following Japan’s triumph over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.

The textbooks in both countries, therefore, taught students that their fundamental duty as children involved actively taking advantage of the educational opportunity provided to

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them through compulsory education. Although this message arguably taught students to accept the values and knowledge offered by the ruling and middle-classes, schools portrayed these values as necessary and important for success in society and for the country’s national prosperity. Moreover, the prospect of being turned into national citizens, who embraced dominant values, did not necessarily go against the wishes of students. According to Hobsbawm, writing about late nineteenth-century Europe, “From the point of view of poor men looking for work and to better themselves in a modern world there was nothing wrong with peasants being turned into Frenchmen.” The process of creating national citizens thus appeared to have the potential to benefit all members in society, and therefore became a national goal.

**Work, Thrift, and Self-Reliance: The duty of the individual**

Values of work, thrift, and self-reliance received considerable attention in citizenship, ethics, and even history textbooks, which were idealized to reinforce and expand capitalist social structures. Because capitalist industry required a significant population of inexpensive laborers, textbooks sought to create citizens who unquestioningly embraced the obligation to work and save, even under harsh conditions. A key part of this process involved teaching the poor to minimize their dependence on society or the state.

English textbooks portrayed pauperism as a historical problem with devastating effects on contemporary society that needed to be solved by instilling the capitalist values described above. Textbooks claimed that the problems of pauperism originated with Queen

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Elizabeth I’s Poor Law of 1601. The Elizabethan law required that parishes collect taxes to assist those in need in their localities. According to textbooks, instead of helping the poor survive in bad circumstances, this poor law “destroyed all habits of thrift and even self respect among the poor,”318 but also depressed wages as employers used public assistance as a subsidy that allowed them to pay their employees less. According to Wyatt, this law created a hereditary class of lazy people “who prefer to be idle and who will not work”319 and depended on government assistance. According to the texts, the new Poor Law, passed in 1834, attempted to correct these problems by encouraging “industry, self-help, and economy.”320 Wyatt argued that one of the best ways of stopping pauperism from getting passed down to the next generation involved separating children from their parents:

“Accurate observation shows that the ranks of pauperism are largely supplied by those who have hereditary tendencies to lead idle and dissipated lives. The most helpful side of the Poor Law is seen when we study the efforts which are being made to rescue children from the taint of pauperism.”321 Again, textbooks portrayed parents as a potential block to their children’s success, and texts taught students to denounce their parents’ bad habits. Another benefit of education, he concluded, was “the inculcation of thrift and industry in the younger generation.”322

319 Wyatt, The English Citizen, 81.
321 Wyatt, The English Citizen, 81.
322 Ibid, 83.
English textbooks specifically related the values of hard work, thrift and self-reliance to the larger society and indicated that depending on government assistance essentially constituted theft of someone else’s work. Arnold-Forster presented this as a hypothetical situation: “Supposing a man does not save, but when hard times come, or misfortune occurs, or old age is at hand, is unable to earn anything to support life, and is thus forced to go to the workhouse or to accept relief from others, then we shall see directly that a real injustice is being done [emphasis added.]”323 He continued, “In order, therefore, that a man should not become a burden upon his neighbors, it is his duty to save money.”324 Self-reliance, according to this analysis, came from working diligently and saving a small amount from an early age to prepare for accidents. Because citizenship authors considered a good citizen to

323 Arnold-Forster, The Citizen Reader, 193.
324 Ibid, 194.
be self-reliant, they argued that it was his or her duty to ensure that he or she started saving and practicing thrift at a young age.

Not only are saving and thrift most important and necessary for particular men and women [in the working classes], but it is one of the greatest use to the country generally that all its citizens should be thrifty and saving. It is only those who are free from want and poverty who can be contented, and it is only a country in which the greater number of the inhabitants are contented that can be really strong.  

Significantly, citizenship textbooks placed all responsibility for worker welfare on the workers. In keeping with liberal economic ideology, textbook authors rejected the notion that injuries from work — regardless of the often dangerous nature of factory employment — warranted an exemption from the requirement of personal responsibility for one’s welfare.

History textbooks downplayed the harshness of factory life by explaining how conditions had improved after Parliament passed the Factory Acts of 1833. In comparison to earlier conditions, the working conditions of late nineteenth-century England appeared in textbook depictions as almost luxurious. According to The Advanced History of England, life in the early nineteenth century seemed woefully desperate for the working classes.

It is indeed difficult for us in these days to realise how miserable was the condition of the labouring classes...A long period of bad weather had been followed by a succession of bad harvests, so that in agricultural districts there was much poverty and distress. In the industrial districts, too, trade was depressed, wages were low, bread was dear, and the population was rapidly increasing.”

Moreover, factories exploited the labor of women and children who performed work “much too hard for their strength.” Passing the Factory Acts greatly diminished worker exploitation, textbooks claimed, and led to more higher-paying job opportunities for males.

325 Ibid.
327 Longmans’ Ship Historical Reader, the Seventh Reader (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), 73.
Thus, went the textbook accounts, the passage of the Factory Acts combined with the repeal of the Corn Laws advanced the status and improved the life of the working-class citizen, who was defined increasingly as male. Wrote John Finnemore in his *Social Life in England: An Elementary Historical Reader*: “Turning to the labour of men, we see that the position of the operative has marvelously improved during the century… There are many things about which the working man still grumbles, but this he cannot say: that he is no better off than was his ancestor who bore the burden of labour one hundred years ago.” Wyatt echoed these sentiments and went further, arguing that the Factory Acts benefitted all members of the working classes.

It was said that we must not interfere with trade, and that people had a perfect right to work as long as they cared to do. The legislation was obtained, however, and now the hours that women and children may work are prescribed, dangerous employments are regulated, the health of the workplace is protected, workshops and factories are regularly examined by inspectors appointed by the Government, in order to see that no undue risk is run from the machinery, and that fairly healthy conditions are observed—all to the great moral and physical advantage of the workers, and the result has certainly not been disastrous to the progress of trade and manufactures.

English textbooks therefore portrayed the Factory Acts as overwhelmingly beneficial to people in the working classes: they had more leisure time, healthier work environments, and better opportunities for employment. The textbooks failed to analyze the results of excluding women and children from factory work, omitting, for example, the fact that children left factory work for jobs without strict regulation. Furthermore, textbooks failed to discuss the financial impact the Factory Acts had on families without a healthy male supporter. By dismissing any problems that still endured in industrial life, English history and citizenship

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textbooks sought to endorse the current regime of factory work. They examined the great advances made in industrial life at great length and also encouraged students to take full responsibility for their own financial success.

Unlike England, where industrial and capitalism had fully taken hold by the twentieth century, Japan remained slightly behind in terms of heavy industry. The Japanese capitalist system was born in the 1870s, when the free market in land was made legal, freedom of occupation was instituted, and new banks were created. Because Japanese leaders wanted to advance capitalist development, textbooks reinforced the values considered necessary for a capitalist economy dependent on free labor. Although ethics textbooks never explicitly connected capitalistic development to these values, the 1910 fifth grade text connected the value of hard work to silk cultivation and national progress. Geography textbooks also connected industry to progress by including prefectural industrial statistics, descriptions of advanced civilizations, and line drawings that showed factories, railroads, and other technologies. It seems likely that some students would have made the connection between the values and messages in ethics books and the narrative of progress in geography texts.

Ethics textbooks from this period also emphasized the value of working hard every day and saving money. The fourth grade ethics textbook from 1910 recounted a story of Takadazen Yuemon who worked as a merchant. At age seventeen he started working for himself, year after year, carrying goods on his back from village to village, in rain or wind, and over mountains and plains. Eventually he earned a small profit and passed his knowledge for hard work down to his children.\footnote{“Jiritsu Jiei” [One’s Independence] \textit{Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan shi} [Elementary Ethics, Level Four] (Tokyo: Monbusho: 1910), 21-25.} Even Western figures such as Benjamin Franklin made an appearance in ethics textbooks to teach the value of hard-work, thrift, and discipline. The sixth grade textbook used Franklin’s story as a model for students to follow. According to this narrative, Franklin started working at a young age in order to buy books with which to educate himself. He worked hard to advance his education, and at twelve he started working in a printing shop. His constant desire to work and to educate himself, the textbook claimed,
proved Franklin’s “excellence and goodness”\textsuperscript{336} of character. Japanese ethics texts included anecdotes of exemplary individuals and groups, which taught children to appropriate the values of exceptional individuals while also considering the good of the nation.\textsuperscript{337}

Unlike the English approach of describing thrift in terms of monetary value, Japanese textbooks focused almost entirely on appreciating the inherent worth of goods and discouraging self-indulgence. For example, in one story from the 1910 ethics textbook for third graders, a group of samurai learned to more fully appreciate paper, an apparently simple commodity, after seeing the tremendous effort that went into making it.\textsuperscript{338} Textbooks also taught students to practice modesty in their lives, which included shunning luxury even if one held a high social position. The fifth grade ethics textbook from 1910 told the story of a Takayama 	extit{daimyō} who gave his father a cotton under-robe to wear when he visited. The father scoffed when he saw it and said, “Is this a robe for a 	extit{daimyō}?”\textsuperscript{339} As it turned out, the son always gave his family cotton under-robies to remind them of the value of thrift. These stories emphasized the inherent value in objects while also teaching students to consider the production and meaning of the items they used. Moreover, stories like this encouraged students to live in the same manner as those less fortunate, which intended to create a feeling of social connectedness.

\textsuperscript{337} When English textbooks included anecdotes, they incorporated a similar mixture between stories extolling individual’s and collective group’s success. See Arnold-Forster, \textit{The Citizen Reader}.
Whereas English textbooks depicted pauperism as a social ill that stemmed from bad policy in the Elizabethan era, Japanese ethics textbooks depicted the Japanese people as historically industrious and thrifty in an attempt to inculcate these values. This reflected the sentiment of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education as well as the Boshin Imperial Rescript of 1908. The Rescript on Education portrayed the values of modesty and hard work as not only historical, but inherent to the Japanese character:

Bear yourselves in modesty and moderation…furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests…so shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places.⁴⁴⁰

Although the Rescript on Education emphasized modesty, thrift, and hard work as inherent components of the Japanese character, the Boshin Imperial Rescript of 1908 influenced the content of the 1910 national textbooks even more with regard to these values. The Rescript’s authors hoped it would help society by “making a people who work harder.”⁴⁴¹ It encouraged people to practice frugality in managing their households, live modestly, and refuse to indulge themselves.⁴⁴² But, according to Carol Gluck, the Rescript also connected these values to the progress of civilization. “The emperor enjoined his ‘loyal subjects’ to follow these ‘teachings of Our revered Ancestors’ in order ‘to keep pace with the rapid progress of the world and share in the blessings of civilization.”⁴⁴³ The reasons for emphasizing these values, Gluck notes, involved the need to combat the economic hardship that prevailed after

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⁴⁴² Garon, Molding Japanese Minds, 9.
⁴⁴³ Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 92.
the Russo-Japanese War as well as encourage pupils to reject individualism in favor of greater devotion to the nation.\footnote{Ibid, 91; 177.}

The economic burdens resulting from the expensive war with Russia and high government expenditures for capitalist development prompted the Home Ministry to organize the Local Improvement Movement \((chihō kairyō undō)\) for “mobilizing material and spiritual support for the mounting costs of government.”\footnote{Kenneth B. Pyle “The Technology of Japanese Nationalism: The Local Improvement Movement, 1900-1918” in The Journal of Asian Studies 33, no. 1 (1973): 52.} This movement was also intended to encourage national progress by mobilizing the population to create self-reliant local communities.\footnote{Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 93-197; Garon, Molding Japanese Minds, 9.} Ethics textbooks complemented the movement’s messages. The 1910 fifth grade ethics text, for example, told the story of industrious villagers who moved to a “wasteland” and transformed it into a successful place for agriculture and silkworm cultivation. The textbook described the people’s incentive to undertake this project by describing how the government offered a tax incentive that eliminated taxes for three years if the villagers reclaimed unused land. The villagers worked very hard growing rice and mulberry trees as well as cultivating silk worms. After years of hard work, the former wasteland had been transformed into a wealthy and prosperous place, solely through the industry of the people.\footnote{“Sangyō wo Okose” [Make Prosperous Industry] in Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan go [Elementary Ethics, Level Five] in Taikei, vol 3,100.} Thus, textbooks claimed that working to improve society and help others was even more important than working hard for personal benefit and gain.\footnote{See Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan ni [Elementary Ethics Textbook, level two] and Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan san [Elementary Ethics, level three] in Taikei, vol 3,68-74; 75-83.}

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\[\text{Ibid, 91; 177.}\]
\[\text{Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 93-197; Garon, Molding Japanese Minds, 9.}\]
\[\text{See Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan ni [Elementary Ethics Textbook, level two] and Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan san [Elementary Ethics, level three] in Taikei, vol 3,68-74; 75-83.}\]
The Public and Private Sphere: Duties Defined by Gender

Because history, geography, and citizenship/ethics textbooks focused on public duties and responsibilities, women rarely appeared as subjects worthy of examination or consideration. However, the omission of women’s roles did not mean that they played an unimportant role in society. Compulsory education affected girls as much as boys, in principle if not in practice, and society expected girls to fulfill their roles and duties in their “separate sphere.”³⁴⁹ Whereas English men, in theory, participated in politics by voting, women needed to operate in the background, keeping men healthy so that they could fulfill their duties and raise the next generation of citizens. Japanese textbooks incorporated the slogan of “good wife, wise mother” (ryōsai kenbo) that demonstrates the Japanese leaders’ awareness of international trends and an attempt to combine them with earlier elite concepts of Japanese femininity.

The notion of the “separate sphere” functioned tenuously within the discussion of history in English textbooks, for the idea that women needed to fulfill specific private roles contradicted the fact that England had been ruled by powerful female monarchs. In the Chamber’s Alternative History Readers, the author sought to mitigate this tension by emphasizing Queen Victoria’s feminine characteristics. The day after her father died, wrote the author, “Her beautiful complexion and fair hair were clearly revealed against the background of her plain black silk dress, and as she stood there, her face bathed in tears, the sight touched the hearts of the people. After the proclamation was read the Queen threw

herself into the arms of her mother.\textsuperscript{350} This passage depicted Victoria as emotional and predisposed to acting emotionally in the public spotlight. So textbooks portrayed her as sound enough in political judgment to leave public matters to the Prime Minister and her husband while she focused on the condition of her people and her family.\textsuperscript{351}

English and Japanese schools taught students gender differences through textbooks and gender-specific subjects in the curriculum. In both countries, schools taught female students how to sew and properly care for their families.\textsuperscript{352} The inclusion of hygiene and

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Queen Victoria (Source: \textit{Chambers's Alternative History Reader}, p. 14).}
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\textsuperscript{350} \textit{Chambers's Alternative History Readers}, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid, 13-21.
\textsuperscript{352} In Japan, sewing was a mandatory subject in the upper elementary schools starting in 1881. Takeo Miyata, \textit{Development of School Curricula in Japan} (Tokyo: Ministry of Education of Japan, 1961), 10. In England,
cleanliness in the curriculum also reflected a general concern for the health of the working classes at the turn of the century. In England, hygiene became a foremost concern following the shocking “unfitness of the slum denizens of the big cities who had come forward for recruitment during the Boer War.” As English historian Anna Davin notes, “Middle-class convention of the time took for granted that the proper context of childhood was the family, and the person most responsible the mother. So if the survival of infants and the health of children was in question, it must be the fault of the mothers, and if the nation needed healthy future citizens (and soldiers and workers) then mothers must improve.” In Japan, some reformers attributed juvenile delinquency to environmental factors that could be aided or resolved by proper hygiene and care such as “fresh air, physical training, schooling, moral guidance, love, and work.” In both countries, girls were taught to be scientific in their approach to food preparation and cleaning, and textbooks represented these duties as fundamental to the health of the nation.

Girls, textbooks explained, needed to embrace their natural characteristics to nurture others and ensure domestic strength and harmony. In a chapter on “domestic economy,” the author of an English domestic reader emphasized that women needed to learn how to prepare healthy food and maintain a hygienic home:

Domestic economy includes a knowledge of food, clothing, and washing; the warming, ventilation, and cleaning of the dwelling; the health of the persons who live in the house; and

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356 Sand, House and Home in Modern Japan, 70-71.

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the care of the sick. It teaches us what food to buy and how to prepare it; how to dress in a suitable and healthy manner; how to keep ourselves, our clothing, and our houses clean and healthy; and how to nurse the sick. Every one should know something of what domestic economy teaches, but girls and women ought to know a good deal. They cannot learn too much. This knowledge is so very important, it has to do so much with our daily lives, it affects our comfort and our health, and may even be the means of lengthening our lives.  

Japanese ethics textbooks emphasized learning about motherhood, hygiene, and household management from the mother. The 1910 sixth grade Japanese text, for example, focused specifically on the influence of women on household peace and harmony. Natural physical differences, the text argued, necessitated different roles for each in society.

Although girls’ bodies are weaker than boys, boys should be considerate toward women….Girls and boys are equally the leaders of all creation, but their duties are different. A girl’s activities reside in the house and family where she works to build peace and harmony…A girl learns how to raise quality children from her mother. By and by, when those children grow into adulthood, this will influence the rise and fall of a nation’s honor. Therefore, boys’ and girls’ duties are important to consider. Always fulfill your duty with prudence.

English and Japanese textbooks and gendered subjects thus naturalized differences between boys and girls from an early age. Textbooks told countless stories about male heroism and patriotic duty and charged women with the task of finding creative ways to fulfill their duty to the nation. Arnold-Forster claimed, “The women are just as much bound to think of the part they ought to play in making England great and happy as the men. If they care about doing it, there will always be plenty of ways in which they can set to work.”

Interestingly, both English and Japanese textbooks used Florence Nightingale as the prime example of the way an (unmarried) woman could serve the nation. Some English history textbooks devoted whole sections to her efforts in the Crimean War. These textbooks

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358 “Boys’ duties and girls’ duties,” Elementary Ethics Textbook, Level Six in Taikei, 121.
359 Arnold-Forster, The Citizen Reader, 16.
portrayed her as a heroic and dedicated citizen who worked tirelessly nursing sick and wounded soldiers in dangerous places, noting, for example, that even after she contracted an illness in Balaklava, a still active battleground, “the authorities wished her to return to England; but while there was one sick soldier in the Crimea, Miss Nightingale determined to remain at her post.” Nightingale’s courage, sacrifice, and dedication provided an example to other women of “the many ways in which women can take an active share in the work of the world.” Textbooks likely portrayed Nightingale as an exemplary individual and patriot because she was unmarried; it is doubtful that texts would have given the same consideration to a married woman whose first priority should have involved caring for her family. It also does not appear as though English or Japanese texts actually wanted students to copy Nightingale’s example; instead she was included because she was exceptional. However, nursing could have been presented as an occupation for a woman prior to marriage or as an alternative in case a young woman was unable to get married.

360 Chambers’s Alternative History Readers, 105.
361 Longmans’ Ship Historical Reader, 82.
The fourth grade Japanese ethics textbook from 1910 used two stories about Nightingale that echoed the same sentiments as the English historical readers. The first story, likely fictional, portrayed Nightingale as deeply devoted to caring for living things, even from an early age. According to the story, a weak and wounded sheep dog approached her. She cleaned and nursed the dog’s wound and he recovered. Later, she came across the dog, and he enthusiastically ran to her as if in thanks for taking such good care of him. Not only did this story reinforce the idea of helping other living things without the potential for reward, it also taught girls (and probably even boys) to care for their fellow creatures from a young age. The next story discussed Nightingale’s actions in the Crimean War. The textbook described her as a greatly devoted nurse and urged students to “admire those with deeply

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362 “Ikimono o awareme” [Care for Living Things] Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan shi [Elementary Ethics, Level Four], 35-36.
charitable hearts." This textbook also made sure to relate Nightingale’s efforts to national goals by adding that Nightingale received thanks from Queen Victoria for her service to the country. The inclusion of both stories implied that caring for others was a necessary aspect of a girl’s duties, and that these duties could be taken a step further to help the nation. Although boys could undoubtedly learn from these lessons, the fact that textbooks chose to use Nightingale as the example suggests the authors intended the lesson primarily for girls.

Married women, according to Japanese textbooks, did not need to go abroad to fulfill their duty to the nation as nurses. Rather, married women fulfilled their primary duty by taking care of the family while their husbands went away. The fifth grade ethics textbook illustrated this point by recounting a story from the Edo period (1603-1868) when daimyō were forced to practice “alternate attendance.” Under this system, feudal lords alternated residences between the shogun’s capital and their domain every two years, but the families of

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the daimyō remained (as hostages) in the capital at all times. The textbook described how the wife behaved while her husband was away. Her husband left her a budget of twenty ryō to maintain the household, which she managed by practicing frugality, doing her own chores, and raising her son independently. Although lonely, the textbook maintained, she made sure to perform her duty with perseverance. Upon her husband’s return, he was pleased that she had “maintained her integrity and frugality, worked hard, and was not careless.”364 This wife fulfilled her duty to the family, and because Japanese leaders considered the nation a family, the textbook argued that she satisfied her duty to the nation as well by acting as a good wife and wise mother (ryōsai kenbo). At the end of the story, the textbook connected the moral to the Imperial Rescript on Education, which “aims to protect the honor of the family. This duty is found deep in the heart of each good Japanese person.”365

Women occupied a special role in English and Japanese society, but working-class girls or poor girls learned about their duty in terms of middle-class values. Textbooks in both countries ignored stories of working-class women or girls, although the Japanese textbooks avoided defining national duties and responsibilities based on class. Womanly duties were kept in the private sphere, and textbooks denied girls and women a place in public society other than as nurses and caretakers. Yet even the option of nursing was only a projection of private duties onto the national stage.

**Duty to the Nation**

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365 Ibid.
In both England and Japan, the teaching of morality and the teaching of nationalism came to be inextricably fused. In 1885, W.E. Forster, the MP responsible for introducing the 1870 Elementary Education Act, wrote the preface to his adopted son’s citizenship textbook, *The Citizen Reader*, in which he argued that citizenship education also had a place in elementary schools. “Already much has been done by the issue of specially prepared books to instruct children with regard to history, science, and other branches of learning. Why should not a similar effort be made to instruct them in the duties of citizenship?” By 1899, the British Ministry of Education stressed the importance of civic education in the evening continuation school code, arguing that:

Public Duties accompany all forms of work in life, whatever the occupation or profession. Serving personal interest alone is not enough. The individual benefits from a well-ordered community. The community ought to benefit in its turn from the efforts of the individual “All for each” should be requited by “each for all.” The reasons for attachment to our country and for a sense of duty towards our fellow citizens are similar to those for love of home and family. Loyalty to one’s own village or town should lead to a larger patriotism. Those who are growing up into citizenship should realise their debt to the men and women who have served the nation generously and wisely in the past, and their own duty to their country in the present. Self interest and class interest should be subordinate to general and national interests.

In his own introduction to the book, author Arnold-Forster communicated his desire that children learn citizenship as a way of understanding “the duties owed by British Citizens to their country, their countrymen, and themselves.” Civic education in England involved more than understanding how government worked; it concerned teaching students how citizens needed to behave in modern society.

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Kikuchi Dairoku, the former Minister of Education, expressed a similar sentiment in his lecture on elementary education in Japan given in 1909 at the University of London. According to the Imperial Ordinance on Elementary Education issued in 1900 (and amended in 1903 and 1907), he said, “Elementary schools are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education and of civic education, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for life, while due attention is paid to their bodily development.”

To Kikuchi, only the Japanese people could fully appreciate the cultural foundations of moral education and the Imperial Rescript on Education. He portrayed the messages in ethics textbooks as innate to the Japanese character, not an effect of ideological conditioning. Perhaps Kikuchi truly believed that moral education reflected an essential Japanese character, but whether he did or not, he presented moral education as such and appeared to accept this invented tradition as genuine. Historians such as Carol Gluck, on the other hand, have observed that the concern over civic education reflected years of debate about what form Japanese modernity should take. In the late 1880s, leaders called for an end to the debate: “If the state were to be established, institutionally and ideologically, then it was time, people said, for imperial Japan to make up its collective mind.” By the twentieth century, education served to make Japanese people citizens with a “sound sense of nation” by basing instruction in morality and national duties. Moreover, the shift towards education for citizenship in Japan resembled a similar transition in Great Britain as discussed in chapter one.

370 Ibid., 3.
371 Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 21.
372 Quote from Gluck, Japan’s Modern Myths, 25.
English and Japanese textbooks worked to foster patriotism in similar ways. These textbooks taught students to understand national symbols, such as the flag and national holidays. Both English and Japanese students needed to comprehend and acknowledge the meaning of the flag in order to internalize its presence as a symbol of authority.\textsuperscript{373} In the fourth grade Japanese ethics reader, the explanation of the hinomaru [rising-sun flag] taught students that the flag was “the mark of the nation,” and therefore “to Japanese people, the hinomaru flag must be precious.”\textsuperscript{374} Arnold-Forster presented the Union Jack as a symbol of civilized government and freedom, and therefore also a symbol of the British people.

When the Union Jack is properly used in any place, it is as much as to say, Here is something belonging to England, and which the people of England have undertaken to protect…while sometimes it is hoisted in a country which has never before had a civilised government, and then all the world knows that from that time forward England is going to undertake the government of that country, and is going to see that right and justice are done there [emphasis added].\textsuperscript{375}

English and Japanese textbooks connected national symbols to the values and duties presented in the textbooks so that students knew how to show their respect to the nation. But textbooks also sought to make symbols visible reminders to students of their various duties to the nation.\textsuperscript{376}

In the early part of the twentieth century, the similarities in the portrayal of English and Japanese citizens in primary school textbooks far outweighed the differences. Both English and Japanese students were taught to embrace education, thrift, self-reliance, and hard work in order to help the nation achieve success and continue to progress. Both men and women were taught to perform complementary gendered roles in English and Japanese

\textsuperscript{373} Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy, 25.
\textsuperscript{374} “Kokuki” [National Flag] Jinjō Shōgaku Shūshin Sho, kan shi [Elementary Ethics, Level Four], 39.
\textsuperscript{375} Arnold-Forster, The Citizen Reader, 132.
\textsuperscript{376} See Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy and Hobsbawm, ed. The Invention of Tradition.
society. All children were taught that they needed to sacrifice for the good of the nation. Textbooks prepared students to sacrifice by encouraging them to accept their social roles and discipline themselves accordingly.

As these textbooks demonstrate, in England, the most established among the industrial nations, and Japan, a newly-industrializing nation, elites envisioned a very similar concept of citizenship and a modern nation. Even though English textbooks claimed that sovereignty lay with the people and Japanese texts asserted that sovereignty rested with the emperor, the texts portrayed the same actions and behaviors as characteristic of good citizenship. This understanding runs counter to the idea that an English liberal education would create different citizens from those raised in a more authoritarian Japanese system. Thus, international ideas, heretofore underemphasized, offered new ways to respond to local conditions and needs, thus producing results that show striking similarities despite local conditions.
Conclusion: Avenues for Future Investigation

Despite the apparent differences between England and Japan or English and Japanese educational systems, a study of textbooks reveals that the two were remarkably similar. Between 1890 and 1914, English and Japanese textbooks sought to inspire children to see themselves as crucial components of the nation. Textbooks guided students by teaching them what they should do to serve their families and themselves, but in both countries, duty to the nation took precedence over individual desires and family needs. English and Japanese students were told to practice discipline by suppressing their desire for luxuries and pleasure and sacrificing willingly for the good of the nation. But before students could even begin to consider sacrificing for an obscure concept, textbooks needed to define the nation as a historical and tangible thing. Therefore, textbooks historicized the nation while simultaneously depicting it as inherently progressive.

To some extent, the growth of public elementary education in the West and Japan in the late nineteenth century represented the desire of the government to harness popular nationalism and turn it into “official nationalism” so that the people supported the government and the monarch/emperor who legitimized it. But modern countries also depended on industrialization and capitalist development. Popular education therefore served to create successful citizens who filled national needs through their official capacities as soldiers and officials as well as non-official capacities as producers of goods and services. The success and power of the nation depended on having a productive and contented workforce, so textbooks prescribed measures that encouraged students to sacrifice their

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desires for themselves and the nation. Citizenship and ethics textbooks in England and Japan sought to inculcate values necessary for capitalist development and national progress by making the values appear imperative for an individual’s success in modern society.

Although this thesis focused on the establishment of English and Japanese elementary education and textbook content, a future study would benefit from more in-depth analysis of pedagogical trends used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and what they convey about the process of learning. Is it safe to conclude that the concept of learning that developed in the international context permeated down to the commoner who attended public school in each of these countries? Moreover, what did it mean for students to learn in the late nineteenth century, and how does this differ from modern conceptions? How were students expected to learn material through memorization, recitation, or more exploratory methods? How did teachers and students use textbooks to teach and learn? Were students allowed or encouraged to read silently or take books home? How did the physical power in the classroom and school influence the learning process? The answers to these questions are outside the initial scope of this study, but they are important to understanding the purpose and usefulness of education in this time period.

One way to begin answering these questions would be to examine the effect of international educational reformers on English and Japanese pedagogy. In both England and Japan, the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and others encouraged a shift from rote memorization (called the “pouring in” [chūnyū] method in Japan) to progressive techniques that encouraged creative thinking, the
development of the mind, and making material relevant to students’ everyday lives.\textsuperscript{378} In England, supporters of the inclusion of history and geography in the elementary school curriculum justified their view by claiming that these subjects were particularly suited to making good citizens.\textsuperscript{379} Textbooks reflected this shift, and history texts moved toward presenting material in a narrative form rather than as a list of dates. Geography teachers’ manuals also incorporated these pedagogical theories by encouraging teachers to take students outside to encounter nature first-hand and to use story-telling to make the subject appeal to students.\textsuperscript{380} Because Japanese textbooks adopted a Western approach to organization and content, history texts also used narratives to present information. Furthermore, international theories on pedagogy and Western methods of instruction dominated early teaching at the Tokyo Normal School. Early graduates of the Tokyo Normal School used these influences to encourage others to adopt a less mechanical style of teaching and learning that focused more on communication and effective questioning.\textsuperscript{381} Yet even though these methods were advocated by the Tokyo Normal School and Ministry of Education, not all teachers had the training or understanding of these theories to use them appropriately.\textsuperscript{382} However, in both England and Japan, progressive teaching methods (which were not uniform in their own right) existed and were used alongside traditional methods that

\textsuperscript{381} Lincicome, Principle, Praxis, and the Politics, 57.
\textsuperscript{382} Ibid, 111-116.
emphasized memorization. Therefore, English and Japanese elementary education consisted of multiple understandings of how to teach, and at least as many, if not more ideas of what learning actually meant.

In schools, education became a supervised and communal activity. As stated in the introduction, evidence suggests that English and Japanese teachers used textbooks to teach pronunciation and reading fluency by having students read textbooks aloud. But Maeda Ai suggests a shift that began in the late nineteenth century where some people considered silent reading and reflection a necessary part of advanced learning. Although it is unclear whether students read together or individually when reading in class, regardless, their pronunciation and demeanor were constantly under supervision by the teacher and other classmates. This style of learning appears reminiscent of Foucault’s concept of the panopticon, which normalized behavior through surveillance and discipline. Textbooks became a medium for teaching students to pronounce and read passages similarly as well as inculcating ideologies and social constructs. Moreover, students were taught to train their body to act a certain way when reading; learning how to pronounce words involved training the mouth to form the sounds, and reading also required training the body to sit or stand in a certain way. A future study could therefore examine the relationship between the physical power in the classroom and the power that textbooks exercised. Learning was both a physical and mental exercise, and the physical aspect also deserves a more extensive analysis.

Human agency is another important concept that remains underdeveloped in this thesis that could be expanded upon in future research. Even if some students wholeheartedly embraced all the messages included in textbooks, the fact is that they chose to do so. However, it is unreasonable to expect that all students actively accepted all textbooks’ messages, especially when considering questions of class and authority, so a future study could examine what kind of material students found most persuasive. One could use oral histories, diaries, working-class newspapers, among other sources to ascertain which ideas students appeared to accept. Did most students embrace the material that most accurately reflected their own experiences while rejecting the rest? How did the family apparatus influence student performance in school? If students decided to accept ideas that undermined class solidarity or family ties, what persuaded them to do so?386 Textbooks attempted to educate, or perhaps more accurately re-educate, students by teaching knowledge and values that the ruling classes considered important, but students actively chose whether to adopt these values in their own lives.

Evidence suggests that a significant number of students accepted the material presented in textbooks, but perhaps not in the exact manner as the publishers or writers intended. For example, English textbooks noted that sovereignty resided with the people and argued that popular support legitimized the rule of the government even though most English people could not vote. Campaigns for universal male suffrage and women’s suffrage

continued after the period covered by this thesis, and in 1918, Parliament granted the franchise to all males over twenty one and women over thirty. The citizens unable to vote prior to 1918 demonstrated an acceptance of popular sovereignty, but they arguably did not embrace the message also contained in textbooks that encouraged students to be content in their stations. In the decade following World War I, many Japanese citizens demanded greater participation in the government, and the National Diet amended suffrage rights in response. In 1919, the Diet lowered the property qualification for political participation and granted universal suffrage to males in 1925. Moreover, the diet removed restrictions on women’s political participation by allowing women to marginally engage in politics in 1922.\footnote{Andrew Gordon, \textit{A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present}, second ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170.} Removing the earlier ban on women’s political participation went against textbooks’ messages about women’s place in the private sphere, demonstrating that Japanese men and women also chose to embrace certain messages over others.

There are many avenues still left to examine in a history of English and Japanese elementary education from 1890-1914. But future studies should not favor domestic trends and problems; the international dimension is equally important. An analysis of English and Japanese educational systems and content demonstrates the importance of both domestic and international influences and concerns. Moreover, most scholars do not examine these countries together because they consider them vastly different in terms of technological advancement, political structure, and style of education. An international approach challenges this idea. Textbooks from both countries demonstrate that public education sought to make national citizens, and that the term “national citizen” had similar meanings in both
England and Japan. Citizens needed to respect the authority of the government, to understand their own place in society, and be willing to sacrifice their personal desires for the sake of the nation. These motifs were masked by the cultural and historical characteristics of each country, but a comparative analysis makes it clear that messages contained in public elementary school textbooks reflected larger international trends.
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