

Critical Attitudes Toward Education in the Edo Period

—Edo and Early Meiji Education, II—

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There is no doubt that educational institutions flourished in the Edo period as never before. Why was this so? One of the reasons may be that the Bakufu's policy of non-interference in the field of education left students free to acquire such learning as appealed to them most strongly. It was more than 'conservatism'¹⁾ that suggested the choice of the teachings of Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintō. The passions roused by people's expectation of newly learned values from Neo-Confucianism, renewed interest in Shintō and Buddhism, especially in Shingaku movement in the Edo period, led to the founding of schools. From this point of view, Edo education can be regarded as an attempt to understand the truth and not just a way of transmitting values.

However, in practice, as the Edo period progressed, the weaknesses attracted more attention. Instead of attempting to understand the truth, ordinary teachers merely transmitted their knowledge of the texts in a formalistic way. The gap between expectation and performance by teachers gave rise to criticism that education was ineffective. It is to some of this criticism, in two little-explored sources, the testaments of leading Edo-period daimyō²⁾ and the private works of intellectuals, that we now come:

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- 1) R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965, p. 276.
 - 2) This type of material from an earlier period has recently attracted attention. See *Monumenta Nipponica* articles on 'The Imagawa Letter', vol. 28, No. 3, Autumn 1973, pp. 295-316, and 'Hōjō Sōun's Twenty-One Articles', vol. 29, No. 3, Autumn 1974, pp. 283-303, both by Carl Steenstrup. The influence of these two early works, especially the Imagawa admonitions, as educational materials in the Edo period was wide-spread. None of the Edo period testaments were as influential as the Imagawa or Hōjō Sōun codes of conduct.

(1) CRITICAL ATTITUDES EXPRESSED IN FAMILY PRECEPTS AND TESTAMENTS

In Japanese society, especially in the periods when the samurai ruled, the family was the most important element in society. The reasons for the long-term importance of the family are two-fold. Takahashi Shunjō says in his book *Nihon Kyōikushi*:

Then the *shōen* system develops, a family's finance all depends on the *shōen*. A *shōen* is a hereditary estate, and the present family life is entirely dependent on the ancestors' good graces. Ancestors in this respect always spiritually rule their descendants. This is the reason why the group called the family became firm and the relationship between father and son became tight after the late Heian period. This idea had a particularly strong effect on the samurai.³⁾

Dore in his book on the Tokugawa period, which focuses on samurai education, also says:

The system was held together by bounds of loyalty and obligation. They were, however, bonds between families, not between individuals.... In nearly every case the *raison d'être* of these relationships was a bond of relationship and alliance forged between the ancestors of these families in the wars of the late sixteenth century.⁴⁾

Social customs and habits which appeared in the most prominent of these samurai families were incorporated in family precepts, admonitions, rules or testaments left to his heirs by individual daimyō with strong personalities. The thoughts or opinions of those daimyō were transmitted as values to their family members, kin and followers. The more influential the daimyō, the more people in his society who were affected. These family precepts and testaments had some kind of moral force in guiding the people belonging to the daimyō. In this sense, these are educational materials which do not rely upon a system. It is not going too far to say that this transmission of values constitutes education itself in times when the education system was not yet developed.

Family precepts, testaments and so on, differ from legal codes, regulations and notices in that the latter were meant to give political guidance to society

3) Takahashi Shunjō, *Nihon Kyōikushi*, Kyōiku Kenkyūkai, Tokyo, 1940. p. 112.

4) Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, p. 10.

outside the family. It is quite natural that attitudes expressed towards outside society differ from those expressed within the family. For example, Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Buke Shohatto in 1615. In the first provision he urged study of both the literary arts and the military arts:

Study hard the literary arts and the military arts, including archery and horsemanship. An old principle puts the literary arts on the left and the military arts on the right. Both must be acquired. Archery and horsemanship are essential to military men. The practice of commanding soldiers or the use of evil weapons are to be adopted only when they are a last recourse. Peace must always bear war in mind. Should we not give ourselves to training?⁵⁾

But his 'Teaching on the Conduct of Life', which is supposed to have been given to his son Hidetada, expresses the opinion that learning is less important than the military arts, since learning causes a person to boast. (See Item 7 below.) Family precepts and so on are concrete counsel or wishes for the ancestor's descendants, based upon his real experience or hopes. In a closed society, truth is often told unofficially. Therefore these testaments must have had a strong influence. In short, political rules, legal codes and so on are the expression of a posture of defence against 'outer' society while family precepts and so on are the expression of kind help towards members of his 'inner' society. Therefore it is of interest to look for the people's attitudes to education in the influential families of those days through their family precepts, admonitions, rules and testaments.

Those materials are recorded in various places such as *Gunshoruijū*, *Zoku Gunshoruijū*, Naikaku Bunko, various family records and so on. The only book which has collected those materials together and made revisions is *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko, Kakunhen*.⁶⁾ All materials used in this section were taken from this book. When taking materials recorded in that book into this section, only materials which are about education or learning were chosen. The final set of family precepts entitled 'Shirakawa kō Kakun', collected in *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko* was not taken into this section for the following reasons: this family precept *supposed to be* by him has been left out, since the real author is, in fact, Muro Kyūsō, a Confucian scholar,⁷⁾ and in any case, the content referring to learning resembles that of Owari Muneharu's family precept (No. 18). The material presented here

5) Kodama Kōta (ed.), *Shiryō ni yoru Nihon no Ayumi*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Tokyo, 1955, p. 78.

6) Dōbunkan henshūkyoku (ed.), *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko, Kakunhen*, Dōbunkan, Tokyo, 1910. *Kakunhen* is the first volume of the set under the above name.

7) For details, see *ibid.*, p. 16, bibliographical introduction.

is sufficient to find significant social views, attitudes, as well as a clear trend in the criticism of education, because most of the authors are so well known and were influential in their day.⁸⁾ It is my opinion that the trend, generally speaking, shifted from a reliance on education to doubts about its suitability in meeting social or family needs.

This section starts well before the Edo period in order to demonstrate the differences in attitude.

1. Admonition of Imagawa Ryōshun (1412).

The admonition is divided into two parts, one briefly itemising the whole of his testimony in twenty-three parts, and the other one explaining what he thinks is important to add to these items. The first item says:

Ignorance in the Way of learning finally results in a lack of success in the Way of the military arts.⁹⁾

Then he says at the beginning of the second part of his admonition:

...the Four books and the Five Classics and other war books make it clear that if we have no learning, we cannot govern the country properly....¹⁰⁾

2. Family Rule of Hōjō Sōun (late 14th-early 15thC.).

The twelfth of his twenty one rules says:

You should have a book or some written material with you always, and when you have spare time, read it secretly....¹¹⁾

and number fifteen says:

A person who is ignorant of the way of poetry is really low. One must learn poetry. One must have modesty in one's speech. Even only one word can tell everything about oneself.¹²⁾

8) Kaibara Ekiken is the only exceptional one in the list who was not a samurai. He was famous as a Confucian teacher. He has been chosen in regard to his family precept for purposes of comparison. He was also chosen in the previous study, I.

9) *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko, Kakunhen*, p. 137. Carl Steenstrup translated 'Budō' as 'your skill in the Arts of War'. But this translation is too free according to the context.

10) *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 217. Steenstrup's translation is too literal in the interpretation of 'futokoro ni ire'.

12) *Ibid.*, p. 217.

and number seventeen says:

In order to have good friends, find friends of learning....¹³⁾

3. Family Admonition of Takeda Shingen (1558).

In the second volume of the Family Admonition, number ten says:

Do not neglect learning. The Analects say: be always careful about learning. The Analects of Confucius says that if one learns but does not think, one is ignorant, and if one thinks but does not learn, one is dangerous.¹⁴⁾

and the eleventh says:

You must study poetry....¹⁵⁾

4. The Tako Tokitaka Family Precepts (1544-62).

Tokitaka wrote his family precepts beginning with this sentence:

First of all, study of learning and writing is essential.... While young, one must study every day and every night. A person without learning cannot judge right or wrong. If a person speaks without understanding how to judge right and wrong, no one will listen to him. It is inferior to a dog's barking, because the dog barks to warn of the approach of another person and this is useful.¹⁶⁾

The sixth item says that the art of poetry is essential:

It is said that the art of poetry teaches all art and all arts teach only one art. The art of poetry contains everything in nature.¹⁷⁾

5. Written Will of Maeda Toshiie (1599).

The ninth item of the will says:

It is important to regard not only the military arts as essential. If there are samurai who are good in both learning and in military arts, select those who are good in knowledge and promote them even if they are

13) *Ibid.*, p. 218. I prefer my translation to Steenstrup in relation to the use of the word 'beki'.

14) *Ibid.*, p. 229.

15) *Ibid.*, p. 229.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 193.

new-comers.¹⁸⁾

6. Family Rule of Katō Kiyomasa (1600 ?).

In his seven rules, the final item says :

Regarding learning, you must study very hard. Read books on the military arts and always be loyal and dutiful. Do not be a lover of poetry, linked-verse or song, since these things will bring you weakness and regard for elegance, taste and artistic refinement, and so on. These things also change you into something really womanish.¹⁹⁾

7. Tokugawa Ieyasu's Teachings on the Conduct of Life (late Keichō, 1596-1614).

The last part of the twelfth item says :

Most importantly, you must obey the family rules.... Generally speaking, it is the safer way for a samurai family to take the way of the warrior. He who loses his family vocation becomes vain and forgets his social status. And he will instantly become boastful of his knowledge as if he is a kind of sage, even after glancing at books. Look at Ōuchi Yoshitaka, who became arrogant and had illusions as if he were one of the 'Sankō Gotei'. His vainglory ruined his family since he did not have the benefit of the way of the warrior.²⁰⁾

In the annex of Tokugawa Ieyasu's teachings, the fourth item of the twenty nine items says :

Ieyasu says again that one who ignores his own samurai family tradition and tends to the arts of poetry and neglects military arts, aping the way of the nobles, will destroy his family.²¹⁾

The fifth item says :

Ieyasu says that a man who leads people must know how to unite learning and the military arts, and govern on the base of two ideas, military discipline and law. The leader must use men who know their jobs properly.²²⁾

18) *Ibid.*, p. 244.

19) *Ibid.*, p. 251.

20) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 313.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 313.

8. Kuroda Nagamasa's Will and Testament (1622).

The last item of his will to Uemonza says:

Once one has learned The Four Books, The Five Classics and The Book of Filial Duty and can read them well, then call Dōun (the name of a priest) from time to time and ask for a lecture from him. The most important thing, while applying learning, is to be careful not to do so excessively but to govern the country tenderly. When you have read many books and feel yourself wise, thinking that you will become famous if you use your wisdom to speak ill of people, your learning is useless and harmful. Everything can be either good or bad according to the way of its use.²³⁾

9. Tōdō Takatora's Will (1625).

Takatora wrote his will for his son, Daigaku no kami Takatsugu. There were twenty one items in the will. The eighth item, stressing correct behaviour following Confucius's principles, says:

Think always well of Confucius's way. As for Japanese books, the Azuma-kagami and legal codes are the ones which are worth learning about.²⁴⁾

10. Doi Toshikatsu's Last Injunctions (1628).

The third item of the Injunctions, which were forwarded to his son (Ōmino kami) Toshitaka, should be understood to mean that he should not neglect the military arts or the arts of learning:

If a person who is supposed to be a leader relaxes himself day and night, everything goes wrong. You must also spare time to study while doing official business. You have to understand that ignorance cannot see reason, and will bring a lack of loyalty, filial piety and love by subordinate personnel, and all virtues, such as benevolence, justice, politeness, wisdom and fidelity will turn into vanity. You should know that naturally other people will despise you. It will be fortunate if you can come to a deep understanding like the sages' by your learning.²⁵⁾

11. Ii Naotaka's Last Will and Testament (1659?).

23) *Ibid.*, p. 372.

24) *Ibid.*, p. 399.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 388.

Naotaka wrote thirteen items of his last will to his son, Naozumi. The tenth item says:

As a matter of course, one should not be ignorant of learning and the military arts. But if you put military arts aside and are absorbed in learning, this is like entering the priesthood and renouncing the world, and family tradition will surely fare badly.²⁶⁾

12. Itakura Shigenori's Testament (1673?).

This testament was sent to his son, Shigemichi. The testament begins with the short comment:

I think I am not able to recover from this illness and will die. I have something to pass on to you and have written it down. If you read this and observe it, you will have so much loyalty and filial piety that you can live in peace and safety.²⁷⁾

Then Shigenori starts the first item:

It is needless to write about loyalty and filial piety since many people have taught it well already and if a person who is supposed to be a leader does not have any learning, then his administration cannot be effective. Even though you do not know Chinese characters, you can make someone read such books as The Four Books, The Five Classics and The Seven Books (on the art of war), so as to come to an understanding of their essence. But you must choose the reader carefully. Scholars nowadays study only to become well-spoken, not for their own education. And the lower class (of scholars) learn for the convenience of living, so there are many who are bad natured. You have to know this well²⁸⁾

13. Family Precepts of Naitō Yoshiyasu (1677).

In the sixth of twenty three items, Yoshiyasu refers to learning briefly:

Archery and horsemanship, as well as learning, must be studied hard.²⁹⁾

Also, in the twelfth item he says:

26) *Ibid.*, p. 416.

27) *Ibid.*, p. 410.

28) *Ibid.*, p. 410.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 424.

Conduct family members in the way of learning and military arts.³⁰⁾

14. Kaibara Tokushin (Ekiken) Family Precepts (1686).

Tokushin gave the following title to his family precepts, 'You should study the teaching of Confucius'. Although this title tells us his attitude to learning, he also says:

If I have learning, wisdom and artistic talent, this is no cause for pride, since these were all given to me. Do not be proud about these things and do not despise other people.³¹⁾

Then he continues that if a man boasts of his learning, he has profited nothing by it, even if he was living with a sage and was taught by him. Thus Tokushin emphasised both the necessity of learning and the avoidance of pride, which easily occurs in the learner's mind. In the fourth item of his teaching 'You should teach infants', he says:

A samurai is busy with many things, and he will be of no use if he becomes proficient in one art only. So he must gradually become widely learned in the literary arts.³²⁾

Then he refers to poetry:

Making Chinese poetry is not the way of Japan. Therefore, one should not compose poetry if one has no talent.³³⁾

15. Sakai Hayato's Family Precepts and Family Rule (1699).

The fourth of his forty eight items of family precepts says:

Accomplishment in the literary arts is the duty of everybody. Study reason daily and practise for yourself. Never use it for material comfort. A proverb of the sage says, 'If a wise man does not do any good deed, he cannot free himself from his small thoughts and will not follow heaven's will'. The literary arts change their faces from good to bad, depending on your will.³⁴⁾

The seventh item, referring to love songs, says that one who wishes to be brave

30) *Ibid.*, p. 424.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 430.

32) *Ibid.*, p. 432.

33) *Ibid.*, p. 432.

34) *Ibid.*, p. 456.

should not be carried away by them.³⁵⁾

16. Shimazu Tsunataka's Instructions (1702).

Instructions in seven items were given to his second son, Matahachirō. The first item says:

Protecting the country, ruling a district, administering the country and cultivating the people, all these matters are impossible to accomplish without a knowledge of the way of learning, as well as the military arts. The literary arts and the military arts are like the two wheels of a cart, or the two wings of a bird. Neither of them should be lacking.³⁶⁾

Tsunataka also admonishes his son to study hard both learning and the military arts in the explanatory part which follows after the seventh item³⁷⁾

17. Family Precepts of Wada Masakatsu (1714).

Masakatsu wrote his family precepts in twenty five items. At the end of his family precepts, he closed with these words:

From my youth until I reached eighty years of age, I have obeyed these precepts and I have not been troubled. Therefore you should strictly obey these.³⁸⁾

These items of family precepts seem to be Masakatsu's philosophy of life. The eleventh item says about learning:

The way of sages is too high for incompetents like you and me. Find a good-natured person among ordinary Japanese and take that person for a model. If you do so, then naturally you will become clean and honest.³⁹⁾

18. Owari (Tokugawa) Muneharu's Family Precepts (1731).

The fifth item of Muneharu's precepts, which contains twenty one items, says:

So-called learning firstly aims to make our heart honest, our behaviour good and our mind broad by listening to, and looking at, the sages' and

35) *Ibid.*, p. 457.

36) *Ibid.*, p. 443.

37) *Ibid.*, pp. 444-5.

38) *Ibid.*, p. 478.

39) *Ibid.*, p- 476.

wise men's golden sayings. However, there are many people who put the example of the heart and behaviour aside and become facile talkers, full of cunning ideas and quibbling about everything, speaking ill of other people, destroying their nature and becoming bad persons, who have no acquaintance with others. Such a person was better before he had learning.

I do not say learning is bad, but I would rather say that the way of learning is bad or the way of teaching is bad. Therefore, we had better not have this kind of learning but think well about what is the true rule of nature and ask that of others, and reflect on our conduct, being careful not to lose our natural and true heart. Because of this, they say that the old sage once said that, if a person served his father with his full heart and if he was honest, this man could be a great scholar even if he could not understand a single sentence.

Of course, it is good if a person learns well and has a good heart as well as good behaviour. But it is not necessarily so that, if one has no learning, one gets nothing. This should not be said. Especially, after all, a person who is a leader needs a sense of mercy. I suppose that this should be the only learning.⁴⁰⁾

Though Muneharu refers to no poetry, he talks about the arts in general in the fourteenth item. The art of poetry therefore may be supposed to be included in his definition of the arts. He mentions that:

There is no truly capable person with only a scanty knowledge of the arts who will think himself a man of talent and scorn and laugh at others while thinking himself to be wise. Seven or eight people out of ten are all good-for-nothing and are half-trained amateurs.⁴¹⁾

19. Shibuya Yoshinobu's Notes for his Family Admonition (1749).

Yoshinobu took note of Shōgun Yoshimune's words and gave his children these family precepts. There are forty two items. The seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth items refer to learning. The seventeenth item:

The aim of learning is to actualise loyalty and filial piety. If someone loves only composing poetry or writing novels, and neglects his sense of loyalty and filial piety, his learning is wasteful.⁴²⁾

40) *Ibid.*, pp. 482-3.

41) *Ibid.*, p. 488.

42) *Ibid.*, p. 496.

The eighteenth item :

By learning, people should know themselves and be humble and polite. But there are some fools who do not know themselves, feeling proud after learning. They are, so to speak, 'learned fools'.⁴³⁾

The nineteenth item :

There are many people who pretend to be hermits, having contempt and dislike for material life, and who are made proud by learning. This is the fault of arrogance and they oppose the true reason of nature. As they are lazy and weary of life, naturally they will be remiss in the discharge of their duties of loyalty and filial piety.⁴⁴⁾

20. Sakai Tadazumi's Family Precepts (1755).

The fourth of thirteen items emphasises military arts and refers briefly to learning :

So far as the military arts are concerned, you should strictly exercise them. It is also important that all retainers train themselves in the military arts. As I do not recommend to you any specific school of the arts, you are able to choose any school you wish and train yourself strictly. That is important.⁴⁵⁾

[Annex.] Learning, writing and strategy should be taught in the same way as above.⁴⁶⁾

The eleventh item refers to traditional arts :

To love such things as the *samisen*, *kouta* and *jōruri* are not quite suitable for samurai, so that samurai must strictly stay away from these things.⁴⁷⁾

21. Ise Teijō's Admonition (1763).

In the introduction to Teijō's Admonition, he writes that virtue is the essential and skill the unessential :

No matter how one excels in accomplishments, one cannot live in the

43) *Ibid.*, p. 496.

44) *Ibid.*, p. 496.

45) *Ibid.*, p. 502.

46) *Ibid.*, p. 502.

47) *Ibid.*, p. 503.

world if one disturbs the virtue in one's heart.⁴⁸⁾

Thus Teijō explains about learning :

Learning and the military arts do not mean literary arts and military skill, but mean the virtues of learning and of military training.⁴⁹⁾

22. Sakai Tadayuki's Admonition to his Retainers (1806).

The first item says :

All retainers, both higher and lower, must have learning. And this learning is not a special one, but that natural way of human beings. But I have heard that recently, among those people who are learning, there are some people who have become worse than those who are not learning.

I believe that learning has two evil effects on learners. The reasons are, firstly, one becomes proud of one's talent and knowledge, asserts oneself, borrows the words of the sage to show off and is proud of oneself and despises other people. Secondly, one treats various books, memorises literature well and looks like a scholar. But, because his way of learning is in error, there are no good effects on his heart and body. He merely plays with books, lives to no purpose and, as he is useless, he is inferior to those people who do not have any learning. Generally speaking now, the purpose of learning, so called, is to understand the way of human living. Its training examines the good and bad of our deeds, the right and wrong of our hearts, and the discipline of our bodies and minds. To have loyalty and filial piety for your lord and your father, to love your brothers, to be sincere to relatives, to be faithful among comrades and to have mercy towards retainers, all these are the first essentials in the way of learning.⁵⁰⁾

CONCLUSION :

In order to observe more clearly the change of opinions on learning over the years, I would like to make a summary list of each person's admonitions.

48) *Ibid.*, p. 503.

49) *Ibid.*, p. 504.

50) *Ibid.*, pp. 529-30.

	Approximate Dates	Name	Opinions which refer to learning
1	1412	Imagawa Ryōshun	No learning, no victory. No learning, no government.
2	1500?	Hōjō Sōun	Learn whenever possible. Have educated friends.
3	1558	Takeda Shingen	Do not neglect learning.
4	1572?	Tako Tokitaka	Learning and writing are essential. No learning, no moral judgement.
5	1599	Maeda Toshiie	Not only the military arts are essential. Promote those good in learning and military arts even if new-comers.
6	1600?	Katō Kiyomasa	Study learning and the military arts.
7	1610?	Tokugawa Ieyasu	Learning is less important than the military arts. Learning causes a person to boast.
8	1622	Kuroda Nagamasa	Application of learning is important. Learning is useless if needed for self pride.
9	1625	Tōdō Takatora	Think of Confucius's way. Read Japanese history and legal codes.
10	1628	Doi Toshikatsu	Relaxation of military preparedness causes change of virtues into vanity. Also spare time for learning.
11	1659?	Ii Naotaka	Absorption in learning is like renouncing the world and will destroy your family.
12	1673?	Itakura Shigenori	Learning is necessary for administration. Select the scholar carefully. There are many who sell learning for their convenience of living.
13	1677	Naitō Yoshiyasu	Archery, horse riding, as well as learning, must be studied hard.
14	1686	Kaibara Ekiken	Persons who have learning must not be proud of themselves or despise others.
15	1699	Sakai Hayato	To practise the literary arts is the duty of everybody. Literary arts are either good or bad according to your will.
16	1702	Shimazu Tsunataka	Learning and the military arts are both important. Study them hard.
17	1714	Wada Masakatsu	The learning of the sages is not necessary for us. Find a good person from ordinary Japanese for a model.
18	1731	Owari Muneharu	Sincerity is much more important than learning. If one can think well, reason truly, and has mercy, that is enough.
19	1749	Shibuya Yoshinobu	The aim of learning is to realize virtues. When learning leads to pride, learning is wasteful.
20	1755	Sakai Tadazumi	Strict training in the military arts is very important. Learning should be taught in the same way.

	Approximate Dates	Name	Opinions which refer to learning
21	1763	Ise Teijō	The virtues are more important than accomplishments.
22	1806	Sakai Tadayuki	True learning lies in the natural way of the human being. All retainers must have this learning. Ordinary learning is harmful.

I would like to add that this list also tells us about the balance of content, deemed important in the 'writer's' mind. The balance between military arts and learning, and the effects of learning are itemised here.

In pre-Edo times, learning as well as the military arts was believed to be important, even indispensable, for human accomplishment. This showed an optimistic attitude towards learning which was overwhelming in the pre-Edo period.⁵¹⁾ As for the Edo period, we have to draw attention to the phenomenon that when learning became more prosperous, more criticism arose. Only four people listed above said that their descendants and political heirs had to train themselves both in learning and the military arts, and one other preferred the military arts. All others were critical of learning. This means that learning, as actually practised in the Edo period, was seen as potentially harmful to an important section of the people.

Opinions about learning on the part of daimyō⁵²⁾ can be summarized into three groups. Some of the testaments belong to two groups. The first held the same attitude as the pre-Edo period, emphasizing both the military arts and learning. This group includes numbers 10, 13, 16 and 20, and perhaps 9, which mentioned learning favourably. The second emphasizes the undesirable effects of learning, namely that it makes people boastful and contemptuous of others, encourages them to renounce the world and pretend to be hermits who do not like to be involved in actual life, or tempts them to sell their knowledge for money for an easy life. This group includes numbers 7, 8, 11, 12, 18, 19 and 22. The

51) There is an exception. Ashikaga Takauji's testament (1357?) recorded in the *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko*, *Kakunhen*, recommends that samurai study both learning and the military arts, but he also suggests that they should not be absorbed in learning. He emphasizes the idea that learning is not necessary to those who fight in a battle. He criticises Confucian teachings that for ordinary people it is rare to reach true comprehension of the mystery of learning. Thus his opinion of learning is quite exceptional in those days. The bibliographical introduction to *Nihon Kyōiku Bunko* tells us that this testament *may have been* made by a different person at a different time. But for a long time it was regarded as his testament. Even so, this testament is remarkable.

52) For the following analysis number 14, Kaibara Ekiken is omitted.

third seeks to improve on mere learning by stressing the following ideas: actualization of virtues is all, our behaviour is what is important, just to be good-natured is good enough, in particular to love and serve our parents is enough even though we don't know a simple sentence, learning is not necessary in order to imitate the sages. This group includes numbers 9, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21 and 22.

In conclusion, the evidence points to the generalization that some influential people in the Edo period were not satisfied with the learning of those days even though it was impossible for them to deny the necessity of learning. Despite the high standing of these critics, their criticisms were not politically operative. There was no transformation of educational ideas until the creation of a new political system in the Meiji period made the task of rethinking educational ideas essential to the success of the new order. It should be noted that the strong moral element in these criticisms links these critics and the scholars that we presented in the previous study, I. Moreover, it will be argued, the moral basis of educational ideas was carried into the Meiji period. We should not overlook the fact that much criticism shows a pragmatic viewpoint. The people who criticized Edo education were dissatisfied with its performance as it did not help them solve the problems of life. Thus Edo education had problems of unsuitability, a gap between ideals and the actual performance, between expectations and the actual results of education. Dissatisfaction with Edo education was inherited by members of the Meiji government and appeared particularly in the ideas of Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883) and Kido Kōin (1833-1877).

(2) CRITICAL ATTITUDES OF THREE INTELLECTUALS TOWARD EDUCATION IN THE EDO PERIOD

Historically speaking, the period of stability and prosperity for Edo education in the field of ideas (in contrast with institutions) is considered to be the 18th Century.⁵³⁾ The latter days of the Edo period were filled with confusion in political life and ideology. In contrast, the early-Edo period was a time when forms of education were not yet stable. The period from the end of the 18th Century to the beginning of the 19th Century must be considered as the harvest time of Edo educational ideas. In this section I try to examine what kind of educational aims were expressed by three intellectuals who were not regarded as

53) Ishikawa Ken, *Kinsei Shomin Kyōikushi*, Tōa Shuppansha, Tokyo, 1947, pp. 315-22. Also p. 137.

educators at that time.⁵⁴⁾ In the sense that they did not teach at hankō, gōgaku, terakoya or shijuku, none of them can be compared with the famous educators mentioned previously.

(a) Moriyama Ansō (1738—?).

Moriyama Ansō's publications were closely linked to his official career. He wrote one of his principal works, *Ama no Taku mo no Ki* (The Notes of a Fisherman Lighting a Fire with Seaweed) inspired by Arai Hakuseki's *Oritaku Shiba no Ki* (Notes on Lighting a Fire with Brushwood). Ansō's *Ama no Taku mo no Ki* has the complex nature of an autobiography, a diary and a report of his office work. He expected his literary work firstly to be used as a reference book by his descendants and secondly to be read by people in society generally.⁵⁵⁾ Actually, *Ama no Taku mo no Ki* starts with his childhood, dealing with his educational experiences, which, at the same time, are linked to ideas on his son's education.

Ansō's nature was apparently diligent and honest and his behaviour was based upon humanistic values.⁵⁶⁾ While an official, he had the chance to write his ideas and opinions on improvements to official business for Matsudaira Sadanobu, who took the leading position (Rōjū Hittō) among the Rōjū (members of the Shōgun's Council of Elders) in 1787.⁵⁷⁾ Sadanobu was pleased with Ansō's opinions and later (in 1789) invited Ansō to his house to have a talk. In the next year Ansō was promoted to the position of 'Kachi gashira' and later to 'Metsuke' (superintendent officer) in 1791. In 1792 Ansō was taken into a small group by Sadanobu to investigate the coastline of the Kantō district where the Bakufu planned to prevent the landing of a foreign force. While Sadanobu was a Rōjū, Ansō was invited by Sadanobu to talk privately twelve times which was an un-

54) I selected these intellectuals because they expressed their opinions on education in works collected in the *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, part 2, vol. II, Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Kankōkai, Tokyo, 1929, which comes within the period when educational ideas were most developed.

55) Moriyama Ansō, *Ama no Taku mo no Ki*, recorded in Nihon Zuishitsu Taisei Henshūbu (ed.), *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, part 2, vol. 11, p. 695. He started writing with an explanation of his motives, then he followed this aim.

56) Ansō himself wrote that those who came to his office presenting official forms which were not up to standard had them corrected and rewritten since they sometimes came from remote places, while his associates returned these inadequate forms to those who were too ignorant to write in the correct way., *ibid.*, pp. 701-2. Ansō also writes that while he was working as head of the Fire and Robbery department, within the office of the Wakadoshiyori, he emphasized enforcement of official discipline inside the department and avoided the direct use of strict force upon ordinary people, *ibid.*, pp. 741-5.

57) *Ibid.*, pp. 708-9.

usual opportunity for a *metsuke*.⁵⁸⁾ This tells us that Sadanobu appreciated Ansō's nature, his sincerity and ideas for political plans. Ansō seemed to be unhappy after Sadanobu resigned from the position of *rōjū* in 1793 and did not add much to his literary work and stopped writing the *Ama no Taku mo no Ki* altogether in 1798. The period of acquaintance of Ansō and Matsudaira Sadanobu was five years and this period was a part of Ansō's twenty one years engagement in official work in the Bakufu. (Ansō started working as a bureaucrat in the Bakufu when he was thirty five and met Sadanobu when he was fifty one). The writing of his important work will show that Ansō was deeply impressed by Sadanobu's natural attitude⁵⁹⁾ which accepted good plans or advice even when they were offered from lower class samurai like himself.

Ansō's own education started in the following way when he was six. He was taught characters and reading by his mother. By ten he had studied Shisho 四書, Gokyō 五經, Shōgaku 小学, Santaishi 三体詩 and Kobun 古文. But he also enjoyed playing with his mother every morning and evening, and she told him Japanese fairy tales and stories about famous heroes in history. Ansō spoke of his study of the Chinese classics saying that he simply read these books in a sing-song tone like a Buddhist priest's chant. Then he proceeded on to Japanese books which were written in 'Kana' and these books impressed him so much that he could hardly wait to light a lamp but read them in the moonlight. He began to study the military arts at twelve and was so absorbed that he forgot all about the Chinese classics for four or five years. But when he became sixteen, he found that he could read all of those Chinese classics which he had once learned and even more he could read and comprehend other books if he concentrated his mind upon them. This discovery surprised him and made him thank his mother for her efforts in teaching him in his younger days.⁶⁰⁾ These descriptions tell us two important things about Chinese classic learning in childhood mind from the pedagogical viewpoint. Ansō learned these books only by memorization at the first stage, but even with an interval without learning, his ability had been developing unconsciously and brought his understanding suddenly to a higher stage than before. This should not be overlooked in terms of child-psychology, especially from the viewpoint of Vygotsky's theory.

Ansō continued to take an interest in education in his adult years.

58) *Ibid.*, p. 737.

59) On this point, Ansō described Sadanobu putting on plain clothes and shoes for an investigation trip of the Kantō coastline. *Ibid.*, p. 738. Another example of Sadanobu's frank and natural character is that he took a serious interest in Western studies as well as the promotion of Confucianism, as was described in *ibid.*, p. 738.

60) *Ibid.*, pp. 695-6.

....I offered my house to all people, without distinction of social rank, who wished to come to lectures on the Confucian books so that I asked Shibano Hikosuke⁶¹⁾ to send his disciples.... and people crowded the lecture. From time to time Hikosuke himself came and gave us lectures....⁶²⁾

More personally, Ansō himself taught his son Moritoshi at the first stage, instructing him in Daigaku 大学, Rongo 論語 and so on.⁶³⁾ Then he sent his son to an old Confucianist living nearby to finish reading Shisho 四書 and Gokyō 五經. But the old man soon passed away. Ansō then looked for a good teacher for his son but could not find any. Not long after, someone informed Ansō that a scholar called Nakano Sasuke was teaching the type of learning which Ansō wished to give his son. Ansō's son then began to visit Nakano Sasuke's school with his friends⁶⁴⁾ but Ansō did not give his son permission to enter Sasuke's school as a student. He gave the reason in the following passage:

...Nakano had been a hereditary vassal of the Torii family. I heard that he liked learning so much that he played with learning so that his own (selfish) thoughts had grown up and at last he had decided to ask for permission to leave the Torii family as he thought it was difficult to engage in learning freely while he was working for them. I myself think that the aim of learning is to find and comprehend the way of humanity, justice, loyalty and filial piety. What was his intention in asking permission to leave the service of his hereditary master because of learning? What was the learning Nakano had studied? How did he understand the sage's teachings? All these doubts made me decide not to send my son to his school as a student. Any scholar who is deeply learned should stop travelling in pursuit of knowledge and should serve his master well.⁶⁵⁾

Thus, according to Ansō, true learning should be related to social life. While he would not allow his son as a regular student, he still permitted him to visit the school, though not without critical comment:

Later I asked Moritoshi what he was learning at the time. He answered

61) Shibano Hikosuke is also called as Shibano Ritsuzan, who was one of the three famous scholars historically in the Confucian School of the Bakufu which was established by Hayashi Razan in Edo in 1630.

62) *Ibid.*, p. 720.

63) *Ibid.*, p. 698.

64) *Ibid.*, p. 699.

65) *Ibid.*, p. 699.

that he was being offered study of 'Mōgyū' 蒙求 and was learning it. Dear me, as I thought before, his teacher is in fact an ordinary, good-for-nothing teacher. In the chanting of the nō drama entitled Yorimasa, there is a sentence, 'Sparrows near Kangakuin school twitter Mōgyū songs'.⁶⁶⁾ Having spent days in receiving lectures on Mōgyū, which even sparrows sing, what is the use of it? So I laughed.⁶⁷⁾

This criticism from the viewpoint of a pragmatist that learning is a means and not a goal may be taken as strong criticism of moralistic or idealistic learning which is isolated from social life.

Ansō's view that learning should emphasize the use of the contents of learning is evident in the following description of Ansō's reaction when he privately visited the famous Confucian scholar Shibano Ritsuzan, whom Ansō thought might be the true teacher for his son and maybe for himself. Ansō could not offer a topic of conversation dealing with Confucianism but he did talk about an episode at the time of Ieyasu's death recorded in *Ochibo Shū* and this conversation deeply moved Ritsuzan in sympathy. Ansō was reassured and encouraged by Ritsuzan's attitude towards learning. Ansō writes:

Ritsuzan sensei told me he has many people, known or unknown who come and talk every day. 'Yesterday, too', he told me, 'a medical doctor came to see me and talked. The doctor in his conversation introduced various kinds of book titles and after a while he returned home. The doctor had read so many kinds of books....' He continued, 'I myself have read many books since I was young until I realized that all books were practically the same. And after that I did not force myself to read so many volumes....' Ritsuzan sensei told me this. I then told him that I do not dare to say that I have studied hard. I have not read so many books, but one book deeply impressed me, which was *Ochibo Shū*,....⁶⁸⁾

Ansō seemed to be able to find in Ritsuzan's conversation the same attitudes that he himself held. The number of books to be read is not essential but what to do with knowledge is more important.

66) The meaning of this old proverb is the same as 'The sparrows near a school sing the primer'. But why was 'sparrow' used? The answer for that was found in Okamoto Yasutaka's *Naniwae*, recorded in *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, part 2, vol. 11, that the Kangakuin had another name called Suzume Dera (Sparrow Temple). *Naniwae*, vol. 6, *ibid.*, p. 407.

67) *Ibid.*, p. 699.

68) *Ibid.*, pp. 699-700.

Ansō criticised samurai children and youths because their learning was only superficial. He writes:

...after Matsudaira Sadanobu's strict statements, the way of social life was reformed quickly... play-boy looking youths who had been indistinguishable up to yesterday as either ordinary youths or as samurai youths and spent lazy days playing aimlessly, unwillingly had to change their clothes into simple plain wear and go busily off to study learning and the military arts. To see those scenes is from one point of view interesting, but, from another, disgusting.⁶⁹⁾

In a particular case, Ansō objected to superficial learning. He wrote of one student:

...as we became good friends, I went to his house, though his house was far, to teach 'sudoku' reading of Shisho 四書. But to my disappointment he believed that the aims of learning were only to get acquainted with Chinese characters, which was a vulgar idea.⁷⁰⁾

The second volume of the 'Ama no Taku mo no Ki' starts with Ansō's experiences and criticisms of learning and deals with the reform of the Kansei period, especially Bakufu's concern with examinations for hankō students. At this time, the Bakufu tried to reform its government under the guidance of Matsudaira Sadanobu in political and economic fields, and promoted Shushi gaku 朱子学 inside the Bakufu organization in order to consolidate the principles of its life. The promotion of Shushigaku over other schools of thought is known as 'Kansei Igaku no Kin'. Those steps had effects on the official examination of students at the Shōheikō, the official Bakufu school. Matsudaira Sadanobu left matters to Ansō and Nakagawa Tadahide to manage. Historically, especially in terms of educational ideas, it is extremely important to see what Ansō thought about the plan. Ansō writes:

When I was appointed as Metsuke, Sadanobu spoke to me about learning and ordered us to set out the system of examination of learning as in China to apply to children from ōgobantō rank to the clever children of the very lowest samurai rank. He asked Nakagawa and me to carry out the exercise.... I have many times discussed detailed things with people in authority in the Bakufu and with Confucianists. Decisions

69) *Ibid.*, p. 706.

70) *Ibid.*, p. 699.

about the examination results were left to the Confucianists. Examiners were: Daigaku no Kami (Head of the Confucian schools of Bakufu), Shibano Hikosuke (Ritsuzan), Okada Kiyosuke and Otō Yoshisuke and so on. Student ability in the reading and explanation of the Books were examined at the school in front of these scholars. But, as far as I have observed, the Confucian teachers only paid attention to the correctness of the answers at that time, and they did not take the students' nature and behaviour in daily life into account and they did not give good marks unless students answered with the correct explanation of the text. Because of that, many young men who were driven by youthful ardor or some who were fast livers with fearless spirits came to attempt the examinations with 'borrowed' wisdom by which they memorized explanations of the texts for forty or fifty days or so, putting aside their jōruri and samisen during that time. Especially those who hide their true state and memorize a good teacher's lectures and repeat by heart, without any change, the teacher's words at the examination, usually get high marks in the examiners' assessment. But, there are some who have studied in a practical way, having the will to learn, for many years and read many books, whose nature is sincere and who would be diligent officials. When they speak, they do not speak fluently and they naturally put their own knowledge acquired by experience into their answers. For this reason, their answers are always given low marks. Therefore, the final discussion of the examination results could not be resolved owing to endless disputes and so the year ended. Those low officials dealing with the actual business of the examination each time changed the examination rules to make them more strict and over-elaborate and used to send them to higher authorities in the Bakufu and the authorities used to show me. But every time when they showed it to me I pointed out to them that it would be of no use when we have a gap between our praise for learning and praise for persons who are well regarded in society. I told them seriously that, even if the rules of examination were not strict, if we praised a popular person whom people in the society acclaim as a candidate for our praise and that person has studied books and the military arts and his nature is honest and diligent, he should be the person to be praised. It will be a great help to encourage learning among people (in general) even if the popular person might get low marks in the scholastical examination. Diplomas in the field of the military arts are not given to those whose nature is bad, even if the

person's skill has reached the master's level. The master of the military arts observes his students' nature cautiously and he would not give a diploma if the student's skill and nature were not developed equally to some standard. Moreover, even though a person gets a diploma, he cannot be free to choose failure or success, as 'Actual victory or defeat depends upon chance'. A Confucianist's assessment of samurais' learning may well be imperfect. If someone is very successful and obtains praise on the day of the examination, having answered as if he had looked through the sage's heart and is assessed at the highest rank by the Confucianist's judgement, in contrast to his daily bad behaviour and people's low opinion, people will be greatly disappointed and first of all we will lose the confidence of the people. This will be worse than examination without praise. Much more, the fearless and lawless youth will become more contemptuous of learning and ignore the authorities if they look at their comrades being praised who study unwillingly under the strict rules of recent officials. All these things will result finally in disadvantages. I have told Settsu no Kami Masaatsu (Hotta, at that time Wakadoshiyori) again and again to examine and praise students from the sole viewpoint of their appearance, good deeds and abilities in learning. But he has responded negatively that it may be difficult to do so.... After that time those Confucianists sent us a list of names of successful students who were to be praised and given prizes. In the list we found the name of Okada Yoshirō who was a well-known fast-liver. 'No matter how the Confucianists might recommend, we have to be careful', said Yabe Hikokurō (who was metsuke, and later Suruga no Kami) and he told Masaatsu (Hotta) privately. And, as a result, Okada Yoshirō received no prize but he did receive praise. A few days later I was informed that Okada, who had been living loosely, had committed some bad deeds again lately and was reduced to lower rank. My ideas on examinations were absolutely right.

Two things are quite understandable, that Confucianists are not well regarded in society, and learning is not popular in society. I do not think there is any benefit in making examination rules strict. By the way, Okada Yoshirō was a nephew of Okada Kiyosuke, (one of the Confucian examiners) who participated as an examiner. Hayashi Daigaku no Kami was also there. And Yoshirō succeeded in the examination. Even so, what do the sage's teachings teach originally? Their aim is to elucidate virtues to acquire, and to improve ourselves day by day, feel-

ing each day new. In this light, what nonsense it is to make the youth successful in the examination and recommend him for praise! Therefore naturally he was given lower rank and criticised by people in the world. However, what is the matter with Kiyosuke and Hayashi, the head, that both of them looked on the matter with indifference as if they had forgotten everything? Their expression and attitudes are to be compared to the medical doctor of the old times who is ignorant about the physical nature of the actual human body and who gives a sick person a powerful medicine which makes the patient die and who then says the patient's life was called from heaven, and that it is out of his control, but it had already recovered by his treatment. They are the same as this doctor.⁷¹⁾

When considering Ansō's critical attitude towards education and learning, we have to mention that Ansō expressed his opinions as a low-ranking officer of the Edo Bakufu, in contrast to people in the daimyō class, who were treated in the previous section. The remarkable thing about Ansō's opinions on education and learning compared to those in the daimyō testaments is that Ansō took up society in general, which he considered as the goal of education, while daimyō did not recognise society as the ultimate goal of education. Daimyō pointed out the unpleasant results of learning from the standpoint of the ruler who simply wanted to govern his country peacefully, beginning with his own family. Ansō, on the contrary, looked at educational problems from the people's side of society. Ansō's attitudes towards education and learning may have been formed and affected by the nature of his post in the Bakufu where he had to see many people in Edo society who needed help in solving their family problems, such as inheritance of family property and adoption.⁷²⁾ This work was deeply related to family matters in the society and was, of course, a different phase of governmental work from that of the daimyō. This situation influenced his attitude towards education and learning and convinced him that it should be rooted in the actual life of the people. According to Ansō's observation, Confucianists did not connect learning with daily life and were 'not well regarded in society, and learning is not popular in society'⁷³⁾ because, 'having spent days in receiving lectures on Mōgyū which even sparrows sing, what is the use of it?'⁷⁴⁾ Ansō thought that the duty of scholars was to find ways of adopting the sage's ideals in society, seeking op-

71) *Ibid.*, pp. 727-9.

72) See *Ama no Taku mo no Ki*, pp. 702-4.

73) *Ibid.*, p. 729.

74) *Ibid.*, p. 699.

portunities to make people happy, and not to judge them. In the centre of Ansō's views on learning and education was his conception of society as a whole as the object of education. Education, then, in his view, was not for limited numbers of people but for all.

Moriyama Ansō's view on learning was not based on promoting the pursuit of the values of learning itself, but tended towards the actual formation of people's character resulting from it. This is observed in Ansō's opinion of Confucian scholars who took charge as examiners. As we have seen, he thought that Confucian teachers only paid attention to the correctness of the answer at that time and did not take into account the students's nature and behaviour in daily life. It may have been expected that Ansō, as a bureaucrat of Edo Bakufu, would express favourable opinions on, and show strong interest in, the 'examination system'. However, he opposed the 'sophistication' of the examination, not as a political leader, but as an ordinary person of the Edo society who had common sense. In the daimyōs' family precepts, we saw no direct criticisms or opinions against assessment of people by examination, but we can easily imagine that, once daimyō realized the efficiency of the examination in assessing their followers' ability and knowledge, they would probably adopt it as a criteria for individual assessment. The reasons are that the Edo Bakufu itself adopted the examination system and even some family precepts said 'If there are samurai who are good in both learning and military arts, select those who are good in knowledge and promote them even if they are new-comers'.⁷⁵⁾ This family precept indicates that the general characteristic of a ruler would lead him to give first preference to efficient rule rather than individual character-formation. In contrast to this, Ansō, with his understanding of the meaning of education and learning in real society, took an opposing viewpoint. This should be considered seriously. On the face of it, his standpoint seemed to be based on a moralistic viewpoint, but actually he understood the meaning of education and learning in union with society. Therefore, from this point of view, we are able to say that his viewpoint was, in fact, based upon pragmatic consciousness, and could be considered a forerunner of the aim of the Gakusei (Education Code, promulgated in 1872), which aimed to unite education and social needs.

Though Ansō attached importance to uniting social life with learning and education, the content of what he said was really on the moralistic side. This can be seen as the natural outcome of the fact that Ansō and others in that period received a moralistic education in their childhood. Moreover, the educa-

75) See page 154., No. 5, Written Will of Maeda Toseiie.

tional method was based upon learning by recitation which, psychologically, could result in its influencing them even after they were grown up.

Ansō believed that the final goal of learning was not the study of letters, words or phrases, but the actualization of learned content. In order to understand the content of learning, we have to pass through a study of letters, words and phrases. To stop at the stage of letters and phrases before reaching the final goal was, to Ansō, superficial and to be avoided. He deplored the fact that many samurai youths stopped at this half-way stage, but he did not refer to their psychological characteristics, which could be called a 'challenge to all possibilities' and which could have made them stop at that stage.

Ansō did not refer to the educational content which was to be actualized in the society or whether or not it was fit for children and youths who are growing up day by day. He did point out the evils derived from the study of characters, words and phrases given as intellectual teaching materials. Ansō's attitude towards learning can be compared with the daimyōs' criticisms on education—the second group of them that said 'learning makes people boastful and contemptuous of others....tempts them to sell their knowledge for money for an easy life.' But, were not the evils pointed out by daimyō and Ansō, in fact, the budding of individuality or subjectivity of people inspired by learning? In other words, seen from the point of view of learning, it can be said that individual and subjective participation in learning was beginning to be recognized by them as a possibility. However, it was also quite natural that this new type of youth, who was intellectually awakened and called 'boastful and contemptuous of others', should not be expected to result from the study of the teachings of Confucius, Mencius and so on. Therefore, from the viewpoint of people like Ansō in Edo society, who understood truth, goodness and beauty as devotion to recognized moral authority, it was sure that this new type of youth caused society to consider changing its sense of values. According to Ansō's understanding, true learning was to actualize the values of learning in social life. Therefore, people should not be assessed by their learning, but learning should be assessed by the words and behaviour of the people. Whether a person's learning is true learning or not should be judged by whether he lives as a true person or not. This was the reason Ansō did not make his son, Moritoshi, a full-time student of Nakano Sasuke's school. Ansō thought that Sasuke, because he resigned in the middle of his work, while serving his master, was a man who abandoned his samurai duty and responsibility. The reason Ansō felt good will towards Shibano Hikosuke (Ritsuzan) may well be explained by the fact that Ansō could find in Hikosuke's words the same kind of opinion on learning that he held himself,

namely that learning is not dependent on the numbers of books which one reads. We are able to say that Ansō thought that learning was doing, and if a man studied truly or acquired true knowledge, he would speak slowly and sometimes would be a poor talker. Therefore, if we develop Ansō's ideals, we could say that, if people's behaviour was moralistic, this should be good enough for them and the aim of learning would be satisfied. This attitude of Ansō, then, followed on the same line of daimyō's criticisms on education, the third group of criticisms. This group said 'actualization of virtues is all, our behaviour is what is important, just to be good-natured is good enough', and so on.

Thus, the basic nature of the difference between Ansō and daimyō was that Ansō understood learning and education from the point of view of the people in general and felt that the content of learning should be actualized in their social lives, while daimyō criticized learning from the standpoint of the ruler and thought it should be practised in a closed and limited society. But, as far as the content or values of learning which were to be actualized in the society were concerned, Ansō thought in the same way as daimyō, that they were the cultivation of moral character. As for the perfection of learning, he thought of it as devotion to the ethical order. Ansō showed recognition neither of the value of learning itself nor of the psychology of young people. According to these points, we may say that this was Ansō's limitation.

(b) Arai Hakuga (1915-1792).

Hakuga was born in Shitaya, Edo. He studied Confucianism under Sugano Kenzan. He travelled to many places in the Kantō (Eastern Japan) area and then went to Kyōto. There he studied theories of divination. He became so famous for his exact advice for people that many came and became his disciples. After he reached middle-age, he loved composing 'Waka' and studied Japanese classics. In 1791, he was invited by Kanazawa han, and died there the next year on 14 May 1792. He was seventy eight. His literary works were: *Koeki Ikkagen* 古易一家言, and its supplement; *Koekidan* 古易斷, and its second part; *Kogen Jigon* 古言時言, and its second part; *Koekitsū* 古易通, *Koeki Seigi* 古易精義; *Rei Shaku* 令釈; *Nihonkokumeikai* 日本国名解; *Seigaku Jizai* 聖学自在; *Gyūba Mon* 牛馬問 and many others.⁷⁶⁾ While not his most famous scholarly work, *Yami no Akebono* (Morning Light in the Dark) which he wrote in his old age in 1789 is the most interesting work from the point of view of educational ideas.

Yami no Akebono consists of two volumes. The first volume begins with an introduction, which explains the aim of this work, followed by three notes for

76) *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, part 2, vol. 11, p. 5, introductory notes.

reading. The first note reads:

Generally speaking, if a person does not have any will to read books at all, this person will never enter the Way. This is the same as a sick person whose pulse has already gone. And this is the same as having a medical doctor who can find no way to heal the patient. Everything starts from the will, be it ever so tiny, to read a book.⁷⁷⁾

The second item says that one must put aside one's wisdom, talents and pride when reading, and keep one's mind calm, and try to eliminate one's warped will. One's cunning ideas should be shut away in a box, and every sentence should be savoured deep in one's mind. Thus the second item tells the reader to eliminate his ego when he takes another idea into himself. The third note says that so-called wise, clever, able and smart persons, in fact, spout sly and cunning thoughts, and those persons have little true knowledge. This item also says that those persons just rely upon themselves so the result will be useless.⁷⁸⁾ Thus Hakuga emphasizes the need to have true knowledge of the Way.

In the second volume, Hakuga refers to learning in a passage entitled 'The difference between *gakumon* 学問 (learning) and *gakumon* 学文 (reading books).' At the beginning he argues about the nature of *learning* which is to find and adopt the true Way, to seek out the meaning of the five constant virtues and to come to a thorough understanding of Confucianism in order not to be lazy at heart but true to the talent which was given by heaven. Reading *books*, he says, is simply to study many sentences. While taking them in, we have to do so with respect. Then Hakuga refers to the purpose of reading as follows:

In literature, there are various kinds of books, such as those written by Shiyū and Shika 子遊, 子夏, Confucius's disciples, and Shōgaku 小学 and so on. All these books are to be read in order to enter the Way of Nature. However, reading books in China is different from reading books in our own country. By 'reading' they mean reading and simultaneously comprehending and simply not reading for the sake of learning Chinese characters.⁷⁹⁾

Thus Hakuga suggests reading Chinese books in Japan is only reading without an exact understanding of the contents. Then he refers to the meaning of true learning in general. He writes:

77) *Ibid.*, p. 757.

78) *Ibid.*, p. 757.

79) *Ibid.*, p. 783.

In contrast to ancient times, today there are people who have learned characters, and understood to some extent worthless books neglecting the true meaning of learning about Confucianism. These people are good-for-nothing Confucianists who play with Chinese characters thinking that it is true learning. We should realize by reading carefully that the words of these depraved Confucianists who look expert and seem to know everything about Confucianism, are useless. For those who only study literature and read books, we have such expressions of disapproval as 'good-for-nothing', 'depraved' and 'thieving' Confucians. This has happened because of misunderstanding of the true meaning of learning as well as of Confucianism. This has happened because of gradually increasing mistakes about the learning of Confucius with decline of the Way in later ages. We have the words of the Zen expressions Shinge Mubetsuhō (心外無別法, nothing can exist beyond our mind), Ishin Denshin (以心伝心, the transmission of truth which cannot be explained with words, from teacher's heart to disciple's heart), and Furyū Monji (不立文字, the true Way cannot be transmitted by letters or words). These expressions tell us the true Way, the real Way, exists beyond the written character. To study this true Way is the true learning which was the teaching of both Confucius and Buddha.⁸⁰⁾

Then he criticized scholars and learners who will not go out beyond the written character to obtain true learning. He says:

Generally speaking, there are various kinds of 'understanding'. It is important to discern convenience and inconvenience, the useful and the less-useful, justice and injustice, and the noble and the vulgar, in order to be able to learn righteousness. Now, among good-for-nothing depraved Confucian scholars and among samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants, there are some who can read characters to some extent and play with worthless books. Ordinary, vulgar and ignorant people regard these scholars as wonderful and praise Mr. X and Mr. Y as great scholars. Among those scholars we see many more foolish, wicked and dissipated fellows than we might expect. These scholars are idiots and they are worse than those who are not able to read a single sentence. These scholars, despite their beliefs, are sly, cunning and skeptical. They do not accept what other people suggest. They are, in contradiction to

80) *Ibid.*, p. 783.

human nature, glib; they quibble and when someone says good, they say bad. When someone says east, they say west. They are always close-fisted and forget righteousness and shame when dealing with money. We should know that among these people there are no persons of loyalty and filial piety. Some of these people are effeminate; we use words from proverbs to speak of them as 'Koi' (curtain, or scent-holder) and 'Dei' (mud, or boneless creature in the South Seas). They spend lazy days neglecting office work and lacking a clear sense of right and wrong. Also, there are some who become like used 'Bukuryō' (used pine-mushrooms after medical use). All these people are of no use in real situations.⁸¹⁾

Thus, Hakuga maintained that the contents of education which were in fashion in those days were inadequate for the true understanding of nature, society and actual life. According to Hakuga, education or learning should lead people to true understanding of the human Way. In his small article entitled 'Foolish people like foolishness', he referred to aims of education indirectly as follows:

...generally speaking, vulgar ordinary people tend to like ignorance, neglecting rational right things. They do not like to believe the truth. However, though our ancestors might be fools, our descendants should not be poor and miserable since we have a system of schools.⁸²⁾

Thus he expresses his hopes in education that rational true ideas will be taught at school. His words suggested that he was not at all satisfied with the existing education.

In contrast to Moriyama Ansō, the Bakufu official, who believed that learning should be realized in social behaviour, Hakuga understood learning as the way to reach the truth. The truth, and not behaviour, was of the greatest importance to Hakuga, the intellectual. We have to notice that Ansō and Hakuga differed in that one took society more seriously and the other took the individual's pursuit of the truth to be of the greatest importance. For Hakuga, learning was to be the way to reach the truth about nature, society and actual life. Again and again in his writings, he emphasized the need for people to pursue the truth with a rational mind. He bitterly attacked the 'poor quality' of teachers who do not provide the true way to reach the truth.

81) *Ibid.*, p. 783.

82) *Ibid.*, p. 785. His expression is 学校の政あれば.

(c) Fujii Takahisa (1764-1840).

Fujii Takahisa had studied for seven years under Motoori Norinaga and, after finishing his study, returned home and followed his father's occupation and became a Shintō priest of Kibitsu Jinja (Shrine), Kunai village, in the Okayama district. In 1799, he was honoured with the title of Jugoige 従五位下, Nagato no Kami 長門守. Many scholars and students came from other parts of Japan to see him and to become his students⁸³⁾. He was remarkable in his study of the Japanese classics in the Heian period and he himself developed a unique approach in his study which benefitted later scholars in studying the classics. He died on 15 August 1840, and was promoted in the Taishō period (1915) to the title of *Shōgoi* 正五位.

His literary works are: *Matsu no ya Bunshū*, which was a collection of essays, and its second part, *Ise Monogatari Shin Shaku* (New Interpretation of the Ise Monogatari), *Okureshi Kari* (A Late Wild-goose), *Shōsoku Bun Rei* (Examples of Letters), *San no Shirube* (Three Notices), and others. In addition, in 1829, he wrote *Matsu no Ochiba* (Scattered Pine-needles) which consisted of five volumes of essays on Shintō ceremony, the Human Way, poetry, literature, ancient court and military practices and usages, Confucianism, Buddhism and so on. For the present purpose this is the most important work. From the preface, which was written by one of Takahisa's disciples, Nakamura Hiroshi, we are able to see Fujii Takahisa's attitude towards learning. Nakamura explains Fujii's attitude as follows:

The Master always taught us that to learn is to study diligently for the purpose of guiding the way of our relationships, that is to say, how to live and behave, having acquired a broad knowledge. After you have acquired learning, you can teach other people the way and you can also write a book about it. Then it should be of great benefit, not only to yourself, but also to other people in the world. If you have bad intentions in learning, you might spoil yourself as well as other people.⁸⁴⁾

Thus, Takahisa's attitude towards learning (expressed by Nakamura) is based upon ultimate concern for human behaviour. He expects education to elucidate the true way of living and that leads people to benefit. To him, in short, learning is guidance for the means of living. His expectation for learning leads us to the reasoning that Edo education did not, in his opinion, function properly. But Nakamura does not mention what kind of education or learning would, in his

83) *Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei*, part 2, vol. 11, p. 3, Bibliographical introduction.

84) *Ibid.*, p. 526.

master's opinion, actually function well.

In the *Matsu no Ochiba* itself, Fujii himself criticizes the Confucianists who speak and write about the politics and government of Japan. His point of criticism is that Confucianists are trying to adapt Chinese ways into Japan. While they may be good at understanding the Chinese system, they are not good at understanding Japanese traditional ways. They also do not realize the differences between the specialist and the amateur. Government should not be carried out by amateurs but should be left to specialists. Confucianists should learn loyalty and filial piety and behave themselves strictly so that they can teach others. They should simply teach. This will make them happy, as well as other people. In the article entitled 'Good and Bad Natures of Learners', Takahisa says that, by learning, people are able to come to true understanding of the meaning of life and this enlightens people so that they discern good and bad behaviour.

Learning in general makes us wise and clever enough to find and comprehend virtues. We have to engage, not only in Japanese, but also in Chinese studies and also we have to read books so as to be able to get a balance when we understand the principles of good and bad in terms of our behaviour.⁸⁵⁾

Then Takahisa refers to the undesirable result of learning which is that learners have a tendency to show off their knowledge and despise others:

Not to learn is sometimes better than learning. Someone wishes to show off his knowledge so, even to a simple question, he answers much more than the questioner asks. And he proudly despises others who do not know so much.⁸⁶⁾

As for Confucianists, Takahisa also says:

Those who study China wish to become famous as Chinese sages and force themselves to behave differently from ordinary people. They know and believe it is not a good thing to flatter their superiors, so they use insulting language. Since they know it is an evil to find faults and weaknesses in other people, they speak ill of others in a roundabout way.⁸⁷⁾

85) *Ibid.*, p. 645.

86) *Ibid.*, p. 645.

87) *Ibid.*, p. 645.

About people's reaction against these attitudes of the Confucianists, Takahisa writes this way:

People all hate and dislike them, and they say to each other that learning makes people bad.⁸⁸⁾

Fujii Takahisa, different from the other two critics, was a scholar in the tradition of the Kokugaku school and, rather less importantly, a generation younger. In contrast to Hakuga, he regarded learning as an instrument to improve people's behaviour in Japanese society so that those who are educated might be able to distinguish between good and bad behaviour. According to him, a balance should be achieved in learning by reading both Chinese and Japanese books. From the viewpoint of educational ideas, it should be noted that Fujii Takahisa emphasized many times that Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintō were finally the same in their ultimate ideas.⁸⁹⁾ In my opinion this attitude was more general in these times and lent great strength to authoritarian attitudes which pervaded Edo society.

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88) *Ibid.*, p. 645.

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