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THE IMPERIALIZED JAPANESE LANGUAGE
EDUCATION IN COLONIAL TAIWAN AND THE
MANCHU STATE

日據臺灣、滿洲時期之皇民化日語教育

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**The Imperialized Japanese Language Education in Colonial Taiwan
and the Manchu State**

日據臺灣、滿洲時期之皇民化日語教育

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Abstract

During WWII, Japan made considerable effort to disseminate the spirit of Japanese Imperial Empire and militarism in its colonies and newly-occupied territories for the sake of wartime mobilization. Formal education especially the primary school education was the most important venue for the Japanese colonial government to inculcate these two ideologies to the teenagers. This paper explores the intensification of the Japanese assimilation and the Japanese ideologies of the Shintoism(神道), Bushidō(武士道), the spirit of Imperial Empire (kōkoku seishin 皇国精神), “Loyal Citizen” (chūryō kokumin 忠良国民), “Volunteer Labor” (kinrō hōshi 勤勞奉仕) and militarism in the primary education of the colonial Taiwan and the Manchu State under the policies of “Integration of Japan and the Manchu State in One Virtue and One Mind” (nichiman ittokuishin 日滿一德一心), “Imperialization” (kōminka 皇民化), “Southward Advance”(nanshinkau 南進化), industrialization and vocational education (jitsugyō kyōiku 實業教育) in World War II especially the Sino-Japanese War. It focuses on the content analysis of the *National Language Textbook* (12 volumes 公學校用國語讀本) and the *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* (4 volumes 初等日本語讀本) which had been edited by the Taiwan Government-General (臺灣總督府) and the Japanese Education Association in the Manchu State (在滿日本教育會) respectively since 1937. The contents of the two

Japanese language textbooks can generally be classified into ten themes: 1. nature; 2. daily life; 3. industry and transport; 4. literature; 5. common knowledge and advanced technology; 6. history; 7. socio-religious customs; 8. military and administrative system; 9. geography; and 10. current issues. They were greatly influenced by the Japanese wartime policies and were commonly used in public schools in Taiwan and the Manchu State during 1937-1940s. The textbooks attempted to get the primary school students there steadily assimilated to be the “real Japanese” and infused more with the ideologies of Shintoism, Bushidō, the spirit of Imperial Empire, militarism and wartime production knowledge by the immersion approach of learning from the simple Japanese language to the more complex Japanese knowledge, culture and war progress, as both Taiwan and the Manchu State became the economic and military bases of the Japanese Empire. This study reveals that the Japanese language textbook became an effective tool to propagate the Japanese militarism among the teenagers in the colonies during WWII.

Keywords: Japanese Language Education, Japanese Imperialization, Japanese Assimilation, Japanese Militarism, Colonial Taiwan, Manchu State, World War II

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Introduction

During WWII, Japan made considerable effort to disseminate the spirit of Japanese Imperial Empire and militarism in its colonies and newly-occupied territories for the sake of wartime mobilization. Formal education especially the primary school education was the most important venue for the Japanese colonial government to inculcate these two ideologies to the teenagers. This paper explores the intensification of the Japanese assimilation and the Japanese ideologies of the Shintoism(神道), Bushidō(武士道), the spirit of Imperial Empire (kōkoku seishin 皇国精神), “Loyal Citizen” (chūryō kokumin 忠良国民), “Volunteer Labor” (kinrō hōshi 勤勞奉仕) and militarism in the primary education of the colonial Taiwan and the Manchu State under the policies of “Integration of Japan and the Manchu State in One Virtue and One Mind” (nichiman ittokuishin 日滿一德一心), “Imperialization” (kōminka 皇民化), “Southward Advance”(nanshinkau 南進化), industrialization and vocational education (jitsugyō kyōiku 実業教育) in World War II especially the Sino-Japanese War. It focuses on the content analysis of the *National Language Textbook* (12 volumes 公學校用國語讀本) and the *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* (4 volumes 初等日本語讀本) which had been edited by the Taiwan Government-General (臺灣總督府) and the Japanese Education Association in the Manchu State (在滿日本教育會) respectively since 1937.

I. The National Language Education in Colonial Taiwan in 1937-1942

A. Background

a. The Japanese militarism since WWI and the role of Colonial Taiwan

During the First World War, the capitalism of Japan was developing rapidly due to its

export of considerable weapons and munitions to the signatories and remarkable overseas market expansion to China and Southeast Asia from which the Western powers of America and Europe temporarily retreated. Since then, the newly emerging military authorities(gunbu) which had experienced this war and dominated the state power structure highly advocated long term all-out war(sō ryoku sen) based on self-sufficient economy in the future and therefore planned to occupy China especially its north-east territories to facilitate sustainable supply of raw materials from there for war purpose. After the War, the 1929-1933 worldwide economic crisis came as a fatal shock to the developing economy of Japan and triggered unemployment and social conflicts on an unprecedented scale. In order to accelerate economic recovery and defuse the severely acute social crisis, the militarists especially the military authorities in Japan further developed militarism under the Emperor system by implementing the policy of armament expansion and foreign invasion particularly towards north-east China.¹ Particularly the heavy chemical industry in Japan flourished and demanded more overseas resources for production after the re-impose of embargo on gold export in 1931. As a result, the newly emerging plutocrats (zaibatsu) gradually united with the military authorities and the nationalist bureaucrats who favored Nazism to form a powerful complex group in 1931-1936 which dominated the process of the overseas expansion policy since then. Under the expansion policy, Japan started military invasion and economic plunder towards North-East China in the north and economic infiltration towards South China and the South Sea Islands in the south. Indeed, Japan had attempted to put the so-called “Southward Advance Idea” (nanshin ron) into practice by occupying Micronesia, the South Sea islands and founding Association of South Seas(nanyō kyōkai), a Japanese commercial organization to investigate the social-economic aspects of the South Sea islands early at the beginning of the First World War. As the scale of invasion to China was rapidly expanding, Japan issued the second plan of general mobilization and formally included the “Southward Advance” strategy as part of the national policy in August 1936.² Indeed, the Navy of Japan which advocated the national defense plan of “Defending the North and Advancing the South” against the “Northern Advance Idea”(hokushin ron) of the army largely contributed to the adoption of the “Southward Advance” strategy. Under this strategy, Japan expanded to South China and the South Sea islands gradually and peacefully without offending the interest of other nations in order to boost its economic

¹ Yoda Yoshiie(Yitian Xijia), Bian Liqiang trans. Riben di guo zhu yi yan jiu(日本帝國主義研究)(Shanghai: Shanghai yuan dong chu ban she, 2004), pp.15-25.

² Lin jiwen. Riben ju Tai mo qi (1930-1945) zhan zheng dong yuan ti xi zhi yan jiu(日本據台末期(1930-1945)戰爭動員體系之研究)(Taibei: Dao xiang chu ban she, 1996), pp.31-35, 85-86.

development and national strength.³ The navy planned to develop Taiwan and the so-called “Inner South Seas”(ura nanyō), the South Seas Islands under the Japanese mandate rule as the bases for Japan to expand to the so-called “Outer South Seas”(omote nanyō), the South Seas Islands which were not yet occupied by the Japanese, and therefore assigned a navy official, Kobayashi Seizō as the governor general of Colonial Taiwan in September 1936. Kobayashi Seizō declared the adoption of three principal policies: the “Southward Advance” strategy (nanshinka), Industrialization (kōgyōka) and Imperialization (kōminka) to fully mobilize Taiwan for the Japanese expansion.⁴ Here briefly introduces the implementation of these three principal policies by the Government-General of Taiwan (Taiwan Sōtokufu) since 1937.

b. “Southward Advance” Policy

The Government-General issued a plan on “Promotion of the Southern Development” to enforce the “Southward Advance” strategy in 1937. The Taiwan government started to expand its sea and air routes to the South including South China and the South Sea islands, encourage local industrial development, maintain its necessary infrastructure, and subsidize and increase the economy investigation and cultural institutions like Association of Taiwan and the South (taiwan nanyō kyōkai) in the South to foster the cultural and economic cooperation with the South according to the plan. These measures aimed at promoting the economic development of Japan and hence its national strength through the goodwill between Taiwan and the South which was planned to be the resource supply center and market for Japan. After the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, the Government-General of Taiwan demanded the Japanese troops to occupy South China including the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi and made efforts to put them under the Japanese colonization similar to Taiwan and developed their mineral resources for Japan’s military purpose. For examples, the Government-General of Taiwan sent its police and introduced its economic and cultural agents like Fudai Company, Taiwan Bank and Association for Mutual Prosperity (kyōei kai) to Xiamen. It also adopted similar measures to Hainan Island and even sent thousands of Taiwanese people including young interpreters and military porters and more than 50 Taiwanese and Japanese companies like the Taiwan Development Company Limited (taiwan takushoku kabushikigaisha) to there to advance Taiwan-styled colonization and industrial development. The Government-General sent more significant officials to participate

³ 日本外務省：日本外交年表並主要文書(下)，1953年，p.344.

⁴ Taiwan Sōtokufu Jōhōbu, Jikyokuka Taiwan no genzai to sono shōrai.(Taipei: 1940), p7.

actively in the Japanese military administration in South China since the establishment of the agents of East Asia Development Board (kōain) in South China in 1938. Becoming increasingly bogged down in the Sino-Japanese War in 1940, Japan decided to start military expansion to the South to establish the “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere” (daitōa kyōeiken). Under the policy of the Co-prosperity Sphere, Taiwan became one of the bases to assist the southward expansion of Japan which had very high strategic significance in the Sphere. As revealed in an 1942 official document drafted by the Government-General of Taiwan, the Government-General provided considerable technologies, labor and raw materials to the development of various fields including administration, industries, finance, medical care, communication, electricity, water and gas supply, transport and pacification work in the South which widely embraced Hong Kong, Philippines, Indochina, Thailand, Malaysia, East Indies and Burma. In particular, its introduction of the techniques of governing different race, advanced production technologies especially of rice and sugar as well as national policy-oriented companies was considered highly important in consolidating the colonial rule of the newly-occupied southern territories.⁵

c. Industrialization

Until the 1920s, the Government-General of Taiwan mainly developed agriculture, forestry, fisheries and agricultural processing industries like those of sugar, pineapple and cement to meet the domestic need of Japan. Yet with the promotion of the “Southward Advance” strategy by Japan, Taiwan built up some strategically important industries like gold and copper mining and aluminum factory to start the process of industrialization in the early 1930s. The formal adoption of the “Southward Advance” policy and the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War which took place in 1936-37 transformed Taiwan into an economic and military base for Japan to expand southward and further accelerated the pace of its industrialization.⁶ In 1938, Japan legislated the National Mobilization Law (kokkasōdōinhō) and formulated the Productivity Expansion Plan (seisanryoku kakujyū keikaku) and Resources Mobilization Plan (bushi dōin keikaku) to economically integrate Japan, North-east China and Taiwan to enhance the total productivity of Japan especially the production level of important resources for achieving its self-sufficiency for long-term war

⁵ Kondō Masami. *Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū*(総力戦と台湾：日本植民地崩壊の研究)(Tōkyō : Tōsui Shobō, 1996), pp.109-133.

⁶ Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.32(Taipei: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1971), pp. 1-3, 14-15.

starting by 1941. Under these law and plans, Taiwan entered the wartime regime,⁷ and was expected to develop industry especially the munitions industry and the modernized industries related to war and national defense with focus on the production of various important products including aluminum, castor oil, natural fragrances(like camphor), gauze and cloth made from ramie, paper pulp, western paper, flint, machines, etc. The development of agriculture, forestry and mining industry also aimed at producing the raw materials for the production of the war-related modernized industries. Planting of Castor oil plant, sugar cane and wheat were three typical examples. Taiwan also had to import more raw materials from the South Sea Islands rather than Japan for industrialization. It endeavored to advance the development of these modernized industries mainly by controlling the capital, investment, labor and resources, restructuring the production of agriculture and industries, and establishing some institutions to implement the controls. In particular, the labor section (rōmuka) of Planning Department of the Taiwan Government-General and its semi-official agents, the Labor Associations (rōmu kyōkai) helped to mobilize abundant labor force including the technician and skilled workers for the development of these industries.⁸ As a result, the number and scale of factories of these industries increased rapidly,⁹ leading to a remarkable rise in their labor number and outturn value since 1937 as shown in the following two statistical tables.

Table of industrial labor number in Taiwan in 1937 and 1941¹⁰

Industry	Number of labor in 1937	Number of labor in 1941	Increase percentage
Metalworking	2875	9729	238.4%
Sawing & Wooden Products	2670	5537	107.38%
Chemical	5014	8805	75.61%
Machine & Tool	4439	7730	74.13%
Foodstuff	48669	67020	37.71%
Textile	3951	5347	35.33%

⁷ Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan tōchi gaiyō*(臺灣統治概要). (Taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1945. Reprinted by Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1997), p.2.

⁸ Zhang Zonghan, *Guang fu qian Taiwan zhi gong ye hua* (光復前台灣之工業化)(Taipei: Lian jing chu ban shi ye gong si, 1980), pp.84-94.

⁹ Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.32(Taipei: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1971), pp.14-15.

¹⁰ Taiwan sheng xing zheng zhang guan gong shu tong ji shi, *Taiwan sheng wu shi yi nian lai tong ji ti yao* (臺灣省五十一年來統計提要)(Taipei: Taiwan sheng xing zheng zhang guan gong shu tong ji shi, 1946), p.763-766.

Printing and Stapling	3026	3752	24%
Ceramic & Cement	10575	11649	10.16%
Electricity, Gas & Water Service	Unknown	74	Unknown
Others	6814	18057	164.99%
All Industries	Total: 78571	Total:137700	Total:75.25%

Table of industrial outturn value in Taiwan in 1937 and 1942¹¹

Industry	Outturn Value (Taiwan dollars) in 1937	Outturn Value (Taiwan dollars) in 1942	Increase percentage
Machine & Tool	8592000	32411000	277.23%
Metalworking	14363000	48034000	234.43%
Ceramic & Cement	8827000	24773000	180.65%
Chemical	33651000	89924000	167.23%
Printing & Stapling	4995000	12643000	153.12%
Sawing & Wooden Products	5537000	13727000	147.92%
Textile	5028000	11670000	132.1%
Foodstuff	261251000	408510000	56.37%
Others	40853000	58476000	43.14%
All Industries	Total: 383097000	Total: 700168000	Total:82.77%

Accordingly, the huge increase ranged from 35% to 238% in the labor of the six industries: Metalworking, Sawing and Wooden Products, Chemical, Machine and Tool, Foodstuff and Textile between 1937 and 1941 clearly indicates that the Taiwan Government-General succeeded in mobilizing the labor force for the expansion of the strategic industries to a large extent. The labor mobilization brought about an enormous growth ranged from 56% to 277% in the production of these industries during 1937-1942. The four most fast growing industries were the industries of Machine and Tool, Metalworking, Ceramic and Cement, and Chemical which were the most war-related industries producing munitions and other wartime products. All these reveal that the Taiwan was highly mobilized to advance industrialization with focus on the production of wartime goods and raw materials under the productivity and mobilization plan of Japan in the “Southward Advance” period. The industrialization can be regarded as an important part of Japan’s “Southward Advance” policy.

¹¹ Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.32, p15.

d. Imperialization Movement

Effective mobilization of the Taiwanese for the industrialization and the southward advance of Japan undoubtedly needed their sincere devotion to Japan and enthusiastic support to the Japanese militarism. That's why the Imperialization Movement (*kōminka undō*, 1937-1945) went hand in hand with the progress of the industrialization and the southward expansion. In fact, the successive governors general occupied by civil officials in Taiwan had consistently been implementing the assimilation policy of "Extension of the Japanese Mainland" (*naichi enchō shugi*) under which the Taiwanese would generally be educated to be the loyal imperial subjects of Japan and given political status equal to the Japanese in order to eliminate the ever increasing nationalist movements in Taiwan since the 1920s. As Japan was getting ambitious in transforming Taiwan into a base to expand to the South, the Taiwan government-general began to establish a large variety of educational and propaganda organizations like Schools for Popularizing the National (Japanese) Language (*kokugo fukyūkai*), the National (Japanese) Language Training Schools (*kokugo kōshūjo*), Youngsters' Associations (*seinen dan*) and Citizenship Training Schools (*kōmin kōshūjo*) to promote the Japanese language and the "Spirit of Imperial Empire" (*kōkoku seishin*) so as to accelerate the assimilation of the Taiwanese in the 1930s.

With the adoption of the "Southward Advance" policy and the change of the Taiwan governor-general from civil official to military official by Japan in 1936, the Taiwan government-general started the Imperialization Movement to facilitate complete assimilation or transformation of the Taiwanese into the imperial subjects of the Japanese Empire.¹² The book *Kōminka Undō* (Imperialization Movement) and the newsletter articles on the Movement written by Shirai Chōkichi and Ema tsunekichi who were the members of Committee for Promoting National Customs (*minpō sakkō kyōgikai*), an advisory committee of the Taiwan Governor-General in the midst of Movement offered a clear explanation to the nature and content of the Movement in details. Accordingly, the Imperialization Movement in Taiwan was a spiritual and social movement which was an important part of the National Spirit Mobilization Movement (*kokumin seishin sōdōin undō*) organized by Japan in 1937. The national policy at that time was to realize the so-called "hakkō ichiu", the universal Imperialization with the Japanese Emperor as its center, by which other races would

¹² Liu Ningyan, ed., *Chong xiu Taiwan sheng tong zhi: wen jiao zhi jiao yu xing zheng pian* (重修臺灣省通志卷六文教志 . 教育行政篇), vol.6, ch.4 (written by Cheng Daixue)(Nantou shi: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1994), pp.171-175.

be assimilated and united culturally and spiritually to have co-prosperity and co-existence with Japan. The fundamental principle of the universal Imperialization was the “Spirit of Imperial Empire” (kōkoku seishin) or “Spirit of Benevolent Imperial Rule” (kōdō seishin) and sometimes called the “Spirit of Japan” (nihon seishin). It was embodied by the features of the Japanese national polity which had long been developed for about 3000 years. The “Spirit of Imperial Empire” or “Spirit of Japan” can be generalized into four concepts: 1. the Japanese imperial line was unbroken; 2. the Japanese families evolved to form the nation; 3. the Japanese territory was ever expanding; 4. the Japanese emperor and subjects united as one body in harmony to develop the nation, that is the so-called “kunmin ittai”. With the spirit, an imperial subject should sacrifice oneself to follow the Imperial edict or the Emperor’s will to serve the Japanese Empire. The essence of the Imperialization Movement was to require the Taiwanese to develop this spirit, the absolute loyalty (shisei) to the Emperor as his subjects or children (ōmitara) for the wartime mobilization. This paper simply names the spirit as the imperial spirit. It was characterized by the attitudes of “Respect” (kei), “Love” (ai) and “Faith” (shin) towards the Empire in the Movement.¹³

Under the Movement, the Taiwan government conducted various activities which widely comprised the aspects of religion and social custom, cultural recreation and entertainment, national identity, military and social education, etc to develop the Taiwanese into the Imperial subjects of Japan. Firstly, it had introduced the Japanese Shinto especially State Shinto (kokka shinto) into Taiwan and approximately 64 Shinto shrines (jinja) and 116 shrines (yashiro) of State Shinto with the gods who supported the Japanese imperial rule were established all over Taiwan early in 1937. The festivals for praying continued luck in the fortunes of war (buuntyōkyū kiganmatsuri 武運長久祈願祭り) and reporting victory (senshō hōkokumatsuri) were frequently held during the Sino-Japanese War. The government also forced the Taiwanese including students to worship Shinto shrines and set up household Shinto shrine (kamidana) at the middle of the official reception hall (seityō) of every household to enshrine the amulet of Ise Shrine (jingū taima) which represented the Sun Goddess (amaterasu ōmikami), the founder of the Japanese empire. The local

¹³ Shirai Chōkichi, Ema tsunekichi, *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動) (taihokushi: tōtaiwan shinpōsha taihokushikyoku, 1939), pp.11-12, 73-75, 83, 127-159 ; Shirai Chōkichi, “Taiwan kōminka no shomondai”(臺灣皇民化の諸問題), Taiwan jiho(臺灣時報), no.241, January 1940, p.32-37 ; Shirai Chōkichi, “Kōminka Undō wa atarashiki taiwan no shihyō” (皇民化運動は新しき臺灣の指標), *Taiwan kyōikukai zasshi*(臺灣教育會雜誌), no.452, 1940, p.92-96.

provinces like Zhongli province also abolished the traditional temples and religious organizations which were accused of superstition and selfishness, and confiscated their properties for education purpose to root out the traditional Chinese religions. Obviously, the main objective of these activities was not only to change the center of the Taiwanese religious life from the traditional Chinese religions to the Japanese Shinto, but also to develop their identity of imperial subject, absolute loyalty to the Japanese Emperor and sincere commitment to the Japanese militarism.¹⁴ Traditional customs were abolished, and local and health facilities were reformed to transform or change the social life of the Taiwanese through the new social organizations like Village Promotion Association (*buraku shinkō kai* or *buraku kai*).¹⁵ As for the arts and entertainment, the Youth Drama Movement (*seinengeki undō*) and the Japanese national ballads flourished throughout Taiwan. Under the Movement, the Japanese dramas about the moving stories of the loyalty and bravery (*tyūyū bidan*) in the Japanese history and especially during the Sino-Japanese War developed widely to supersede the declining Taiwan dramas which were mainly about the Chinese history and legends. The Chinese music for the Taiwan dramas also diminished and was taken over by the Japanese ballads sung by the youngsters in the Youngsters' Association (*seinendan*), public schools and National Language Training Schools (*kokugo kōshūjo*). The promotion of both the Japanese dramas and ballads by the Taiwan government aimed at moulding the spirit of imperial subject among the youngsters.¹⁶ In addition to the spiritual cultivation, the Taiwan government also paid attention to the assimilation of external forms of the Taiwanese like their name and language. To shape the Taiwanese's identity of the imperial subject, the government began to encourage the Taiwanese who came from the "households using the national (Japanese) language daily" (*kokugōjōyō no katei*) or strove to cultivate the quality of imperial subject and had an acute sense of public service to change their Chinese name into Japanese name legally in 1940. Since then, an increasing number of the Taiwanese had adopted the Japanese name.¹⁷ Besides, a large variety of wartime mobilization activities were conducted to foster the patriotism of the Taiwanese

¹⁴ Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.13, pp.288-294; Shirai Chōkichi, Ema tsunekichi, *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動), pp.155, 160-161, 411-475.

¹⁵ Liu Ningyan,ed., *Chong xiu taiwan sheng tong zhi: wen jiao zhi she hui jiao yu pian* (重修臺灣省通志卷六文教志 . 社會教育篇), vol.6, ch.2 (written by Cheng Daixue) (Nantou shi: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1993), pp. 194-195,363, 377, 389-391.

¹⁶ Shirai Chōkichi, Ema tsunekichi, *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動), pp.156, 176-178.

¹⁷ Washinosu Atsuya, *Taiwan hokō Kōminka tokuhon* (臺灣保甲皇民化讀本)(Taiwan: Taiwan keisatsu kyōkai, 1941), compiled in Nakajima Toshio, Yoshihara Jōji, ed., *Washinosu Atsuya chosakushū*, vol. III (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2000), pp.314-317; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan jijō* (taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1944), p.134.

towards Japan. The Taiwan government spread the news about development of the war particularly the circumstance that the Japanese were joining the army with great enthusiasm through daily news broadcasting and newspapers to boost the strength of the Japanese “Imperial Army” (kōgun) and the Japanese spirit of “selfless devotion” (messhi hōkō) since the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. The war news dissemination aimed at encouraging the Taiwanese to be proud of the power of Japan and became more interested in its military activities which made them have the feeling of happiness as a “Japanese”. In response to the war mobilization, an increasing number of Taiwanese were eager to be enlisted as military porters in the Japanese army with the support of their families and communities, like receiving the “1000-stitch belt” (senninbari), a soldiers’ charm. The Taiwanese made donation for the national defense (kokubō kenkin) and soldier’s comfort bag or donation to comfort the soldiers especially the injured and their families. They supplied vegetables, fruits and cavalry horse fodders to the soldiers at the war front and grew castor oil plant for the production of lubrication liquid for aircraft. Some Taiwanese even organized volunteer farmer group (nōgyō giyūdan) to grow vegetables near the battle zones in Central China for the war front soldiers, or served as translators on the Japanese warships. To further imperialize the Taiwanese for war mobilization, the government finally implemented the policy of special volunteer soldiers for the Japanese Army (rikugun tokubetsu shiganhei seido) in 1942. Training schools were set up to train and enlist the Taiwanese aged from 17 to 30 in the Japanese army for the drastic Sino-Japanese War.¹⁸

Social education was the key domain in the Imperialization Movement. Early in 1934, the Taiwan government had issued Outline of Social Education in Taiwan (Taiwan shakaikyōiku yōkō) to lay down the fundamental principle to inculcate the imperial spirit and reinforce the national consciousness. Based on this outline, it began to popularize the Japanese language and establish the network of social education organizations with focus on the training institutions of the youngsters. In 1937, the government set up Training Institute for the National Spirit (kokumin seishin kenshūjo) to cultivate the national spirit of the Taiwanese and nurture the leaders of social education. It also established Youth Religious Service Team (gongyō hōkokutai) to train up the youngsters to be diligent and patriotic leaders in the Imperialization Movement. Later, it formed Youngsters’ Association Union in Taiwan (Taiwan rengō seinendan) and Boy Scouts Union in Taiwan (Taiwan rengō shōnendan) to facilitate the communication and cooperation among the Youngsters’ Associations and the boy

¹⁸ *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動), pp.102-104, 155-158, 163-169; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan tōchi gaiyō*(臺灣統治概要), pp.71-72.

scouts which aimed at cultivating loyal imperial subjects and promoting the imperial spirit in 1938. It even combined the two kinds of youth organizations into Youth Association in Taiwan (Taiwan seishōnendan) to meet the urgent need of the wartime mobilization in 1942.¹⁹ Through these youth organizations especially the Youngsters' Associations, the youngsters were effectively mobilized to participate in the physical labor service (kinrōhōshi) including the services for the soldiers' families and military porters at the front, Shinto shrines cleaning, road repair and new land cultivation, etc.²⁰ In line with the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement (taisei yokusan undō) in Japan, the Taiwan government set up Imperial Duty Association (kōmin hōkōkai) to launch a national movement, the Imperial Duty Movement (kōmin hōkō undō) in April 1941. With the objective to foster the imperial spirit and unity of the Taiwanese for more complete war mobilization and national defense, the Movement provided military training especially for the southward expansion to the Taiwan leaders and youngsters and coordinated multifarious public duty activities by well organizing all the local agents and the affiliated social organizations like Women's Association of Greater Japan (Dai-Nippon fujinkai), Youth Association and Industrial Duty Association in Taiwan (Taiwan sangyō hōkōkai).²¹

As Shirai Chōkichi suggested, the national language itself possessed “the spirit of Japan” which was “the soil to nurture the national spirit” or “the shortcut to the assimilation of the Taiwanese”.²² The Japanese teachers in Taiwan schools at that time such as Imai Seitarō, the principal of the Second Secondary School in Taihoku also strongly believed that using the Japanese language in daily life was the foundation of the Imperialization and even the “training of the Imperial Subject” (kōmin reisei)²³ Therefore, the Taiwan government considered the popularization of the national language, that is the Japanese language as the centre of the Imperialization Movement. The policy of promoting the national language had been well organized and became more effective since the Taiwan government promulgated

¹⁹ Liu Ningyan, ed., *Chong xiu taiwan sheng tong zhi: wen jiao zhi she hui jiao yu pian* (重修臺灣省通志卷六文教志 . 社會教育篇), vol.6, ch.2 (written by Cheng Daixue) (Nantou shi: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1993), pp.196-197, 200-206, 279-290, 300-306.

²⁰ *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動), pp.161-163.

²¹ Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan tōchi gaiyō*(臺灣統治概要), pp.79-80; *Chong xiu taiwan sheng tong zhi: wen jiao zhi she hui jiao yu pian* (重修臺灣省通志卷六文教志 . 社會教育篇), vol.6, ch.2, pp.206-211.

²² *Kōminka Undō* (皇民化運動), pp.190-191; Shirai Chōkichi, “Taiwan kōminka no shomondai”(臺灣皇民化の諸問題), p.36.

²³ Imai Seitarō, “Kōmin reisei to kokugojōyō”(皇民鍊成と國語常用), *Taiwan jichi hyōron*(臺灣自治評論), vol.6, no.6, 1941, p.10.

the Special Education Facilities Code and the 10-Year Plan of the Japanese Language Popularization in 1931. Under the policy, the National (Japanese) Language Training Schools (kokugo kōshūjo), Simple National Language Training Schools (kani kokugo kōshūjo) and National Language Training Schools for Children were widely established and expanded as permanent facilities with full-time lecturers and subsidies from the local government. The first kind of schools were open to the youngsters aged from 12 to 25 who did not receive formal schooling while the second kind were for the adults aged 26 or above. Both kinds of schools aimed at promoting the daily use of the Japanese language to nurture the uneducated Taiwanese desirable attributes of imperial subject. They were increasing up to 5011 and 10509 respectively throughout Taiwan by 1942. In addition, the policy of “Households Using the National (Japanese) Language Daily” (kokugojōyō no katei or kokugo no katei) or was also introduced to encourage the Taiwanese families to use the Japanese language and lead the imperialized life by granting the government recognition with privileges in school admission, entry to civil service and studying in Japan. Up to 9604 families were recognized as these households in Taiwan by 1942. Taiwan Japanese Speech Contest for children and youngsters was also held annually to popularize the use of the Japanese language. All these measures resulted in approximately 58% of the Taiwan population became the “Persons Understanding the Japanese Language” (kokugo kaisha) according to the statistics from the Taiwan government.²⁴

B. Content and Ideologies of the Public School National Language Education in Colonial Taiwan in 1937-1942

In line with the policies of Imperialization, Industrialization and the Southward Expansion, the national language education in public school transformed significantly to ensure more complete assimilation and wartime education of the Taiwanese students for war mobilization by adopting a newly-revised textbook, that was the fourth edition of the National Language Textbook during 1937-1942. Indeed, most of the Taiwanese children aged from 6 to 12 who did not use the Japanese language in daily life were admitted to 6-year public schools, whereas the Japanese children went to 6-year primary schools in this wartime period according to the Taiwan Education Code issued in 1922.²⁵ The Taiwanese students had to undertake 12 subjects

²⁴ Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, *Taiwan sheng tong zhi gao: jiaoyuzhi sheshi pian* (臺灣省通志稿：教育志·教育施設篇) (Taipei: Taiwan sheng wen xian wei yuan hui, 1955), pp.298-307; *Chong xiu taiwan sheng tong zhi: wen jiao zhi she hui jiao yu pian* (重修臺灣省通志卷六文教志·社會教育篇), vol.6, ch.2, pp.225-254, 269-272.

²⁵ *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.37, pp.100-103.

including the national (Japanese) language, ethics (shūshin), mathematic, history of Japan, geography, science, drawing, song, gymnastics, practical course, sewing and housework as well as the Chinese classical literature in public school. The national language subject hours was about 10-14 per week which was the longest among all other subjects and occupied about half of the total subject hours in the first to fourth academic years and nearly one third of it in the fifth and sixth academic years. In other words, the Taiwan government placed the teaching of the national language as the center of the public school education. Therefore, the government introduced the fourth edition of the national language textbook and cancelled the Chinese classical literature subject (kanbunka) which might cultivate the Chinese national identity and anti-Japanese feeling in 1937 in order to accelerate the assimilation or Japanization of the Taiwanese students.²⁶ Katō Haruki, the editorial official of the Taiwan government who compiled the fourth edition of the national language textbook explained the objectives and features of the textbook editing as follows:

“The teaching materials are adopted from the aspects of ethics, history, geography, science, family affairs and other essential matters in daily life according to the teaching rules. Of course, these materials should be very interesting. Particularly, the content for cultivating the national spirit and comprehending the knowledge of citizenship and those related to industry and transport are also increased in the textbook.....It better adopt the content suitable for shaping the children’s spirit to meet the objective of the national language education. Considering this objective, the teaching materials for the lower form students would be adopted mainly from the children’s daily life, and more literatures of fairy tale, myth and legend would be added to the new textbook.....We consider that the textbook should adopt the materials which can meet the psychological need of the children and stimulate and cultivate their spirit.”²⁷

His explanation shows that the fourth edition further reinforced the child-based compiling approach of the third edition (1923-1933) which was originated from the government-designated national language textbook used in Japan since 1918 by putting the teaching materials into the context of children’s daily life and including more interesting literatures.²⁸ More important, it reveals that the fourth edition actually aimed at nurturing the national spirit (kokumin seishin) and practical

²⁶ *Taiwan sheng tong zhi*(臺灣省通誌), Vol.40, pp.27-29, 32.

²⁷ Katō Haruki, “kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makiichi, makini hensan yōshi (ue)”(公学校用国语读本卷一、卷二編纂要旨(上)), *Taiwan Kyōiku* (台湾教育) no.419, pp.9, 13.

²⁸ “kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makiichi, makini hensan yōshi”(公学校用國語讀本卷一、卷二編纂要旨(上)), p.7.

knowledge of industrialization and military expansion of the Taiwanese students by increasing the related contents like the myth and legend which often promoted the Japanese imperial spirit and militarism in respond to the war mobilization at that time. A close examination of the overall content of the fourth edition enables us to understand how the two ideologies were disseminated in public school education by the Taiwan government during the Sino-Japanese War.

The fourth edition of the national language textbook was widely used in all 6-year public schools in Taiwan during 1937-1942. It has 12 volumes and 311 chapters. Two volumes were used in per academic year. For in-depth analysis, the chapters can generally be classified into ten themes in terms of its nature. The themes include: 1. Nature (67ch); 2. Daily life (55ch); 3. Industry and transport (43ch); 4. Literature (33ch); 5. Common knowledge and advanced technology (32ch); 6. History (28ch); 7. Socio-religious customs (17ch); 8. Military and administrative system (15ch); 9. Geography (14ch); and 10. Current issues (7ch).²⁹ The chapters can also be classified into 6 categories: Japan, Taiwan, China, Korea, the South and the West in terms of its relationships to these countries or regions. The chapters adopted materials from different sources including the third edition of the Taiwan textbook, the government-designated national language textbook in Japan in the 4th Period (1933-1940), and other sources like the literatures in Japan, Taiwan and the west and the recent news. The editors sometimes created new materials appropriate for some chapters. So the sources of the chapters can generally be divided into 4 kinds:³⁰

1. Tw 3rd ed: completely or partly followed a chapter of the 3rd edition of the Taiwan textbook (1923-1941);
2. Adapt Jap: adapted or slightly revised from a chapter of the government-designated national language textbook in Japan in the 4th Period (1933-1940)
3. Whole Jap: adopt a whole chapter from the above government- designated national language textbook
4. New: new chapter form other sources or newly created by the editors

Here analyses the content and ideologies of each theme with a table.

²⁹ The Japanese syllabary tables of katakana, voiced sound, semivoiced sound and contracted sound in chapter 34, 42 of vol. 1, pp. 2-3 of vol.2 and p.56-57 of vol.3 are not included in the classification.

³⁰ Katō Haruki, “kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makiichi(vol.1), makini(vol.2) hensan yōshi” (ue), (uchi) (公學校用國語讀本卷一、卷二編纂要旨(上)(中)), *Taiwan Kyōiku* (臺灣教育) no.419, 420, 421, 1937, *ibid*, same paper (vol.3-4), same journal no.432, 1938; (vol.5-6)(1)(2), no.443, 444, 1939; Chen Hung-Wen. *A Comparative Study of Textbooks for Elementary Education in Colonial Taiwan and Japan: The Case of Language Textbooks 1937-1945*. PhD Dissertation, National Chi Nan University . Feb 2009, p115-118, 128-141, 167-183.

1. Nature

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1 / 2	Nil (a flower garden)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 7	Nil (flower, bee)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 10	Nil (plantation)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 15	Nil (animal)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 16	Nil (animal)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 19	Nil (animal)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 21	Nil (animal)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 22	Nil (animal)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 28	Nil (moon)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 29	Nil (sun)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 30	Nil (insect)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 48	Nil (animal)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 2	Nil (animal)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 3	Nil (sunset)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
2 / 5	Nil (red dragonfly)	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 7	Nil (chrysanthemum)	New	Nil	Imperial Spirit
2 / 9	Nil (black drongo)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 20	Nil (fishing village in the coast)	New	Taiwan	Maritime knowledge
2 / 26	Nil (plum)	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
2 / 27	Nil (egrets in green paddy)	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
3 / 6	Tadpole	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
3 / 12	Scarabaeid beetle	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
3 / 19	Shooting star	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Astronomy knowledge
3 / 20	Ant	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
3 / 22	Rabbit	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nature appreciation
4 / 1	Clear Japanese Weather	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
4 / 21	Chinaberry	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nature appreciation
5 / 1	Morning	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
5 / 2	Silk tree	New	Nil	Nature appreciation

5 / 7	Cricket	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
5 / 8	White ant	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Jap assimilation
5 / 11	River tour	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nature appreciation
5 / 12	On the boat and tatami mat	Adapt Jap	Nil	Maritime knowledge
5 / 13	Summer	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
5 / 14	Sudden evening rain	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
6 / 1	A plain of wild chrysanthemum	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
6 / 16	Zoo	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
6 / 17	Songs on four animals	New	Nil	Nature appreciation
6 / 23	Fragrant olive	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
7 / 6	Royal Poinciana	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
7 / 12	Sweetfish	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
7 / 15	Sea bathing	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Maritime knowledge
7 / 16	Wave	New	Taiwan	Maritime knowledge
7 / 17	Storm	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Threat of the nature
8 / 1	Spring came	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
8 / 10	Chrysanthemum	Adapt Jap	Japan	Imperial spirit
8 / 11	Spring in hometown	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
9 / 1	Sea	New	Taiwan	Maritime knowledge
9 / 13	Sacred tree	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Shinto
9 / 15	Talk about stars	Adapt Jap	Japan	Astronomy knowledge
9 / 21	Mother horse and child horse	Whole Jap	Nil	Loves of mother and child
10 / 6	The evening sun	Adapt Jap	Taiwan	Industrialization
10 / 15	Story of spider	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Spider life knowledge, spirit of science
10 / 16	Forest	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Industrialization
10 / 17	Logging	New	Taiwan	Industrialization
10 / 20	Children of snow country	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
10 / 21	Hunting elephant	Tw 3 rd ed	The south	Militarism
11 / 1	Mountain Fuji and Sakura	New	Japan	Imperial spirit
11 / 5	Moth orchid	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
11 / 8	I am the son of sea	New	Japan	Maritime knowledge, Imperial spirit,

				militarism
11 / 12	Various clouds	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nature appreciation
11 / 14	Climbing Mountain Shinkō	New	Taiwan	Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
11 / 15	National park of Taiwan	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
11 / 16	Hérons with all-white plumage	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation
11 / 17	The world of moon	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Astronomy knowledge
12 / 5	Fog	Whole Jap	Nil	Nature appreciation
12 / 16	The sun	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nature appreciation, spirit of Science

The above table shows that up to 67 chapters with colorful pictures about the nature in the daily life of the children were evenly distributed in the 12 volumes of the textbook to meet students' psychological need. The nature theme was the largest theme in the textbook. Its chapters described in different literary styles various kinds of animals, insects, plants, field, mountains, rivers, sea, astronomical phenomena, seasons and weather which were usually seen in Taiwan in order to arouse the interest of students. The chapters generally aimed at providing students with basic knowledge of the nature and the ways to appreciate its beauty in different seasons and to observe its features scientifically. By this, it cultivated their spirit of science and sense of caring the nature especially the animals and plants. More important, the textbook editors also intended to create a Japanese life context by putting some Japanese characters into the chapters to nurture the Japanese identity of the students, like the examples of Shiduko (v.2 ch.3), Bunichi, Tarō, Jirō, Ichirō (v.5 ch.1,7,8), Masao (v.11 ch.17) and the Japanese children wearing traditional Japanese costume in the snow country, Japan (v.10 ch.20).

In addition to the Japanese assimilation, the textbook demonstrated that the nature and the human were always under the protection of the Japanese Shinto god. The song of sacred tree told that the sacred tree in Mountain Ari was originated from the age of the gods (kamiyo) and had long been protecting the Mountain together with the mountain god. (v.9 ch.13) The visit to Shinkō Shinto Shrine during the Mountain Shinkō Climbing was another example to preach the Shinto religion (v.11 ch.14). In this story, the main character went to the shrine not only for thanking the god for his safe climbing, but also for praying for the long victory of the brave imperial soldiers of

Japan (kōgun yūshi) in the WWII. It showed that the cultivation of the spirits of Imperial Empire and the Japanese militarism was another aim of the nature education. More examples can be cited. The dialogue between a mother and her daughter over chrysanthemum reminded students of the imperial chrysanthemum emblem of the Japanese Emperor. (v.2 ch.7) The songs to praise the beauty and purity of the late spring chrysanthemum as the national flower and Mountain Fuji and sakura as the symbols of Japan or “Spirit of Japan” were also used to develop their national feeling or imperial spirit. (v.8 ch.10; v.11 ch.1) The poem to glorify the subjects of the island nation Japan as the “Son of the Sea” (v.11 ch.8) aroused not only the national spirit but also the sense of understanding and conquering the sea for the overseas expansion of the Japanese Empire especially to the South.

Considering the lack of maritime materials in the textbook, the editor deliberately added plenty of these materials into it, particularly in this theme.³¹ The chapters of “Fishing village in the coast”(v.2), “On the boat and tatami mat”(v.5), “Sea bathing”(v.7), “Wave”(v.7), “Sea”(v.9) and “I am the son of sea”(v.11) were stories about the sea or seashore which aimed at enhancing the students’ maritime awareness and knowledge for the Japanese overseas militarism like the naval mobilization. The story that a father took his boy to swim in the beach to train him into a “man of maritime nation”(kaikoku danshi) in “Sea bathing” particularly displayed the Japanese spirit of overseas militarism. The story that illustrated how the hunter hunted and trained elephant to be docile and loyal livestock in India (v.10 ch.21) also drew students’ attention to the Japanese colonization in the South under the “Southward Advance” policy. Besides, some chapters tried to show the intimate relationships between the nature and the industrialization in Taiwan. In the poem on the evening sun, the brick wall and the brick factory chimney blended with the plants to form part of the beautiful picture. (v.10 ch.6) Another poem also glorified the logging work in mountain. (v.10 ch.17) The essay on forest (v.10 ch.16) even pointed out that Mountains of Ali, Hassen and Taihei produced considerable lumber for both Taiwan and Japan and deserved protection. This kind of chapters emphasized that the nature provided raw materials for industrialization which was an indispensable part of the Taiwanese life and contributed to the self-sufficiency and militarism of the Japanese Empire. The table above shows that 21 chapters, that is nearly one-third of the nature theme content were related to the Japanese assimilation and the inculcation of the Shinto, the imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism including the knowledge of the sea and industrialization. Out of these chapters, 12 chapters were newly created by the

³¹ Katō Haruki, “kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makiichi, makini hensan yōshi (shita)”(公學校用國語讀本卷一、卷二編纂要旨(下)), *Taiwan Kyōiku* (臺灣教育) no.421,1937, p.12.

editors themselves or adapted from other new sources, 4 chapters were adapted from the government-designated national language textbook of Japan and 5 chapters followed the 3rd edition of the Taiwan textbook. This shows that the editors intended to intensively indoctrinate students with these ideologies by introducing new materials into this theme.

2. Daily life

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Health Knowledge and Personal Life				
1 / 9	Nil (body)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
1 / 35	Nil (summer life)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
4 / 11	Cavity	Adapt Jap	Nil	Jap assimilation
4 / 19	Barber	New	Nil	Nil
5 / 4	Major cleanup	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Jap assimilation
5 / 15	Diary	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
9 / 18	Hot spring	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	curative effect of hot spring
b. Family Life				
1 / 4	Nil (whole family)	New	Nil	Nil
1/ 26	Nil (elder brother & sister)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
1 / 31	Nil (sisters)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 32	Nil (father & son)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 40	Nil (feeding ducks)	New	Nil	Nil
1 / 43	Nil (family dinner)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
2 / 25	Nil (family conversation)	New	Nil	Nil
3 / 8	Family dog, Pochi	New	Nil	Nil
4 / 8	Babysitting	New	Nil	Family love
4 / 12	Home cat	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nil
4 / 17	Household using the national language	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
6 / 13	Send mandarin orange	New	Taiwan	Family love, Jap assimilation
7 / 8	Inform baby's birth	New	Taiwan	Family love, Jap assimilation
c. School Life				

1 / 1	Nil(morning assembly)	New	Japan	Imperial spirit
2 / 6	Nil (sport day)	New	Nil	Nil
3 / 1	Sei chan (neighbor)	New	Japan	Imperial spirit
3 / 7	School trip	New	Nil	Nil
3 / 17	Radio calisthenics	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
4 / 15	Moving picture	Tw 3 rd ed	Japan	Militarism
7 / 1	Promote to Form 4	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
7 / 4	Body check	New	Taiwan	Nil
11 / 22	Power of the national language	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
d. Community Life				
1 / 46	Nil (life in open field)	New	Nil	Nil
2 / 11	Nil (played with Japanese friend)	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
2 / 23	Nil (town in summer morning)	New	Taiwan	Nil
3 / 11	Washing	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Nil
5 / 20	Our district	New	Taiwan	Shinto, industrialization
10 / 8	Day of counting ballots	Adapt Jap	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, voting knowledge
e. Entertainment.				
1 / 3	Nil (watching carp)	New	Nil	Nil
1 / 8	Nil (flying kite)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
1 / 38	Nil (rope skipping)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 44	Nil (hide & seek game)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 47	Nil (fishing)	New	Nil	Jap assimilation
2 / 11	Nil (sale game)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
2 / 13	Nil (song of Japanese doll)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
2 / 17	Nil (father's shadow pictures)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
2 / 24	Nil (Japanese children showed the way)	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
3 / 2	Rope skipping	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nil
3 / 9	Fishing	New	Nil	Nil
3 / 10	Japanese word-chain game	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation

3 / 14	Fireworks	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
3 / 16	Guessing game	New	West	Nil
3 / 18	Cicada	New	Nil	Nil
4 / 5	Playing house	New	Nil	Nil
4 / 16	Riddle	New	Nil	Nil
6 / 10	Model plane	New	Nil	Imperial spirit
6 / 14	Card game	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
10 / 10	Talk about movie	New	Taiwan	Spirit of science, militarism

As Katō Haruki suggested that family affairs and other essential issues in daily life was one of the teaching foci in the textbook, it was suffused with 55 chapters about daily life in almost every volume. The daily life theme was in fact the second largest theme. It can be further divided into 5 sub-themes: a. health knowledge and personal life (7ch); b. family life (13ch); c. school life (9ch); d. community life (6ch) and e. entertainment (20ch). The number of chapters in these sub-themes reveals that the editors tried to teach students the Japanese language, life knowledge and especially the ideologies in an interesting and social context by using more materials about entertainment and social life in order to satisfy their psychological desire and social need for developing interpersonal relationships and the national identity. The scope and extent of assimilation or Japanization in this theme was much larger than that of the nature theme. 24 chapters, that was nearly half of the theme content provided the context of the Japanese identity and lifestyle. They were evenly distributed in all the sub-themes of daily life. In these chapters, the main character and other characters including family member, friend, neighbor, school teacher, classmate and doctor usually adopted popular Japanese family names and given names including Oshita, Yamanaka, Mizuta, Okada, Honda, Hiroshi, Susumu, Tamako, Masao, Sei, Hana, Hanako, Matsuko, Michio, Yūichi, Miyoko, hideko, Sei, Tarau, Jirau, Ken, Takeiji, Tomokichi and Yoshio, etc. (v.1 ch.31, 32, 38, 43, 44, 47; v.2 ch.11, 24; v.3 ch.1, 14, 17; v.4 ch.11, 17; v.5 ch.4, 15; v.6 ch.13, 14; v.7 ch.1, 8; v.10 ch.8) The chapters not only shaped the Japanese identity of the students through the characters' name, but further assimilated them by teaching the typical Japanese lifestyle and propagating the social assimilation policy of the Imperialization Movement. For examples, the story about the summer life of Masao, a Japanese boy demonstrated the traditional Japanese house and diet like having afternoon snack (oyatsu). (v.1 ch.35) Traditional Japanese games like shadow picture, word-chain game and card game were also introduced with pictures. (v.2 ch.17; v.3 ch.10; v.6 ch.14) The story about a boy Michio visited his friend Yūichi's home also highly glorified the policy of "Household using the

national language” (kokugojōyō no katei). In the visit, Michio found that Yūichi’s family members including his grandfather who was studying at the National Language Training Schools (kokugo kōshūjo) could speak or learnt to speak the Japanese language because Yūichi’s parents were graduated from public school and could thoroughly understand the language. It inspired Michio’s family to use the language at home. (v.4 ch.17) These chapters encouraged the students to adopt the Japanese lifestyle and language in their personal and family life. The story that a Taiwanese boy played with the Japanese neighbors and made friend with them (V.2 ch.11) even urged them to develop close relationships with the Japanese in the community which was the idea of “harmony between the Japanese and the Taiwanese” (nитай yūwa) promoted by the Imperialization Movement. Obviously, these “Japanized” chapters made the students felt that they were Japanese living in a Japanese world.

Besides, the sub-theme of community life showed that the Shinto religion and industrialization should be the foci of the community. A boy’s note about his Sunday life told that his first thing to do was to visit the Shinto shrine with grandfather and then watch his community district in which a sugar manufacturing factory was located among the residence. (v.5 ch.20) More important, the sub-themes of entertainment and school life intended to disseminate the imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism. The first story of the textbook was a picture showing the students who were watching the ceremony of raising the Japanese national flag in the school morning assembly. (v.1 ch.1) Another story also illustrated with a picture showing that a student entered the main gate of a public school in which the national flags were hoisted. (v.3 ch.1) Both stories nurtured students’ respect for the national flag and gratitude to the Japanese Empire for the schooling provided. There was one more story which described that a boy was playing a model plane of which the head was written “Patriotism”(aikoku) by his elder brother, and his friends were crying “Long live Japan !”(banzai). (v.6 ch.10) It also aroused students’ patriotic feelings and imperial spirit. An essay glorified the power of the national (Japanese) language by saying that the language itself contained the feeling and spirit of the Japanese which had developed since the age of the gods, and people using the language could become real Japanese and unite together for the Emperor and the national war. (v.11 ch.22) It urged students to develop the imperial spirit for the Japanese militarism through the language assimilation.

Undoubtedly, the Japanese militarism was promoted particularly in the entertainment context. A movie film showing that the Japanese soldiers were firing a cannon was

attached to a story about the invention and development of movies. (v.10 ch.10) It implied that movies should be used for war propagation at that time. The story of watching moving picture was largely revised from Chapter 19 of Volume 4 of the third edition, which focused on the military exercise of the Japanese navy and the audiences' deep emotion. It described that "the naval ensign was blown about in the wind and looked bold and powerful"; "when the warship was freely rotating its front artillery and firing with great sound, Gorō said: 'Oh! It's amusing !'"; "when the flying aircrafts were bombing the sea, some audiences were crying "banzai" with excitement". (v. 4 ch.15) It vividly embellished the power of the Japanese navy to encourage the students to be devoted to militarism. As shown in the above table, 30 chapters, that is more than half of the daily life theme content disseminated the ideologies of the Shinto, industrialization, the imperial spirit and militarism and especially the Japanese assimilation. Of these chapters, 23 chapters were new , 4 chapters were adapted from the national language textbook of Japan and merely 3 chapters from the 3rd edition. These clearly demonstrate that the ideologies were more concentrated in this theme than the nature theme through the adoption of more new materials by the editors.

3. Industry and Transport

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Industry				
1 / 5	Nil (garden of a farm family)	New	Taiwan	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
1 / 20	Nil (breeding pigs)	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
1 / 27	Nil (sponge gourd)	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
2 / 1	Nil (rice reaping)	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency, Jap assimilation
2 / 14	Nil (grow flowering quince)	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
2 / 18	Nil (visit field for mandarin orange)	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
2/ 21	Nil (breeding duck)	New	Taiwan	Livestock breeding,

				self-sufficiency
3 / 13	Wax gourd	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
4 / 7	Domestic duck	New	Taiwan	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
4 / 13	Chimney	New	Taiwan	Industrialization
5 / 21	Pony	New	Taiwan	Livestock breeding, Militarism
6 / 2	Rice reaping	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency, Jap assimilation
6 / 3	Castor oil plant	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, Industrialization, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
6 / 7	Goat	New	Taiwan	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
6 / 8	Blue sky	New	Taiwan	Agriculture, Industrialization, Imperial spirit
6 / 20	Brick factory	New	Taiwan	Industrialization
7 / 13	Tea	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
8 / 5	Fruits in Taiwan	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
8 / 8	Rice	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
9 / 11	Haurai rice	New	Taiwan, Japan	Agriculture, self-sufficiency, spirit of science
9 / 12	Camphor	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Industrialization, spirit of science
9 / 19	Aluminum	New	Japan	Industrialization, spirit of science
9 / 23	Longline fishing of Tuna	New	Taiwan	Fishery, self-sufficiency
10 / 5	Rubber	Adapt Jap	The South & Japan	Agriculture, Industrialization,

				spirit of science
10 / 23	Chasing whale in Antarctic Ocean	Whole Jap	Japan	Fishery, self-sufficiency, Militarism
12 / 11	Sugar manufacturing factory	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Industrialization, spirit of science
12 / 12	Substitute	New	Taiwan	Industrialization, spirit of science
b. Transport				
1 / 24	Nil (ferryboat)	New	Taiwan	Nil
1 / 36	Nil (On bus)	New	Taiwan	Nil
5 / 9	Ox carriage	New	Taiwan	Nil
5 / 18	Road Repair	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
5 / 19	Guidepost	New	Taiwan	Imperial spirit
6 / 6	Tour by train	New	Taiwan	Industrialization
7 / 18	Tour to Hōko Islands	New	Taiwan	Maritime knowledge, militarism
7 / 21	Take bus	New	Taiwan	Nil
8 / 12	Lighthouse	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Imperial spirit
9 / 4	Air journey	Adapt Jap	Taiwan & Japan	Jap assimilation, Aviation knowledge
9 / 17	Tour to Okinawa	New	Taiwan & Japan	Maritime knowledge, militarism, Shinto, Imperial spirit
9 / 20	Go to the capital (Korea)	Adapt Jap	Korea	Jap assimilation, Militarism
10 / 22	Drawbridge	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Nil
12 / 13	Yangtze River	New	China	Militarism
12 / 17	Travel about the South(1)	New	South	Militarism
12 / 18	Travel about the South(2)	New	South	Militarism

As Katō Haruki mentioned, the knowledge of industry and transport was an important part of the textbook. The above table shows that this theme has 43 chapters which is next to the daily life theme. It can be further divided into two sub-themes: a. industry (27ch) and b. transport (16). The former covered agriculture, livestock breeding, fishery, industries and their raw materials, products and factories. The latter included the transportation systems and transportation routes in Taiwan, China, Japan, Korea

and the South. The contents of both sub-themes were closely in line with the government policies of self-sufficiency, industrialization and mobilization for military expansion like the “Southward Advance” policy. In the industry theme, there were 12 chapters describing family planting of sponge gourd, rice, flowering quince, mandarin orange, wax gourd, tea, banana, pineapple, citrus fruits, mango, papaya, water melon, plum, grape, castor oil plant, sugar cane in Taiwan and rubber tree in the South Sea Islands (v.1 ch.27; v.2 ch.1, 14, 18; v.3 ch.13; v.6 ch.2, 3, 8; v.7 ch.13; v.8 ch.5, 8; v.9 ch.11; v.10 ch.5), 6 chapters about breeding pig, chicken, duck, farm cattle, goat and warhorse (v.1 ch.5, 20; v.2 ch.21; v.4 ch.7; v.5 ch.21; v.6 ch.7) and 2 chapters about local Tuna fishing and whaling in Antarctic Ocean in the South (v.9 ch.23; v.10 ch.23). Most of these chapters provided the students with knowledge of family agriculture, livestock breeding and fishery and encouraged them to be devoted to these productions for the self-sufficiency of the Japanese Empire. The stories and pictures showing the use modernized rice threshing machine and reformed pigsty in farming family and the rice production process were some typical examples to inculcate the production knowledge. (v.1 ch.5; v.2 ch.1; v.8 ch.8) The story about the popular fruits produced in Taiwan which emphasized that banana, the most important fruit was exported to Japan, Manchurian China and colonial Korea in large quantities annually at that time (v.8 ch.5) particularly aroused the students’ sense of devotion to the self-sufficiency of the Empire.

On the other hand, the chapters about planting castor oil plant and sugar cane in Taiwan and rubber tree in the South Sea Islands to produce the castor oil, sugar and rubber as raw materials for the war-related industries (v.6 ch.3, 8; v.10 ch.5) urged the students to grow these products for the industrialization and support the southward expansion under the Japanese militarism. In this sub-theme, there were 6 more chapters teaching about the raw materials and production process of the important war-related industries in Taiwan. The raw materials included camphor, aluminum, brick, sugar and man-made substitutes like safety glass and toughened glass. (v.4 ch.13; v.6 ch.20; v.9 ch.12, 19; v.12 ch.11, 12) The chapters provided the knowledge of the modernized production process and facilities and highly appreciated the value of these raw materials as essential materials for producing weapons and other war necessities in order to encourage the students to participate in their production for the wartime industrialization. The story that the people living near a sugar factory had close relationships with the factory and were very concerned about it (v.4 ch.13) particularly emphasized the importance of industrial development in the students’ community life. Apart from the knowledge and spirit of industrialization, the ideologies of Japanese assimilation, imperial spirit and militarism were also spread in

this sub-theme. Most of the characters had Japanese name like Tarau, Masao, Gohei, chōkitsu and Jirau. (v.2 ch.1; v.6 ch.2, 3) The story about castor oil plant told that it was refined and named by Sakuma, a Japanese governor-general of Taiwan and demonstrated how a family grew it as an imperial public service (gohōkō) so as to cultivate the students' spirit of selfless devotion for the Empire (messhi hōkō). (v.6 ch.3) Another story showing the Youngsters' Association members were going through the road between a sugar cane field and a railway under the blue sky also implied that the Taiwan youngsters were happy to do the farming work or the road repair as physical labor service (kinrōhōshi) with the imperial spirit. (v.6 ch.8) The story that a family was raising a pony to be a warhorse in response to the national defense policy of Japan nurtured not only the imperial spirit but also the Japanese militarism. (v.5 ch.21) The story about whaling in the Antarctic Ocean in the South particularly encouraged the students to support the "Southward Advance" policy at the time. (v.10 ch.23)

The transport theme not only provided the knowledge of modernized transportation and communication related to the industrialization and the transport to Japan and its other colonies, but also disseminated the ideologies mentioned above and even the Shinto. The theme tried to assimilate the students by offering the Japanese names like Jirō, Shōichi, Masao to the characters. (v.5 ch.18; v.9 ch.4) What's more, the story about a tour to the capital of colonial Korea showed that the Korean had already changed their name to Japanese at that time which aimed at setting an example for the Taiwanese to use the Japanese names.(v.9 ch.20) On the other hand, another story about a tour to Okinawa mentioned that the characters first went to visit the Naminouheigun, a Shinto shrine in Naha which also emphasized the importance of Shinto religion in the Taiwanese mind (v.9 ch.17) The story also pointed out that the characters went to watch Naha city street because the present Japanese Emperor and crown prince had visited there recently. This nurtured the students' sense of caring and respecting the imperial family. The preaching of the imperial spirit can also be found in other chapters. The story telling the Youngsters' Association members in a village made concerted efforts to repair the road and the poem praising them for constructing the guidepost aroused the students' spirit of selfless devotion to the village public service.(v.5 ch.18, 19) The essay appreciating the lighthouse keepers in the coastal regions and isolated islands of Taiwan who had to work hard all the time to prevent shipwreck also aimed at fostering this imperial spirit. (v.8 ch.12)

Besides, maritime knowledge and the Japanese militarism were the focuses of the tour stories. The story about a tour to grandfather's home near the sea demonstrated the

seascape to the students. (v.6 ch.6) The story about Hōko Islands even described that there was a motor boat with warship flag and the Japanese naval general. (v.7 ch.18) The Okinawa tour story explained the sea route to there and pointed out that there was a monument of commendation for the Japanese warriors in the Russo-Japanese War in Iriomote Island. (v.9 ch.17) The Korea tour story also mentioned that there was a monument for a Japanese captain Matsusaki in the battlefield of the 1894-1895 War. (v.9 ch.20) These stories usually glorified the Japanese militarism by teaching the sea tour knowledge. Another story about the transportation of Yangtze River in South China even emphasized that the Japanese troops had been conquering some regions of the river and transforming them into part of the “Great East Asia”. (v.12 ch.13) The two notes about travelling the South also demonstrated the geography especially the economic resources of some important countries and cities in South-east Asia including Haiphon, Hanoi, Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Batavia, Surabaya, Makassar, Sandakan, Davao and Manila to enable students understand their economic importance to the Japanese Empire in the wartime. (v.12 ch.17-18) These story and notes showed an embellished picture of the Japanese colonization in the South to encourage the students to be devoted to the Japanese militarism especially under the “Southward Advance” policy.

In the industry theme, a large variety of practical economic knowledge was provided to the students with the objective to promote the policies of self-sufficiency and industrialization for the wartime mobilization. Therefore, the two policies were the dominate ideologies and the Japanese assimilation, Shinto, imperial spirit and militarism were less apparent in this sub-theme. As revealed in the above table, only 6 chapters had the latter ideologies. These ideologies were mainly concentrated in 10 chapters of the transport theme. In other words, 16 chapters, that is more than one-third of the theme content disseminated the ideologies, which is less than the daily life theme but more than the nature theme. Of these chapters, 11 chapters were new , 3 chapters were completely or partly adapted from the textbook in Japan and merely 2 chapters from the 3rd edition. These show that the editors intentionally infused the ideologies into this theme by adding considerable new materials.

4. Literature

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1/ 49	Nil (race between turtle	Adapt Jap	West	Nil

	and rabbit)			
1 / 50	Nil (frog and cow)	New	West	Nil
1 / 51	Nil (ant and dove)	New	West	Nil
2 / 8	Nil (tongue-cut sparrow)	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
2 / 15	Nil (Kintarau)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
2 / 22	Nil (greedy dog)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
2 / 28	Nil (monkey and crab)	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
3 / 3	Momotaro, the peach boy	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, militarism
3 / 15	Territory expansion (Kunibiki)	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
3 / 21	Turtle's wisdom	New	West	Nil
3 / 23	Old man who made flowers bloom	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō
4 / 2	Ushiwakamaru	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō
4 / 3	Millionaire Rushi	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
4 / 6	Goat and wolf	Tw 3 rd ed	West	Nil
4 / 10	Urashima tarō	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto
4 / 18	Purse	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
4 / 22	White rabbit	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto
5 / 3	Yuriwaka	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit
5 / 6	Heavenly rock cavern (Ame no ihaya)	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit
5 / 10	Huge snake of Yamata	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Shinto, Imperial spirit
5 / 16	Grandson of the Sun Goddess	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit
5 / 22	Two precious stones	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation,

				Bushidō, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
6 / 4	Emperor of Jimmu	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
6 / 9	Prince Yamatotakeru	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
6 / 18	Mother's mirror	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
6 / 19	Amusing stories	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
6 / 22	Monk Sesshiu	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
7 / 22	Amusing stories	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
7 / 23	Lion and knight	Adapt Jap	West	Bushidō, Imperial spirit
10 / 1	A poem by Emperor Meiji	Tw 3 rd ed	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
11 / 21	Proverbs	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit
12 / 10	Haiku poetry	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Nature appreciation, Imperial spirit
12 / 22	Figure of the Imperial Empire	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit

Katō Haruki always emphasized in his explanation of the textbook that more literatures were added to the textbook and the Japanese literatures were particularly to nurture students' national spirit. It is undoubted that students could easily develop the Japanese identity and learn the traditional Japanese ideologies of Bushidō, Shinto, the imperial spirit and even the Japanese militarism by extensively studying the Japanese literature. According to the above table, 33 chapters of the textbook were literatures which was next to the theme of industry and transport. The chapters were distributed in most of the volumes except volumes 8 and 9. Of these, 25 chapters were the Japanese literatures, 6 were the western literatures and no Chinese or Taiwanese literature was included in the textbook. It remarkably shows that the editors intended

to assimilate or “Japanize” students through the teaching of the literature theme. The theme included myth (9ch), legend (1ch), fairy tale (18 ch), war tale (1ch), poem (3ch) and proverb (1ch). All the myths are the Japanese ancient myths which preached the Shinto religion and especially its essential idea that Japan had long been developing prosperously as a “Nation of the Gods” since the ancient time. The stories about Urashima tarō and a white rabbit showed that both the Japanese people and animal had close relationships with the powerful gods and lived under their protection.(v.4 ch.10, 22) The fact that the Okuninushi god mentioned in the rabbit myth was being enshrined in Izumo Grand Shinto Shrine, a famous shrine in Japan in the wartime reminded students that the Japanese Empire was still a “god nation” with the gods’ blessings and deserved their respect and loyalty. The traditional myths telling that the Okuninushi god was just one of the gods submitted to the rule of Sun Goddess (Amaterasu ōmikami), the highest god and the ancestor of the imperial family of Japan implied that Sun Goddess or the Japanese Emperor should be the center of glorification or worship in the Japanese myth world. Considering this, most of the Japanese myths could be regarded as the foundation or the soil for nurturing the imperial spirit.

In this theme, the myth about heavenly rock cavern told that Sun Goddess had been terrified and concealed herself into the heavenly rock cavern, but the numerous heavenly-deities worked together to take her back to shine the world by using a sakaki tree attached with mirror and precious stone. (v.5 ch.6) It explained the symbolic meaning of using the sakaki tree attached with mirror and precious stone in the Shinto ritual at that time and more importantly showed that Sun Goddess was the highest god with great benevolence in the heaven of gods which became the origin of the Japanese national polity. Another myth in the same volume continued to tell that Sun Goddess sent her grandson Ninigi to rule Japan as the Emperor and declared that the Japanese Empire would be prosperous forever as the heaven and earth. (v.5 ch.16) It further demonstrated the origin of the Japanese national polity under which the successive Emperors from an unbroken imperial line in Japan were the descendants of the highest god and their legitimacy deserved the loyalty, respect and selfless devotion of the imperial subjects. This is the essence of the imperial spirit or the so-called “Emperor-centered view of history” (kōkoku shikan). One more myth told that the younger brother of Sun Goddess killed an evil huge snake with eight heads to protect the people in Yamata and got a holy sword from its tail and presented it to the Sun Goddess. (V.5 ch.10) It further cultivated students’ imperial spirit to pay absolute respect and loyalty to Sun Goddess and her descendant, the present Japanese Emperor and demonstrated that they as the imperial subjects should realize the spirit by

possessing the three primary virtues: wisdom (chi), benevolence (jin) and courage (yū) like Sun Goddess's brother. Indeed, these virtues were the framework of Bushidō.³² The myth implied that students should be devoted to the Japanese Empire by practicing the Bushidō virtues which originated from the characters of the Japanese ancient god. Similarly, another myth told that Prince Yamatotakeru, the son of Emperor Keikō, who was well known for his bravery and toughness suppressed the evil nation of Suruga in the East for the Emperor. (v.6 ch.9) It was a typical example of the Japanese warriors who fought wholeheartedly with the Bushidō spirit for the Emperor.

Indeed, the above two war myths inculcated not only the spirits of Bushidō and Imperial Empire, but also the Japanese militarism with the Emperor as its center. The militarism went hand in hand with the imperial spirit in the other three myths in the textbook. One myth told that the god pulled the surplus lands in the East and the West to integrate into the territory of Japan for territorial expansion. (v.3 ch.15) Although Katō Haruki explained that the myth just aimed at promoting the spirit of universal Imperialization (hakkō ichiu) or benevolent Imperial rule (kōdō seishin) to the world, not advocating the Japanese expansion,³³ it obviously had the implication that it was natural for the Japanese Emperor, the "living god" to expand the Empire by militarism especially in the wartime. Another myth about Hoderi and Hoori, two Japanese brother gods told that Hoori who was also the grandfather of Emperor Jimmu of Japan had went to the sea to find Hoderi's fish hook with the help of the Sea God and later suppressed scoundrels and ruled the nation well with two precious stones granted by the God. (v.5 ch.22) It demonstrated not only the holiness of the Japanese Emperor but also Hoori's sincerity and bravery to explore the sea which signified the oversea expansion of Japan at that time. Another myth told that Hoori's grandson, Emperor of Jimmu led the troop to suppress Yamato which was occupied by two brother generals, Eukashi and Otoukashi, and Otoukashi betrayed Eukashi and surrendered to the Emperor for a just cause (taigi meibun). (v.6 ch.4) It also propagated absolute loyalty and devotion to the expansion of Japan for the Emperor even by forsaking family relationships with the implication that the Taiwanese should give up their relationships with the Chinese in Mainland China to support the Japanese militarism.

Other literatures like legend, war tale, fairy tale and proverb in the textbook were often infused with the Bushidō spirit to sustain or intensify the dissemination of the

³² *Bushido: the Soul of Japan; An Exposition of Japanese Thought*, p.98.

³³ "kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makisan, makiyo hensan yōshi"(公學校用國語讀本卷三、卷四編纂要旨), p.31.

imperial spirit and militarism. A legend told that Ushiwakamaru, a brave Japanese boy defeated a strong martial monk and made him as his retainer. (v. 4 ch.2) It displayed the war-like spirit and martial arts of Bushidō to promote the Japanese colonization through war. A war tale also told that Yuriwaka, a famous Japanese general had fought and defeated invaders overseas for the Japanese Emperor but was betrayed by his subordinates, and he finally took revenge on them. (v.5 ch.3) It intended to encourage students to be tough and devoted to the wartime mobilization with the Bushidō virtues of courage, loyalty and sense of revenge like “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth”³⁴ like Yuriwaka. As for the fairy tales, it is remarkable that the editors intended to further assimilate students by introducing “The peach boy”, “Old man who made flowers bloom”, “tongue-cut sparrow” and “monkey and crab”, four of the five most typical tales representing the “Spirit of Japan” as suggested by the Edo scholars.³⁵ The first tale particularly aimed at inculcating the Japanese ideologies like Bushidō. It was about a boy who was born from a peach and went to conquer the ogre Island when he grew up. Accordingly, on the way to the Island, the peach boy recruited a dog, a pheasant and a monkey as his retainers by giving them the Japan’s number-one millet dumplings which were made by his foster parents. He finally defeated the ogres with their help and came back home with plenty of treasure from the ogres as the present for his parents.(v.3 ch.3) The pictures in the textbook showing the peach boy wearing the traditional Japanese warrior armor with a sword and striving hard to fight for justice presented an image of typical samurai with the Bushidō virtues of justice, courage, benevolence, sincerity and loyalty.³⁶ The Japan’s number-one millet dumpling obviously signified Bushidō. As for this tale, Katō Haruki explained that the boy chastised the ogres who conquered the island wrongly or illegally was a war for justice. It was same as Japan’s war with China under Jiang Jie-shi’s government with the aim to achieve the justice emphasized in the Japanese national spirit. Therefore, the media at that time regarded the tale in the Taiwan textbook as a manifestation of more serious Japanese agitation for invasion to China.³⁷ Considering this explanation, the was not merely to assimilate students but also to imbue them with the Bushidō virtues especially justice for war mobilization against China, like the three animals with the millet dumpling helped the peach boy to fight the ogres in the story.

³⁴ *Bushido: the Soul of Japan; An Exposition of Japanese Thought*.pp.29-36, 86-98, 132-134.

³⁵ Seki Keigo, *Nihon no mukashibanashi : hikaku kenkyū josetsu* (Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1977), p.65.

³⁶ Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: the Soul of Japan; An Exposition of Japanese Thought*.(Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1939) Pp.1-10, 23-98.

³⁷ Katō Haruki, “kōgakkōyō kokugotokuhon makisan, makiyo hensan yōshi”(公學校用國語讀本卷三、卷四編纂要旨), *Taiwan Kyōiku* (臺灣教育) p.24.

Other fairy tales also conveyed similar ideologies. “Old man who made flowers bloom” with a picture illustrated that the old man produced flowers on the trees for some samurai in armor passing by to appreciate in order to arouse students’ respect for the samurai and the Bushidō. Another tale told that a knight bravely saved a lion’s life from a big snake’s attack and the lion became his loyal follower until it was swallowed by the sea wave while watching over the knight coming back home. (v.7 ch.23) It remarkably propagated the Bushidō virtues of justice, courage and gratitude and loyalty to lifesaver in order to encourage students to be loyal to the Japanese Emperor as their benefactor. A Buddhist tale told that the god punished Rushi, a stingy millionaire by transferring all his wealth to the poor. (v.4 ch.3) It also implied that students should contribute to the Japanese Empire with the spirit of selfless devotion. It is noteworthy that the editors just used these four fairy tales to disseminate the above Japanese ideologies. The other 14 tales were well-known interesting stories in Japan (v.2 ch.8,15, 28; v.6 ch.18, 19, 22; v.7 ch.22) and in the west like the Aesop’s fables (v.1 ch.49, 50, 51; v.3 ch.21; v.4 ch.6) or unknown stories(v.2 ch.22; v.4 ch.18 unknown) which preached universal moral values like honesty, generous and parent’s love. The editors probably considered the main objective of the fairy tales was to arouse the learning interest of students and diversify their morale values. As a result, the Japanese ideologies were relatively weak in the fairy tales as compared with the myths, legend, war tale, poems and proverb which were all about these ideologies. The proverb “flower is cherry tree (sakuraki), human is samurai” which meant that the samurai were as noble as the cherry, and the samurai died a glorious death for the lord as the cherry did, also highly glorified Bushidō and especially the loyalty to the Emperor. (v.11 ch.21) As for the poems, one poem was written about the nature by Emperor Meiji himself. (v.10 ch.1), Another Haiku poem compared the successive imperial reigns of Japan with Mountain Fuji. (v.12 ch.10) The last poem emphasized that the Japanese Empire was created by Sun Goddess and ruled by her descendants and praised its eternal prosperity and harmony. (v.12 ch.22) They all represented the imperial spirit of Japan.

Generally, many characters and things in the literatures above were embedded with the wartime meanings to disseminate the ideologies of the imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism. As illustrated in the above table, all the 25 chapters of the Japanese literatures, that is the whole theme except the 8 chapters of western literatures and unidentified literatures, were aimed at assimilating students through the appreciation of the traditional Japanese culture. In this theme, the ideologies of Shinto, Bushidō, imperial spirit and militarism were distributed in 9, 9, 14, 5 chapters respectively. In addition to a high level of Japanization, the Japanese ideologies

especially the imperial spirit were more intensively disseminated in this theme than the previous three themes. This theme was remarkably a key domain to educate students to be the loyal “Japanese” in the textbook. Of the 26 chapters related to the Japanese assimilation and ideologies, 2 whole chapters and 18 revised chapters were from the textbook in Japan, 5 chapters were new and only 1 chapter was from the 3rd edition. It is clear that the editors used almost entirely new materials to reconstruct this theme for more thorough Japanization of the students.

5. Common Knowledge and Advanced Technology

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1 / 6	Nil (Sightseeing in suburb)	New	Nil	Nil
1 / 11	Nil (daily things)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 12	Nil (daily things)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 13	Nil (daily things)	New	Nil	Nil
1 / 14	Nil (daily things)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
1 / 17	Nil (daily things)	New	Nil	Nil
1 / 18	Nil (daily things)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
1 / 25	Nil (daily things)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
1 / 37	Nil (aeroplane sound)	Adapt Jap	Nil	Nil
1 / 42	Nil (daily things)	New	Nil	Militarism
2 / 10	Nil (sending postcard)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
4 / 9	Bus	New	Nil	Nil
4 / 14	Clock	New	Nil	Nil
5 / 5	Earthquake	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Nil
6 / 12	Fire	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Nil
7 / 5	Magnet	Adapt Jap	Nil	Spirit of science
7 / 14	Telegram	New	Taiwan	Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 6	Wholesale market	New	Taiwan	Nil
8 / 7	Price of commodities	Adapt Jap	Taiwan	Nil
8 / 9	Schools for the blind and speech-impaired person	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation
8 / 13	Talk about light bulb	New	Taiwan & Japan	Spirit of science, Jap assimilation
8 / 19	Automatic loom	Adapt Jap	Japan	Spirit of science, Jap

				assimilation, Industrialization
9 / 3	Invention of aeroplane	Adapt Jap	Japan	Spirit of science, Jap assimilation
9 / 8	Talk about staple fiber	New	Japan	Spirit of science, Jap assimilation
9 / 14	Library	Adapt Jap	Taiwan	Learn to learn, militarism
10 / 18	Invention of train	Whole Jap	West	Spirit of science
10 / 25	The Japanese rising sun flag	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
11 / 11	Museum	New	Taiwan	General knowledge of Taiwan, militarism
11 / 13	Weather forecast and storm warning	New	Taiwan	Spirit of science
11 / 18	Glider	New	Japan	Aviation knowledge, spirit of science, Imperial spirit
12 / 1	National anthem	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
12 / 3	The Japanese sword	Whole Jap	Japan	Bushidō, Imperial spirit

As Katō Haruki emphasized the education of daily life, citizenship and industrialization and transportation, a large variety of common knowledge and advanced technologies in these aspects were taught in this theme. This theme had 32 chapters which was next to the literature theme. In this theme, the common knowledge widely covered the knowledge about daily necessities and transportation, animals, school things, special school, library, museum, toys, food, accommodation facilities, disasters, personal safety, economy and the national emblem of Japan. Advanced technologies included the technologies related to modernized transport like aeroplane, glider, automobile, train, telegram, those about daily life like light bulb, weather forecast and storm warning, and those about modernized industries like automatic loom, staple fiber. The main objectives of teaching these knowledge and technologies were to enhance students' understanding of the essential matters in their daily life and the achievement of industrialization and transportation at the age of modernization particularly in a scientific perspective, and encourage them to be

devoted to the modernized industrialization especially for the Japanese Empire in the wartime. Consistent with the second objective, this theme also aimed at the Japanese assimilation and disseminating the ideologies of Bushidō, the imperial spirit and militarism.

There are 17 chapters, that was more than half of the theme content conveying these Japanese ideologies to students. Of these chapters, 11 chapters were new, 3 revised chapters and 1 whole chapter were from the textbook in Japan, and only 1 chapter from the 3rd edition. For examples, the story about school education of the blind, deaf and speech-impaired persons (v.8 ch.9) emphasized that even the disabled studied hard to learn the national language, those who can see and speak should be more eager to learn it to be assimilated as the imperial subjects. The essay about the Japanese sword pointed out that the sword represented the soul of samurai and carrying the sword had the spiritual meanings of making the enemy awe into submission and manifesting justice.(v.12 ch.3) The essay about the formation and use of the Japanese national anthem, Kimigayo (Imperial reign) emphasized that it prayed for the eternal prosperity of the imperial reign and represented the national polity of Japan. (v.12 ch.1) The story about telegram told that a boy’s family received a telegram to inform that his grandfather had been enlisted as a porter in the Japanese army and the whole family regarded his enlistment as an honor and highly appreciated it. (v.7 ch.14) It aimed at arousing students’ spirit of “selfless devotion” (messhi hōkō or gohōkō) for war mobilization which paved the way for the Imperial Duty Movement (kōmin hōkō undō) since 1941.

6. History

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
5 / 17	The dog’s feat	Adapt Jap	Japan & China	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
7 / 2	Hachiman Tarō	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō
7 / 9	Prince Kitashirakawa Nagahisa landed on Autei	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
7 / 11	Target of the commander	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation,

	fan			Bushidō, militarism
7 / 20	Divine Wind	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 2	City of Chihaya	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 4	Kinoshita Tōkichirō	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 15	Commander Hirose(廣瀬中佐)	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 18	Gohō	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō
8 / 21	Yamada Nagamasa	New	Japan, the South	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 24	General Nogi's childhood	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
9 / 7	Matsushita no Zenni	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Mother's love, moral value: being independent
9 / 9	Noguchi Hideyo	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Spirit of science, Imperial spirit
9 / 16	Ishida Baigan	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Moral value: business ethics, Imperial spirit
9 / 24	Tei sei kō	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan & Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism

9 / 25	Standing on sleet	New	Taiwan & Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
10 / 7	Potter Kakiemon	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation
10 / 9	Fire on the rice straw	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, selfless devotion, Imperial spirit
10 / 12	Meeting at the navy camp	Whole Jap	Japan & Russia	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
10 / 13	Gathering horses	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Couple's love
10 / 24	General Tōgau	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism,
11 / 5	Mamiya Rinza	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, militarism, Imperial spirit
11 / 6	War in Sea of Japan	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism,
11 / 10	Hamada Yahee	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, militarism, Imperial spirit
11 / 20	Mother's strength	Whole Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Mother's love and strength
12 / 8	Okumura Ihogo	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism,
12 / 14	Confucius and Gankai	Whole Jap	China	Confucian values, Bushidō
12 / 15	Shizangan	Tw 3 rd ed	Japan & Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit

As Katō Haruki suggested, plenty of interesting history materials were introduced the textbook. The history theme has 28 chapters which is next to the theme of common knowledge and advanced technology. The history theme can be divided into three

kinds of chapters: 1. biographies of the famous Japanese including prince, general, samurai, imperialist, militarist, patriot, merchant, daimyo servant, expert, artisan, wise man, good wife, loving mother, Taiwan government officials, the Chinese leader in Taiwan, the Chinese Confucian and a Thai general of Japanese descent in pre-modern and modern times; 2. a story about war dog; 3 the stories about the state ceremony commemoration, the Japanese internal wars and the wars with Russia and China in the past. All the chapters except “Confucius and Gankai” were the history about the Japanese figures and things which remarkably showed that this theme aimed at assimilating students through an extensive teaching of the Japanese history. In addition to the overall assimilation, 24 chapters, that was most of the theme content disseminated the Japanese ideologies of Shinto, Bushidō, the imperial spirit and especially militarism. These chapters were distributed in volumes 5, 7-12.

Since 1938 Taiwan had entered the wartime regime and rapidly developed the war-related industries for the Japanese militarism. It particularly became an economic and military base to fully support the southward expansion of Japan under the policy of the “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere” (daitōa kyōeiken) since 1940. Therefore, the history chapters full of the Japanese ideologies particularly the militarism were largely introduced to the textbook during 1939-1942. Of these chapters, 10 revised chapters and 4 whole chapters were adapted from the textbook in Japan, 7 chapters were new, and only 3 chapters from the 3rd edition.

Regarding the Japanese biographies in this theme, those of the first seven kinds of loyal Japanese demonstrated their outstanding performance in the war and economic and territorial expansion for the Japanese Empire which represented the imperial spirit and militarism. Those of the remaining ten six kinds of Japanese and Chinese glorified their virtues of loyalty, justice, frugality, courage, sincerity, selfless devotion, wisdom, self-restraint and benevolence which were the core values of Bushidō. For examples. The story about Prince Kitashirakawa Nagahisa told that he led the Japanese troops himself to land on Autei to begin the invasion of Taiwan in 1895. He shared adversity with the Japanese soldiers in the invasion and was wholeheartedly devoted to the Imperialization of Taiwan. (v.7 ch.9) This story was taught in connection with another chapter on about him in the Ethics Textbook and events of the landing anniversary to praise the benevolence of the Japanese Emperor and propagate the imperial spirit for the Japanese militarism. The biography of Tei sei kō (Zheng Cheng-gong) told that he was a Chinese leader of Japanese descent who had ruled Taiwan successfully against the Qing dynasty and was enshrined as a god in a Shinto Shrine in Taiwan after his death. It implied that Taiwan had long been part of

the Shinto Japan against China. The story about the war dog Kongau Nachi of the Japanese army told that it died while bravely attacking the Chinese army in the Manchurian Incident and was awarded a medal for merit in 1931. (v.5 ch.17) It was adapted from the textbook in Japan and was used in public school in the first term of 1939. Apart from the Japan textbook, the kindergarten picture story show and the popular picture book produced in Japan in that year also covered this story.³⁸ The Japanese government aimed at nurturing the children's spirit of selfless devotion to the Empire and its military expansion by disseminating this story as mentioned in the textbook commentary.³⁹ Obviously, the Taiwan textbook adopted the story for this purpose too. The story about divine wind told that in the battle of Kōan in 1281, the retired Japanese Emperor of Kameyama earnestly prayed, the samurai desperately fought and the common people frantically transported the provisions for the victory over the formidable Yuan navy, and finally the Yuan navy was seriously destroyed by a divine gale and defeated by the Japanese. (v. 7 ch.20) It glorified the Bushidō virtues of sincerity, bravery and loyalty, the Japanese Emperor's benevolence and especially the respect for the national polity of Japan as a nation of gods, which encouraged students to be devoted to the Japanese militarism.

It is found that some imaginative stories and distorted facts were added to these histories to inspire students with the passion to be devoted to the Japanese militarism against China. It is noteworthy that the history theme together with the literature theme deeply implanted the Japanese identity and the above ideologies in students' mind by teaching comprehensive knowledge of the traditional culture and history of Japan since the ancient time.

7. Socio-religious Customs

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Social Customs				

³⁸高橋五山(文), 生田準一(画), 濱田廣介(監輯),《幼稚園紙芝居》第十三輯《軍用犬ノテガラ》(全甲社紙芝居刊行會, 昭和 14 年);《講談社の絵本 特別讀物・支那事變軍馬軍犬美談》(大日本雄弁會講談社, 昭和 14 年).

³⁹『小学国語讀本綜合解説 卷五』(5)(佐野保太郎執筆), 转見自 Kurokawa, Takahiro,《国民学校国民科国語の研究 : 言語活動主義と軍国主義の相克》ch.5(早稲田大学大学院教育学研究科博士学位審査論文, 2007), p.6-8.

1 / 33	Nil (Weaver festival)	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
1 / 39	Nil (visit aunt)	New	Japan	Character with Jap name, Jap assimilation
1 / 45	Nil (uncle visited me)	New	Japan	Jap rituals, Jap assimilation
3 / 4	Japanese Emperor's Birthday	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
3 / 5	carp streamer	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
4 / 4	Emperor Meiji's birthday	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial Spirit, Shinto
4 / 20	Doll's Festival	New	Japan	Jap assimilation
6 / 21	Window of my house	New	Taiwan	Customs reform, Imperial Spirit
9 / 6	Public service day for prospering Asia	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Imperial Spirit, Shinto
b. Religious Practice				
1 / 41	Nil (visit Shinto Shrine)	New	Japan	Shinto
2 / 4	Nil (village festival)	New	Japan	Shinto
2 / 16	Nil (new year event)	New	Japan	Shinto, Jap assimilation
6 / 5	Invitation to festival	New	Japan	Shinto, Jap assimilation
9 / 2	Visit Shinto shrine	New	Japan	Shinto, Imperial Spirit
10 / 2	Meiji Shinto shrine	Adapt Jap	Taiwan & Japan	Shinto, Imperial Spirit
10 / 3	Visit Yasukuni(Nation Pacification) Shinto shrine	New	Japan	Imperial spirit, Militarism
12 / 4	Grand Shinto shrine of Idumono	Whole Jap	Japan	Shinto, Imperial Spirit

The socio-religious customs were the essential part of students' daily life and their content was easily to be infiltrated with the Japanese ideologies. Therefore, the editors provided 17 chapters of this theme in the textbook which is next to the history theme. This theme can be divided into 2 sub-themes: a. social customs and b. religious

practice. The 9 chapters on social customs included the traditional Japanese festivals, Japanese rituals and the social reform under the Imperialization Movement, all of which promoted the Japanese assimilation and even the Shinto religion and the imperial spirit to a certain extent. The 8 chapters on religious practice were all about the visit to Shinto Shrines or the festivals hold in the Shinto Shrines. Only the Shinto religion was preached in this sub-theme and no other religion was mentioned. It is clear that the exclusive Shinto content was in line with the religious policy of the Taiwan government at that time.

Apart from the Japanese customs and religion, the ideologies of the imperial spirit and militarism were also propagated in 8 chapters in both sub-themes. Similar to the literature theme, this theme was another key domain to nurture the Japanese identity and ideologies of the Taiwan students. In this theme, 15 chapters were new and 1 whole chapter and 1 revised chapter were from the textbook in Japan. No chapter from the 3rd edition. For examples, the story about the Japanese Emperor's Birthday described every household hoisted the Japanese national flag and the school teachers shared the story of the present Japanese Emperor Showa with students to remind them to remember his benevolence and to be loyal to him. (v. 3 ch. 4) A story told that a Taiwanese family installed a large glass window in his house to make the house brighter with fresh air and enable the family to see rural scenery outside. It demonstrated that the house restructuring in the social life reform of the Imperialization Movement was beneficial. (v.6 ch. 21) A story described a splendid village festival was held in Shinto Shrine. (v.2 ch.4) Actually, the Shinto religion in Taiwan at that time was not popular enough to hold such a large scale village festival in the shrine, but the editors tried to let students understand the aim of the Shinto festival was to thank, comfort and worship god by this chapter so as to promote the Shinto. The story about Grand Shinto shrine of Idumono reminded students of the myth about the Sun Goddess formed the territory of Japan.(v.12 ch.4) The story about the Japanese New Year events demonstrated the new year greetings with parents, celebrating with spiced sake, decorating shrines and gates with shimenawa ropes, door with pine and hoisting the national flag to promote the national customs and manners of Japan. It also showed demonstrated that the household Shinto shrine was placed at the middle of the official reception hall, and people went to the Shinto Shrine to worship god. (v. 2 ch.16)

8. Military and Administrative System

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/	Ideology
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			Region Specific	
a. Military System				
1 / 23	Nil (soldiers)	Tw 3 rd ed	Nil	Militarism
6 / 11	Air defense exercise	New	Taiwan	Imperial spirit, Militarism
6 / 15	Matsushita's elder brother	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, Militarism
7 / 19	Submarine	Adapt Jap	Japan	Militarism
8 / 23	Soldier's comfort bag	New	Taiwan	Imperial spirit, militarism
9 / 5	Soldier of Japan	New	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
9 / 10	Morning life in warship	Adapt Jap	Japan	Imperial spirit, militarism
11 / 2	Operation train	New	Japan	Imperial spirit, militarism
11 / 7	Our navy	New	Japan	Bushidō, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism
12 / 6	Mechanized force	Whole	Japan	Militarism
12 / 7	Medal with honor	Adapt Jap	Japan	Imperial spirit, militarism
b. Administrative System				
2 / 19	Nil (postal delivery)	New	Taiwan	Nil
10 / 14	Broadcasting office	New	Taiwan	Militarism, Jap assimilation
12 / 20	Trial	Adapt Jap	Japan	Judicial knowledge, Jap assimilation
12 / 21	Imperial Duty Association (kōmin hōkōkai)	New	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism

As the editors like Katō Haruki were eager to teach students the national spirit and the knowledge of daily life and citizenship, they also introduced the materials about the military and administrative system to the textbook. This theme has 15 chapters and

can be divided into 2 sub-themes: a. military system and b. administrative system. Military system included the air defense exercises, soldier enlistment, soldier's comfort bag in Taiwan, and the war life of the Japanese soldiers and their medal award system, the development of the Japanese navy and mechanized force and the role of operation train at the war front. The content aimed at providing war life knowledge and glorifying the advance and power of the Japanese military system which highly embodied the imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism. Administrative system covered the postal delivery, broadcasting office, trial system and Imperial Duty Association in Taiwan. The content enabled students to understand and appreciate the achievement of the Japanese colonial administration especially the newly introduced judicial system and Imperial Duty Movement in Taiwan. All the chapters except the one on postal delivery disseminated inculcate the Japanese ideologies of imperial spirit and especially militarism. Some chapters even tried to assimilate students and preached the Shinto and Bushidō. Similar to the history theme, these chapters were mainly distributed in volumes 6-12 of the textbook which were taught in the wartime regime of 1939-1942 with the aim to encourage students to support the war-related industrialization and the southward expansion of Japan.

In this theme, 9 chapters were new, 4 revised chapters and 1 whole chapter were from the textbook in Japan, and only 1 chapter from the 3rd edition. For examples, a story told that Matsushita's elder brother was enlisted in the Japanese army, all the village people hoisted the national flag to celebrate, and his parents, the village head, school principal, Youngsters' association and students sent him off at the railway station. (v.6 ch.15) It showed that the community highly respected and appreciated the enlistment of the youngsters. A story explained the function of a Japanese submarine and emphasized its advanced facilities and weapons like warplanes, cannons and especially torpedo which could sink enemy warships by bombing. (v.7 ch.19) It glorified the power of the Japanese submarine and navy against Britain in the European war and encouraged students to be devoted to the Japanese militarism. A story demonstrated Imperial Duty Association and emphasized that every national subject had to be devoted to the public service organized by the Association with his/her expertise or job in order to contribute to the development of the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere". (v.12 ch.21)

9. Geography

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region	Ideology

			Specific	
6 / 24	Taihoku	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit
7 / 7	Taiwan	Tw 3 rd ed	Taiwan	Industrialization, Imperial spirit
7 / 24	Tokyo	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Imperial spirit
8 / 3	Osaka	Adapt Jap	Japan	Jap assimilation, Shinto, Industrialization, Imperial spirit
8 / 16	Tainan	New	Taiwan	Shinto, Industrialization, Imperial spirit
8 / 17	Letter from Mountain Ari	New	Taiwan	Nature appreciation, logging, Industrialization
8 / 20	New South Islands	New	The South	Industrialization, militarism
9 / 22	Letter from South China	New	The South	Militarism
10 / 4	Letter from the South Sea	Adapt Jap	The South	Militarism, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
10 / 11	Kyoto	Adapt Jap	Japan	Shinto, militarism, Imperial spirit
10 / 19	The Manchu State	New	Japan & China	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
11 / 9	Kainan Island	New	Japan & the South	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
12 / 9	Inland Sea	Whole Jap	Japan	Maritime knowledge, militarism, nature appreciation

12 / 19	Pacific Ocean	Tw 3 rd ed	Japan	Maritime knowledge, militarism
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As Katō Haruki mentioned, geography materials were also introduced to the textbook. This theme has 14 chapters which widely covered Taibei, Tainan, Mountain Ari in Taiwan and Taiwan as a whole, Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto in Japan and the Inland Sea and Pacific Ocean nearby, South China and the Manchu State and Hainan Island in China. They were the economically and strategically important areas in the so-called “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere” (daitōa kyōeiken) to which the Taiwanese were expected to contribute. South China and the South Sea Islands were particularly the targets of the Japanese militarism and colonization under the “Southward Advance” policy. Therefore, the geography, transport, population, local administration and facilities, social customs, religions and especially the economic resources of these areas were clearly illustrated in this theme. The Industrialization information and maritime knowledge related to these aspects were also provided to student for the wartime mobilization. All the chapters in this theme spread the Japanese identity and the ideologies of the Shinto, the imperial spirit and especially militarism through the teaching of these knowledge. Similar to themes of history and military and administrative system, the chapters were distributed in volumes 6-12 which were taught in the war regime of 1939-42 in order to urge students to support the war-related industrialization and the Japanese southward expansion.

In this theme, 6 chapters were new, 4 revised chapters and 1 whole chapter were from the textbook in Japan, and 3 chapters from the 3rd edition. For examples, a dialogue about Taibei (Taihoku), the capital of Taiwan demonstrated that it was the most populated and modernized city in Taiwan where Taiwan Shinto Shrine and the office of Taiwan government-general, the most important political and religious centers like Kenkō Shinto Shrine were located. (v.6 ch.24) It encouraged students to believe in the Shinto religion and respect the government-general as the representative of the Japanese Empire. An essay about Osaka emphasized that Osaka was not only the most important industrial and commercial center in Japan and but also a religious center with the blessings from the Palace of the ancient Emperor Nintoku and the two Shinto Shrines of Ikudama and Sumiyoshi located in there. Emperor Nintoku had also built Osaka as the ancient capital of Japan. (v.8 ch.3) It encouraged students to be devoted to the Shinto religion and the industrialization in Taiwan in order to transform Taiwan into a modernized industrial center like Osaka. An essay told that the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea had just been recently conquered by Japan as its new territory in 1939, and mentioned that its marine products were also the Taiwanese fishing

products, and its phosphoric ore was an important industrial material. (v.8 ch.20) It enabled students to understand the economic significance of the South Islands and encouraged them to support the “Southward Advance” policy. A song praising Pacific Ocean as the main sea route for the world and the most important economic source or the so-called “lifeline” for Japan (v.12 ch.19) urged students to support the Japanese expansion to there.

10. Current Issues

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Source	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
7 / 3	The warhorse Tailwind	New	Japan & China	Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
7 / 10	Captain Nishizumi	New	Japan	Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 14	A little messenger	Adapt Jap	Japan & China	Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
8 / 22	Hard air fighting	New	Japan	Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism
10 / 3	Landing on Bias Bay (China)	New	Japan & China	Militarism
11 / 19	The German youngsters	New	West & Japan	Imperial spirit, militarism
12 / 2	Commander Sugimoto	New	Japan	Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism

As mentioned above, Taiwan had been developed into a military and economic base for the Japanese southward expansion and became more involved in war mobilization as Japan was increasingly bogged down in the Sino-Japanese War since 1940. Therefore, 7 chapters on the current war issues were introduced to volumes 7-12 during 1940-1942 so as to draw students’ attention to the war and their favorable response to the war mobilization. The current war issues were mainly the Japanese news about the Sino-Japanese War which glorified the rapid development of the Japanese navy and its successful invasion to South China, the victory of the Japanese air force, and the death of some loyal Japanese generals, soldiers and even war horse and carrier pigeon in the war for the Empire. A story describing the selfless devotion of the German youngsters in World War II was also included. All the chapters

remarkably conveyed the ideologies of Bushidō, the imperial spirit and especially the militarism. The war news particularly created a “affectionate father” or “hero” image for the Japanese soldiers in the eyes of students and aroused their passion for self-sacrificed devotion to the Japanese militarism.

Of these chapters, 6 were new and 1 chapter was adapted from the textbook in Japan. For examples, a story told that carrier pigeon No.112 of the Japanese troop in Saku Prefecture of Shanxi Province had been injured by the Chinese troop but still flied hard to the headquarter to deliver the reinforcements message before its death in the Sino-Japanese War. (v.8 ch.14) A story told that Captain Nishizumi Kojirō fought bravely and protected his subordinate soldiers with a strong sense of responsibility in 34 fierce battles from Wusong to Xuzhou in China in the Sino-Japanese War but was finally killed. The Japanese were very grateful for his distinguished military service and selfless love for his subordinates and regarded him as a war god. (v.7 ch.10) It displayed the Bushidō virtues and especially the imperial spirit in support of the Japanese militarism at that time. A story told that the Japanese air force members especially the captain fought bravely to shoot down more than half of the enemy aircrafts in a recent war. (v.8 ch.22)

II. The Japanese Language Education in the Manchu State in 1937-1945

A. Background

a. The Japanese Integration and Assimilation in Economic, Social, Political and Military Aspects

In 1932, the Japanese created the puppet state of Manchu (Manchukuo in Japanese, Manzhouguo in Chinese) out of the three historical Manchurian provinces. Puyi, the last Qing emperor was brought to Manchuria from his retirement and made “chief executive,” and later emperor of the new Manchu State. The State became a land under the Japanese colonial rule from 1932 to 1945. The Manchu government was rigidly controlled and supervised by the Japanese, who proceeded to transform Manchuria into an industrial and military base for Japan’s expansion into China and even Asia as a whole. The Japanese made considerable efforts to develop all the important Manchurian industries, and finally the Manchu State became the most industrialized region in China by the end of World War II.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ "Manchuria." *Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition.*

Similar to the colonial Taiwan, the Manchu State had been undergoing a process of the Japanese integration and assimilation in the economic, social, political and military aspects under the policy of “Japan and Manchuria as One Virtue and One Mind” (nichiman ittokuishshin 日滿一德一心), particularly since the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Economically, the Manchu State gradually developed a wartime economy and particularly carried out the "Five Year Production Plan" as part of the Japanese plans of Productivity Expansion Plan and Resources Mobilization Plan to ensure the Japanese self-sufficiency for long-term war during 1937-1941. Under this plan, the Manchu government attempted to develop the war-related industries including the heavy industries, mining industry, agriculture, forestry, transportation and telecommunication in order to increase the production of the wartime raw materials and goods. The government focused on the production of the wartime products particularly of heavy industries by increasing the investment and even introducing Nihon Sangyou Company (日本産業株式会社) and integrating the Japanese currency and financial system into the Manchu State. These wartime products included coal, iron, steel, liquid fuel, military weapon, military vehicle, warplane, locomotive, rice, wheat, cotton and textile hemp, etc. Therefore, the government vigorously promoted the industrial education (jitsugyō kyōiku 実業教育) which could nurture skilled and obedient labor force for the war-related industries under the Japanese control.⁴¹

Socially, the Japanese had been launching the so-called "Citizen-Organization" plan (kokumin soshikika 国民組織化) to assimilate and dominate the society in general especially for wartime mobilization since 1937. Under this plan, the Manchu government entrusted the official organization, the Concordia Association (Manshūkoku Kyōwakai 滿州国協和会) to establish about two hundred "Training Schools for Teenagers" (seinen kunrenjo 青年訓練所) to provide "Imperialization" education and military training to the teenagers throughout the Manchu State. In 1938, the Association issued the "Principles of the Youth Organization" (seishōnen soshiki

Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2014. Web.

⁴¹ 解學詩：《偽滿洲國史新編》(修訂本)(北京：人民出版社，2008)，pp.584-585；傅羽弘、成婧〈日本在偽滿時期殖民教育的經濟分析〉Contemporary Economy of Japan(現代日本經濟)，pp.59-60.

taikō 青少年組織大綱) and began to form various youth groups. These groups were combined into two large youth groups: Kyōwa Seinendan(協和青年團) and Kyōwa Shōnendan (協和少年團) later, and the Supervision Division of the Youth Group (青少年團統監部) was established for their supervision in 1941. Undoubtedly, the Concordia Association aimed at mobilizing millions of teenagers to actively participate in the "Movement of Citizen as Volunteer Labor" (kokumin kinrōhōshi undō 国民勤勞奉仕運動) for wartime mobilization. The teenagers were encouraged and sometimes even forced to perform a large variety of wartime labor services including building Shinto shrine, road and bridge, gathering horse feed, harvesting and transporting wartime resources, etc. Politically, the Japanese abolished their extraterritoriality in the Manchu State and transferred the administrative authority of the South Manchuria Railway Zone (南滿州鐵道付屬地) to the State in 1937. This actually enabled the Japanese to effectively rule the Manchu State as a whole under the principle of "Japan-Manchuria Unity (nichiman ichinyo 日滿一如) because the State government had thoroughly been put under the control of the Japanese Imperialism. Militarily, the Kwantung Army, one of the Japanese Imperial armies began to invade Cha Ji region (察綏地區) in north-east China immediately after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Since then, the Manchu State had also sent batches of its national army to assist the Japanese invasion.⁴²

b. New Education System in the Manchu State Since 1937

At the beginning of the Manchu State founding, the Manchu government attempted to restore the schools at different levels and prohibit the previously used textbooks which were contrary to the "Founding Spirit of National Construction" (kenkoku seishin 建国精神) of the State by the Japanese. In the background of the Japanese integration and assimilation, the Manchu government had issued the "New Education System" (Shin Gakusei 新學制) in 1937 and began to implement it progressively since 1938. The "New Education System" had three stages of education: primary,

⁴² 解學詩：《偽滿洲國史新編》(修訂本)(北京：人民出版社，2008), pp.581-2, 585-6.

secondary and tertiary education, and two other professional education: vocational education (shokugyō kyōiku 職業教育) and teacher training (shidō kyōiku 師道教育).

The overall system had the following three fundamental education policies or objectives: 1. Moral Education Policy (tokuiku 德育): the moral education basically aimed at carrying forward the "Founding Spirit of National Construction" of the Manchu State, that was inculcating the "(Imperial) Citizen Spirit" (kokumin seishin 國民精神 or kōmin seishin 皇民精神) that the various races in Manchuria should give up the Chinese nationalism to accomplish the political and social unity of "Great Community and Concord" (daidō kyōwa (大同協和)). 2. Intellectual Training Policy (chiiku 智育): the intellectual training was to teach the knowledge and skills of life. 3. Physical Education Policy (taiiku 体育): this education was to build up the students' physical health and working ability so as to raise the overall productivity of the Manchu State. These three policies particularly had the following nine learning outcomes of students which largely influenced the Japanese language education in elementary schools. 1. Fostered the "(Imperial) Citizen Spirit" based on the "Spirit Education" (seishin kyōiku); 2. Nurtured hardworking spirit through labor education (rōdō kyōiku 勞働教育); 3. Enforced the industrial education (実業教育); 4. Strengthened physical and hygiene education to develop healthy citizens; 5. Focused on the national education of children to achieve literacy; 6. Reduced the increasing number of the unemployed; 7. Focused the woman education on female virtues and homemaking skills; 8. Adopted the flexible education that accommodated the social, cultural and financial conditions; 9. Connected the school and society, particularly developed school into the cultural centre in rural areas.⁴³

c. “Loyal Citizen” Primary Education

Under the primary education, elementary school (kokumin gakkō 国民学校) and high elementary school (kokumin yūtōgakkō 国民優等学校) are the formal schools at junior and senior levels, and public elementary schoolhouse (kokumin gakkōsha 国民

⁴³ 滿洲國史編纂刊行會著，涉平等譯：《滿洲國史(總論)》(原本由東京之滿蒙同胞援護會出版(1970)，譯本由哈爾濱之黑龍江省社會科學院歷史研究所出版(1990)，pp.610-613.

学舎) and private elementary school (kokumin gijuku 国民義塾) are the supplementary schools. Elementary schools which were equivalent to the previous junior primary school (初級小學校) were mainly established in county (縣), flag (旗), street (街) and village (村). Qualified teachers were appointed as civil officials and sent to teach courses in elementary schools according to the "Civil Official Code" (bunkanrei 文官令). The school principals were even appointed by the imperial decree. Therefore, the elementary school staffs strictly followed the government education policy. The schools admitted 7 or above years old children to a 4-year curriculum education but the education was not compulsory. Approximately 45.4% of the Manchurian children could study at elementary school until April 1941. But some students quitted school midway. According to the "Elementary School Ordinance"(国民学校令)(No.1. issued as Imperial Edict no. 69, 2 May1937), the education objective of elementary school was to nurture the “loyal citizens” (chūryō kokumin 忠良国民). For this purpose, the school attempted to teach students the common knowledge and skills necessary for daily life and helped them to establish regular habits of labor service especially through the teaching of various compulsory courses including Citizenship (国民), National Language (国語), Mathematics (算術), Operation (作業), Drawing (圖畫), Music (音樂), Physical education(体育), Moral Education(修身), Geography (地理) and History (歷史). To implant the spirit of “Japan and Manchuria as One Virtue and One Mind”(日滿一德一心), National Language course particularly included both the Manchurian and Japanese languages as its compulsory classes and highly emphasized the Japanese language learning.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ 満洲国史编纂刊行会着，涉平等译：《満洲国史(总论)》(原本由东京之満蒙同胞援护会出版(1970)，译本由哈尔滨之黑龙江省社会科学院历史研究所出版(1990)，pp.613-614, 619-620；解学诗：《伪満洲国史新编》(修订本)(北京：人民出版社，2008)，pp.597-599.

d. Compilation of *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* (初等日本語讀本)

Since the formation of the Manchu State in 1932, Commander of Kwantung Armed Force(關東軍司令官) had been holding Ambassador to the Manchu State (滿州国駐劄大使) and Chief of Kwantung Leased Territory (關東長官) as concurrent posts, and the Public School Regulation of Kwantung Leased Territory (關東州公学堂規則) and the Japanese course were reformed. Kwantung Department (關東局) and its subordinate office, Kwantung Bureau (關東州庁) which were established by Ambassador to the Manchu State in 1934 continued to manage the education administration despite that the administrative authority of the South Manchuria Railway Zone (南滿州鉄道付屬地) was transferred to the Manchu State in 1937. Especially the supervision authority of the education administration was transferred to the head of Kwantung Bureau as the Public School Regulation was modified in 1937. As a result, Education Association of the South Manchuria(南滿州教育会) was reorganized into the Japanese Education Association in the Manchu State (在滿日本教育会), and the editorial committee of the new Association began to revise the previous *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook (The Second Version* in 1931) (第二種初等日本語讀本) into *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* (初等日本語讀本) and keep it in 4 volumes since 1937. According to Kenichi Takenaka's statistical analysis, 85 chapters, approximately 75.9% of the revised textbook was adopted from the Second Version and about 45.5% content was from the First Version. About 52% of the Second Version was also adopted from the First Version of which the content was diversely adopted from the national language textbooks previously used in Colonial Korea, Taiwan and Japan. For examples, 12.8% and 13.3% of the First Version were from the two General School National Language Textbooks (普通学校

国語読本) successively edited by the Government-General in Korea (朝鮮総督府) in 1912 and 1923, 11.1% from the Public School National Textbook (公学校用国民読本) edited by the Taiwan Government-General in 1912, and 10.6% from the Common Elementary School National Language Textbook (尋常小学国語読本) edited by Ministry of Education(文部省) in 1918. In other words, the content and ideology of the *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* (初等日本語讀本 1937-1945) edited by Japanese Education Association in the Manchu State was influenced by the previous national language textbooks in Colonial Korea, Taiwan and Japan to a certain extent.⁴⁵

B. Content and Ideologies of the Elementary School Japanese Language Education in the Manchu State in 1937-1945

Elementary Japanese Language Textbook was widely used in all 4-year elementary schools in the Manchu State particularly the South Manchuria Railway Zone (南満州鉄道付属地) from 1937 to -1945. It has 4 volumes and 161 chapters. One volume was used per academic year. Similar to the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook (1937-42), the chapters can generally be classified into ten themes in terms of its nature. The themes include: 1. Daily life (59 ch); 2. Literature (30 ch); 3. Nature (22 ch); 4. Industry and transport (21 ch); 5. Common knowledge and advanced technology (10 ch); 6. Socio-religious customs (8 ch); 7. Geography (5 ch); 8. History (4 ch); 9. Military system (1 ch); and 10. Current issues (1 ch).⁴⁶ The chapters can also be classified into 6 categories: Manchu, China, Japan, Korea, the South and the West in terms of its relationships to these countries or regions. Compared with the Second Version, *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook* included 3 new chapters, namely "Volunteer Labor"(勤勞奉仕), "Air defense

⁴⁵ Takenaka Kenichi(竹中憲一) : 〈満州における日本語教科書の変遷〉, *Manshū" shokuminchi Nihongo kyōkasho shūsei* (《「満州」植民地日本語教科書集成 7》)(Tōkyō: Ryōkuin Shobō, 2002 東京 : 緑蔭書房, 2002), pp.434-436, 440-441.

⁴⁶ The Japanese syllabary tables of hiragana, katakana, voiced sound and semivoiced sound in chapter 38 and 45 of vol. 1, prefaces of vol.2 and 3 are not included in the classification.

exercise"(防空演習), and Commander Hirose(廣瀬中佐). These materials about wartime life, imperialism and militarism were largely adopted into the textbook to enforce colonial education of the Manchurian children under the background of the regularization of the Sino-Japanese Relations.⁴⁷

Here analyses the content and ideologies of each theme with a table.

1. Daily life

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Health Knowledge and Personal Life			
1 / 9	Nil (Eye and nose)	Nil	Nil
1 / 10	Nil (Mouth and ear)	Nil	Nil
1/ 11	Nil (Face and head)	Nil	Nil
1 / 12	Nil (Hand, feet, etc)	Nil	Nil
1 / 13	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: korewa...desu with eye and ear)	Nil	Nil
1 / 50	Nil (Daily life schedule by alarm clock)	Nil	Self-discipline
3 / 9	Fly	Nil	Spirit of science
3 / 11	Getting up early	Nil	Nature appreciation, livestock breeding
4 / 9	Human body	Nil	Knowledge of main organs for health care
b. Family Life			
1 / 36	Nil (Family member introduction)	Nil	Family relationship
1 / 43	Nil (Borrowing and lending thing)	Nil	Jap language learning
2 / 12	Baby	Nil	Family love
2 / 24	Souvenir	Nil	Family love
3 /	Guest	Nil	Character with Jap

⁴⁷ Takenaka Kenichi(竹中憲一): "" <満州における日本語教科書の変遷>, Manshū" shokuminchi Nihongo kyōkasho shūsei (《「満州」植民地日本語教科書集成 7》)(Tōkyō: Ryōkuin Shobō , 2002 東京 : 緑蔭書房 , 2002), p.437.

supplement 2			name, Jap assimilation
4 / 16	Relay race	Nil	Team spirit
c. School Life			
1 / 1	Nil (Going to School)	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 2	Nil (Textbook, pen, cap, etc)	Nil	Nil
1 / 3	Nil (School life)	Nil	Studious, self-discipline
1 / 5	Nil (Home visit by a classmate)	Nil	Friendship
1 / 14	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: ...gaimasu with child and dog)	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 15	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: ...aruitemasu with child and dog)	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 16	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: ...no...desu with shoes)	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 17	Nil (Simple Japanese question: ...desuka with cap)	Nil	Jap assimilation
1 / 25	Nil (Self caring and simple Japanese greeting in school: ohayōgozaimasu)	Nil	Jap assimilation, self care, respect to teacher
1 / 26	Nil (Lining up to enter classroom)	Nil	Self-discipline
1 / 27	Nil (Practicing in class)	Nil	Livestock breeding, mathematic skill, physical education, respect to teacher
1 / 28	Nil (Summary of practicing in class)	Nil	Jap language learning, Jap assimilation
1 / 42	Nil (Gratitude for borrowing thing)	Nil	Jap language learning, Jap assimilation
2 / 21	Sports day	Nil	Physical education, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism, Nazism
2 / 23	Morning assembly	Nil	Respect to school principal and teacher, discipline

3 / 4	School trip	Manchu	Nature appreciation, Jap assimilation, Chinese local religion
3 / 14	Major cleanup	Nil	Selfless devotion
3 / 16	Weekly school timetable	Nil	Knowledge of time management, family love, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
3 / 19	"Tug of war" game	Nil	Selfless devotion, courage(Bushidō), team spirit
4 / 4	Flower bed repair	Nil	Selfless devotion, team spirit
4 / 17	Exhibition	Nil	Handicraft knowledge, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
d. Community Life			
1 / 34	Nil (Busy City)	Manchu State	Industrialization
1 / 49	Nil (A hawker selling candies)	Nil	Nil
2 / 1	Flags	Manchu State	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
2 / 29	General store	Nil	Commodity knowledge
2 / 30	Shopping	Nil	Knowledge of money and shopping
3 / 15	Return trip	Nil	Jap assimilation
3 / Supplem ent 5	Open space	Nil	Discipline, Militarism
4 / 8	Volunteer Labor (勤勞奉仕)	Manchu	Selfless devotion, team spirit, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
e. Entertainment.			

1 / 8	Nil (Skipping rope together)	Nil	Friendship
1 / 40	Nil (Swing, hide-and-see, rope skipping)	Nil	Family love, friendship
1 / 44	Nil (Summary of Swing, rope skipping, etc)	Nil	Friendship
1 / 51	Nil (Playing spinning top together)	Nil	Friendship
1 / 52	Nil (Blowing soap bubble together)	Nil	Friendship
2 / 6	Goldfish	Nil	Nil
2 / 8	Playing house	Nil	Friendship
2 / 15	Fishing	Nil	Friendship, self-sufficiency
2 / 22	Pinwheel	Nil	Friendship
2 / 33	Skating	Nil	Friendship
2 / 35	Showman with performing monkey	Nil	Traditional Chinese entertainment
2 / 38	Kite flying	Nil	Family love
2 / 40	Shadow pictures	Nil	Friendship
3 / 8	Teeter-totter	Nil	Friendship
3 / 28	Firecracker	Nil	Traditional Chinese entertainment

Similar to the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook, 59 chapters about daily life of students were quite evenly distributed in the 4 volumes of the textbook to meet students' psychological desire and social need. The daily life theme was the largest theme in the textbook. The nature theme is the largest theme in the textbook. Same as the Taiwan National Language Textbook, it can be further divided into 5 sub-themes: a. health knowledge and personal life (9 ch); b. family life (6 ch); c. school life (21 ch); d. community life (8 ch) and e. entertainment (15 ch). The number of chapters in these sub-themes reveals that the textbook editors tried to teach students the Japanese language, practical knowledge of life and especially the Japanese ideologies in the contexts of school education and various entertainment. Under the policy of "Japan and Manchuria as One Virtue and One Mind" (日滿一德一心), this theme attempted to assimilate the Manchurian students. However, only 16 chapters, that was about 27% of the theme content provided the context of the Japanese identity and lifestyle. The scope and extent of the Japanese assimilation in this theme was obviously less than the Taiwan National Language Textbook. The chapters were mainly distributed in the sub-themes of school life and community life. The chapters shaped the Japanese identity of the students for assimilation through the typical

Japanese lifestyle like the Japanese style clothes and the Japanese language education, with less Japanese characters than the same theme of the Taiwan National Language Textbook. For examples, V.1 Ch.1 described some elementary school students who wore the Japanese-style school uniforms were going to school. V.1 ch.14-17 taught simple Japanese sentences and question about a child who wore a Japanese-style school uniform. V.1 Ch.28 was about the Japanese language learning in class. In V.3 Ch. 4, the main character and his classmates wore the Japanese school uniform during the school trip. V.3 Ch.15 mentioned that an old man praised the main character for his fluent spoken Japanese during his way back home. In V.3 Ch.16, the conversation about the weekly school timetable of the students mentioned that they had the Japanese language course. V.3 Supplementary Ch.2 described Hanako, a Japanese girl who wore a Japanese kimono received his father's guest in a traditional Japanese manner at home. Japanese characters V.4 Ch.8 mentioned that Jiro (次郎), a Japanese boy was a member of the youth group.

To nurture students to be the “loyal citizens” (忠良国民) of Japan, the daily life theme also disseminated the Imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism and even the German Nazism, which was similar to the same theme of the Taiwan Textbook. Nevertheless, the chapters were only the sub-themes of school life and community life, not entertainment. For instances, V.2 Ch.1 explained every house hoisted both the national flags of Japan and the Manchu State to promote the Imperial spirit in the community. V.2 Ch. 21 described that a running race under the national flags of the Manchu State, Japan and Nazi Germany was held on Sports day. It promoted not merely healthy physical education but also the Japanese Imperial spirit and militarism and even the German Nazism. In V.3 Ch.16, the conversation between two students about their weekly school timetable mentioned that both of them had moral course was one of the important courses to nurture the Imperial spirit. V.3 Supplementary Ch.5 showed that some students were practicing foot drill in an open space which encouraged active participation in military training for wartime mobilization. V.4 Ch.8 demonstrated that the youth groups (青年団) including the main character's elder brother and his Japanese classmate's elder brother were whole-heartedly repairing the road as their service of "Volunteer Labor"(勤勞奉仕). It remarkably implanted students with the Imperial spirit and the ideologies of selfless devotion and team work for wartime mobilization under the "Movement of Citizen as Volunteer Labor" (国民

勤勞奉仕運動). V.4 Ch.17 was about an exhibition of the student handicraft works under some national flags including the two kinds of national flags of Japan. Similar to the Taiwan Textbook, the community life theme also promoted industrialization. For example, V.1 Ch.34 demonstrated a busy industrialized and modernized city with high buildings, wide road, vehicles and many people. Furthermore, the nurturing of family love and friendship in many chapters in this theme also aimed at reinforcing the moral education for the Japanese Imperialization with focus on the unity of "Great Community and Concord" (大同協和).

To facilitate wartime self-sufficiency and industrialization, the daily life theme focused on industrial education (実業教育) by equipping students with considerable practical knowledge of family agriculture, handicraft and livestock breeding. For examples, V.1 Ch.27 described that the students were learning livestock and mathematic skill in class and receiving physical education in school. V.2 Ch. 15 also showed that the leading character was fishing with his friends which encouraged fishery for self-sufficiency. Furthermore, the daily life theme particularly encouraged the students to develop self-discipline, respect to teacher, selfless devotion, team spirit and the Bushidō virtues in order to achieve the Japanese Imperialization, industrialization and militarism as mentioned above. For instances, V.2 Ch.23 illustrated that the students should line up and salute to the school Principal and teachers in the morning assembly. V.3 Ch.14 described that the main character voluntarily participated in a major cleanup together with his classmates in school. In V.4 Ch.4, students were divided into several teams to repair the flower bed in school. V.4 Ch.16 also encouraged students to develop team spirit and collaboration which was essential for wartime mobilization. In V.3 Ch.19, the team performance in the "Tug of war" game promoted not only selfless devotion and team spirit, but also the courage virtue of Bushidō.

It is noteworthy that the daily life theme always adopt the Chinese characters and introduced the Chinese entertainment and local religion to students to avoid their strong resistance to the Japanese assimilation and militarism. For examples, the Chinese characters like Zhang, Chen and Li usually appeared in this theme (V.3 Ch.14, 15; V.4 Ch.4). The traditional Chinese entertainment like the show with performing monkey and firecracker were introduced in V.2 Ch. 35 and V.3 Ch.28. In V.3 Ch.4, the school trip to Apricot Village also mentioned about Temple of Emperor Guandi which was one of the most popular local Chinese religions. The Shinto religion that was

taught in this theme of the Taiwan Textbook was not introduced here. These examples demonstrated that the Manchu State government under the Japanese control preferred to adopt a more gradual and moderate assimilation and Imperialization education policy towards the Manchurian children than the Taiwan children in order to maintain stable political and economic development for wartime mobilization in the Manchu State. Therefore, the daily life theme of the textbook focused on the learning of practical knowledge rather than the Japanese ideologies and culture.

2. Literature

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1 / 47	Nil (A story about a fight between two goats on a bridge)	Nil	Militarism
1 / 48	Nil (Race between turtle and rabbit)	West	Stamina
2 / 9	One pig less	Nil	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
2 / 13	Cat	Nil	Nil
2 / 26	The donkey of a lazy person	Nil	Honesty, hardworking
2 / 27	Policeman	Manchu	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
2 / 31	The white pig	Nil	Imperial spirit
2 / 34	Lion and mouse	Nil	Friendship, mutual support, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit
2 / 39	Cat and mouse	Nil	Modest to take advice
3 / 6	Everyone works with utmost effort	Nil	Hardworking, self-sufficiency
3 / 17	Ononotōfū	Japan	Perseverance (Bushidō)
3 / 22	Watching from a small hill	Manchu	Son's courage (Bushidō), Imperial spirit, mother's love
3 / 24-25	The precious stone under water	Japan	Japanese classical

			comic story, Jap assimilation, Brother's love, honesty, power of God
3 / 26	Ant and the Japanese katydid	Japan	Jap assimilation, hardworking
3 / 30-31	Old man who made flower bloom	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō
3 / supplement 1	Rabbit	Nil	Friendship
3 / supplement 3	Dog and bird	Nil	Wisdom
3 / supplement 4	Judas tree in Moon	China	Chinese myth, perseverance (Bushidō)
3 / supplement 6	Stone potato	Japan	Japanese legend, Jap assimilation, benevolence (Bushidō)
3 / supplement 7	Wise mother	China	Chinese fairy tale, mother's love, traditional Chinese Confucianism
3 / supplement 8	Cow and peasant	Japan	Japanese fairy tale, Jap assimilation, respect to the nature (of animal)(nature appreciation)
4 / 2	Friend	Japan	Japanese fairy tale, Jap assimilation, friendship or wisdom & benevolence (Bushidō)
4 / 3	Iron cow	Manchu	Manchurian(Jin zhou) myth

4 / 11	Soot of donkey	Nil	Diligence, importance knowledge of transportation, agriculture
4 / 15	Princess Kaguya	Japan	Japanese folktale, Jap assimilation
4 / 22	Drug for immortality	Japan	Japanese legend, Imperial spirit, Jap assimilation
4 / 24	Rumors	Nil	Avoid rumors
4 / Supplement 1	The blind and milk	Nil	Joke about explaining color to the blind
4 / Supplement 2	Skylark	Nil	Poem about a skylark in cage
4 / Supplement 6	Palace of the Tang prince (唐王殿)	Manchu, Korea	Chinese legend, Imperial spirit, militarism

The literature theme had 30 chapters which was the second largest theme in this textbook. The literatures were mainly introduced in the second, third and fourth volumes, considering the development of the cognitive ability and Japanese language capacity of the Manchurian children. Of these, 9 chapters were the Japanese literatures, 4 were the Manchurian literatures, 2 were the Chinese literatures, 1 was the western literature and the other 14 literatures were unknown in terms of origin. One Manchurian literature was also related to Korea. In other words, the editors intended to introduce a slightly larger proportion of the Japanese literature than the Chinese (including Manchurian) literatures to the textbook to ensure a moderate assimilation and Imperialization education of the Manchurian students. According to this proportion, the extent of assimilation or "Japanization" in this theme was remarkably lesser than the same theme of the Taiwan Textbook which had 25 Japanese literatures out of 33 literatures totally. Despite this proportion, the editors skillfully disseminated the Japanese identity, Imperial spirit, militarism and the Bushidō virtues through most of the literatures and even the Chinese and Manchurian literatures. Of course, the Japanese and some origin-unknown literatures directly promoted the Japanese ideologies like the Japanese identity and Imperial spirit. For

examples, V.2 Ch. 31 was a story that the people of a village attempted to present a white pig to the King at the Imperial capital but found that the capital actually many of this kind of pig and therefore brought the pig back to the village. It implied the Japanese Imperialization that the people of the Manchu State, like the village people, should make contribution to the Imperial Empire of Japan in which the Japanese Emperor was the most authoritative and rich one. V.2 Ch.34 was another story that a lion and a mouse helped each other which encouraged not only mutual support in Friendship but also the Japanese assimilation and the spirit of “Japan and Manchuria as One Virtue and One Mind”(日滿一德一心), just like the lion and the mouse. V.3 Ch.24-25 was a Japanese classical comic story that two brothers loved each other and let each other have the precious stone and finally God granted each one a precious stone. It implied that Japan and the Manchu State should collaborate in the Japanese expansion to China for mutual benefit under the Imperial spirit, like the brothers in the story. V.3 Supplementary Ch. 8 was a Japanese fairy tale to encourage appreciation of the wisdom of traditional Japanese tale about the nature. V.4 Ch.15 was a Japanese folk tale about the life of Princess Kaguya, a girl came from "The Capital of the Moon" and lived with an old man and finally returned to the Capital. It also inspired students to appreciate the traditional Japanese literature and culture. V.4 Ch.22 was a Japanese legend about Jofuku (徐福) who went to Japan to find the drug for immortality for the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty but finally settled down in Japan. This legend came from *Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors* (神皇正統記). It named Japan as a fairyland of God(蓬萊) where the Sun rises which obviously implanted students with the Imperial spirit and the Japanese identity.

Besides, the Japanese and other unknown literatures also propagated the virtues of Bushidō to strengthen the Japanese ideologies of Imperialization and militarism. For instances, V.3Ch.17 was a popular Japanese story that Ononotōfū, a famous Japanese painter taught students to keep on trying to accomplish task despite of repeated failures which encouraged the perseverance virtue of Bushidō. V.3 Ch.30-31, the story of "Old man who made flower bloom" was V.3 Ch.23 of the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook (1937-42) which also promoted Bushidō. V.3 Supplementary Ch.6 was a Japanese legend to encourage taking pity on the poor which was also the benevolence virtue of Bushidō. V.4 Ch. 2 was a tale that a student Hiroshi was injured in his way to school and his classmate Shoichi(正一) wisely

contacted Hiroshi(弘) 's father to save him and later the other classmates often visited Hiroshi at his Japanese style house and the classmate Yukio (行雄) even bore Hiroshi who was recovering to attend school every day. It promoted the Japanese assimilation and the wisdom and benevolence of Bushidō. Indeed, not only the Japanese literatures, the Manchurian literatures and Chinese literatures also inculcated the Japanese ideologies to students indirectly. For examples, V.2 / 27 was a story that a policeman in a Japanese uniform with a Japanese sword helped a lost boy find his father. It promoted the Japanese identity and obedience to the rule of the Manchu State under the Japanese control. V.3 Ch.22 was another story that a brave young man in Yugaku City went far to take examination in Shandong but died in shipwreck. It implied that the Manchurian students should bravely leave home to serve the Manchu State or the Japanese Empire with the Bushidō virtue and the Imperial spirit. V.4 Supplementary ch.6 was a traditional Chinese legend about the expedition of Emperor Taizhong, the most prominent Tang emperor to Kōkuri (高句麗) which indirectly the Japanese Imperialization, militarism and particularly active participation in the Japanese expansion to Korea. V.3 Supplementary Ch.4 was a Chinese myth that a man Gokō(吳剛) had been attempting to cut a Judas tree in Moon for hundreds of years in order to be a immortal wizard. It also inculcated the perseverance virtue of Bushidō. To facilitate the woman moral education for Imperialization, the editors even skillfully introduced the famous Chinese Confucian tale about the wisdom of Mencius's mother in nurturing Mencius in V.3 Supplementary Ch.7. It is noteworthy that the editors attempted to make use of the traditional Chinese culture like Confucianism to enforce the Japanese Imperialization.

In addition, diligence and self-sufficiency were the other two key concepts to be learnt in the literature theme for being a “loyal citizens” to participate in the wartime industrialization and mobilization under the "Movement of Citizen as Volunteer Labor" (国民勤勞奉仕運動). For instances, V.2 Ch. 9 was a story about counting the number of pigs by the pig leader which encouraged livestock breeding for wartime self-sufficiency. V.2 Ch.26 and V.3 Ch.6 encouraged students to work hard by telling the story of a lazy donkey. V.3 Ch. 26 was also a story about the Japanese katydid which was taught to work hard for survival. V.4 Ch.11 also encouraged diligence and

pointed out the importance of donkey in transportation and agriculture field for self-sufficiency.

3. Nature

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1 / 4	Nil (Horse, Cow, Violet, etc)	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 22	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence with a field, grass, flower, etc)	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 23	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence with a mountain, sea, etc)	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 24	Nil (Diary about a seashore field trip)	Nil	Nature appreciation, maritime knowledge
1 / 30	Nil (Dragonfly and blue sky)	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 32	Nil (River and bridge)	Nil	Nature appreciation, female housework, self-sufficiency
1 / 41	Nil (Winter scenery)	Nil	Nature appreciation
1 / 53	Nil (Spring scenery)	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 3	Sunrise	Nil	Nature appreciation, agriculture
2 / 4	Field	Nil	Nature appreciation, friendship
2 / 7	Fruit of Dandelion	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 14	Parades of ants	Nil	Hardworking, sense of transportation and self-sufficiency
2 / 16	Evening shower rain	Nil	Nature appreciation, livestock breeding, agriculture
2 / 17	Sunflower	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 18	Japanese morning glory (Japanese herb)	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 19	The moon	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 20	Kōryan field	Nil	Nature appreciation
2 / 32	Snowfall	Nil	Nature appreciation
3 / 1	Four seasons	Nil	Nature appreciation,

			agriculture
3 / 10	Frog	Nil	Nature appreciation
3 / 20	Evening	Nil	Nature appreciation
4 / Supplement 4	Storm	Nil	Knowledge of storm, nature appreciation

The nature theme had 22 chapters which was the third largest theme in this textbook. This theme especially V.1 Ch.4 illustrated various kinds of animals and plants which were usually seen in Manchuria in order to arouse the interest of students. It cultivated students' sense of caring the nature including animals and plants. Through the theme contents, students learnt diligence, livestock breeding and agriculture for self-sufficiency. For examples, V.2 Ch. 3 "Sunrise" describes people were spading soil to cultivate the field with the help of cow on the hill which taught the agricultural knowledge. V.2 Ch.14 "Ants in procession" described that the ants were busy transporting their food in procession besides the house which nurtured the senses of hardworking and importance of transportation and self-sufficiency. V.2 Ch.16 "Evening shower rain" has a picture showing the livestock and cultivated field beside the house. V.3 Ch.1 "Four seasons" described the harvest of various fruits which encouraged agriculture. V.4 Supplementary ch.4 was about the scene and problem of storm. The students also learnt wartime self-sufficiency and militarism. For examples, V.1 Ch. 32 described some women were washing clothes at riversides which encourage female housework for wartime self-sufficiency; It also describes two horses were eating grasses which attempted to make students to be familiar with war horses and their labor service obligation to breed them for militarism.

4. Industry and Transport

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Industry			
1 / 7	Nil (Agriculture area)	Nil	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
1 / 20	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence with a house and chicken)	Nil	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
1 / 21	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence with a garden and chicken)	Nil	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
1 / 35	Nil (A family working day in field)	Nil	Agriculture,

			self-sufficiency, selfless devotion, family love, industrialization
1 / 37	Nil (Summary of a family working day in field)	Nil	Agriculture, self-sufficiency, selfless devotion, family love, industrialization
2 / 10	Chick	Nil	Livestock breeding,
3 / 2	Sowing seeds	Nil	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
3 / 7	Grandfather	Nil	Agriculture, vegetable sale, hardworking, self-sufficiency
3 / 12	Weeding	Nil	Agriculture, self-sufficiency
3 / 13	Shepherd	Manchu	Livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
3 / 23	Coal	Manchu	Importance of coal, industrialization, self-sufficiency
4 / 18	Harvesting	Nil	Agriculture, hardworking, self-sufficiency
4 / 19	Orchard	Nil	Agriculture, fruit sale, hardworking, self-sufficiency
4 / 20	Grass shoveling	Nil	Agriculture, hardworking, self-sufficiency
b. Transport			
1 / 6	Nil (Road, train, etc)	Nil	Industrialization
1 / 29	Nil (River, bridge, road, donkey)	Nil	Female housework, self-sufficiency, industrialization, nature appreciation

1 / 31	Nil (Transportation by wagon and man)	Nil	Industrialization
1 / 33	Nil (Transportation by steam train & railway station)	Nil	Industrialization
2 / 28	Steam train	Nil	Industrialization
2 / 37	Electric train	Manchu	Industrialization, Manchu geography (from Tiger Beach to State Office), travelling knowledge
3 / 21	Port of Dailen	Manchu	Industrialization

The theme of industry and transport had 21 chapters which was next to the nature theme. It can be further divided into two sub-themes: a. industry (14 ch) and b. transport (7). The contents of both sub-themes were closely in line with the Manchu government policies of self-sufficiency, industrialization and mobilization for military expansion. Through the industry theme contents, students learnt diligence, agriculture including agricultural product sale and self-sufficiency. For instances, V.1 Ch.7 described two students were going to a large agriculture area with house, river and bridge which demonstrated the policy of agriculture development and self-sufficiency for wartime mobilization. V.1 Ch.35 and 37 described a family was working together in their cultivated field in which a steam train was seen from there. V.3 Ch.2 and Ch.12 briefly explained the methods of sowing seeds and weeding which equipped students with agricultural knowledge. V.4 Ch.20 was about grass shoveling for family use. V.3 Ch.7 desc the leading character's grandfather worked hard to sell the vegetables of their field which encouraged students to participate in agriculture and work hard for self-sufficiency. V.4 Ch.18 described the main character did harvesting with his family members which also encouraged students to participate in agriculture and work hard for self-sufficiency. V.4 Ch.19 also described the main character gathering fruits at his grandfather's Orchard and delivered them to Dailen for sale.

In addition, students studied livestock breeding and self-sufficiency. For examples, V.1 Ch.20, V.3 Ch.13 and V.2 Ch. 10 "Chick" was about the main character feeding the chicken at his family garden which promoted livestock breeding. They also learnt industrialization for wartime mobilization. For examples, V.3 Ch. 23 explained the formation and multiple uses of coal and the coal industrial centres in Fujun(撫順),

Honkei(本溪) and Fusin(阜新) in Manchuria. It emphasized that coal was an very important raw material in industrialization and especially essential to the operation of train, steamship and factory machines. This chapter encouraged students to participate in the industrialization of the Manchu State for self-sufficiency and

Through the transport theme contents, students studied industrialization and modernized transport. For examples, V.1 Ch.6 showed the modernized transport like train, ship, airplane and vehicle which were products of industrialization and wartime mobilization and transportation. V.1 Ch.29 described some women were washing clothes at riverside which showed that female housework was part of volunteer labor for self-sufficiency; the description of a man leading a donkey to transport things on the bridge over the river and a huge road showed the importance of bridge and road in modernized transportation and industrialization. V.1 Ch.31 described the traditional and modernized transportation by man, wagon, man, sailboats and cargo ships. V.1 Ch. 33 des the convenient modernized transportation of people and commodities by steam train. V.3 Ch.21 described the modernized transportation including the advanced port of Dailen, steamship and transport laborers which represented the importance of developing shipping industry.

5. Common Knowledge and Advanced Technology

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
1/ 18	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: watashino...desu with daily thing-knife)	Nil	Nil
1/ 19	Nil (Simple Japanese sentence: ...to...gaarimasu with daily things-book, pencil)	Nil	Nil
1 / 38	Nil (A Japanese hiragana syllabary table)	Nil	Jap language learning
1 / 39	Nil (A table of daily thing vocabulary)	Nil	Jap language learning, agriculture, livestock breeding, Self-sufficiency, industrialization, militarism

1 / 45	Nil (A table of voiced sound and semivoiced sound)	Nil	Jap language learning
1 / 46	Nil (A table of daily thing vocabulary)	Nil	Jap language learning, agriculture, South Asia knowledge
2 / preface table	Nil (A table of the Japanese katakana syllabary including the voiced and semivoiced sound)	Nil	Jap language learning
2 / 2	Picture of domestic chicken	Nil	livestock breeding, self-sufficiency
2 / 5	Airplane	Nil	Industrialization, Jap assimilation, militarism
2 / 11	Right and left	Nil	Knowledge of direction
2 / 25	Post office	Nil	Post knowledge, Jap assimilation
3 / preface	Nil (A Japanese hiragana syllabary table including the voiced and semivoiced sound)	Nil	Jap language learning
3 / 18	Market	Nil	Market knowledge, importance of agriculture, livestock breeding and fishery
4 / 5	Magnet (similar to 4th ed Taiwan textbook V.7 Ch.5)	Manchu	Spirit of science

Apart from the four Japanese syllabary tables of hiragana, katakana, voiced sound and semivoiced sound, the theme of common knowledge and advanced technology had 10 chapters which was next to the theme of industry and transport. Through the theme contents, students studied livestock breeding and self-sufficiency. For examples, V.1 Ch.39 was a table of daily thing vocabulary including cultivated field, livestock, team train, airplane, sea which nurtured the ideologies of agriculture, livestock breeding, industrialization, maritime knowledge and even militarism. V.2 Ch. 2 Picture of domestic chicken about livestock breeding, self-sufficiency V.1 Ch.46 was a vocabulary table of various daily things which included elephant, an important transportation means in South Asia like Thailand under the "Southward Advance"

Policy. This theme also fostered the Japanese assimilation, militarism and industrialization. For examples, V.2 Ch. 25 "Post station" has a picture showing a woman in a Japanese kimono holding a baby in the post station which promoted the Jap assimilation. V.2 Ch.5 "Airplane" described a Japanese fighter with the "red sun" wings was flying powerfully over the mountain. It promoted the ideologies of the Japanese assimilation and militarism and the industrialization with focus on the heavy weapon like fighter.

6. Socio-religious Customs

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
a. Social Customs			
2 / 36	New Year's Day	Manchu	Chinese rituals
4 / 14	Mid-Autumn Festival (仲秋節)	Manchu	Chinese rituals, family love
4 / 25	Lantern Festival (元宵節)	Manchu	Chinese rituals
4 / Supplem ent 5	Spring Festival couplets (春聯)	Manchu	Knowledge of Spring Festival couplets, Chinese rituals
b. Religious Practice			
3 / 3	Qingming Festival	Manchu	Ancestor worship, Chinese rituals
3 / 5	(Temple) Festival	Manchu	Chinese local religion, temple market
3 / 27	Kitchen God Festival	Manchu	Chinese local religion
4 / 1	Morning shrine visit	Japan	Jap assimilation, selfless devotion, Shinto, Imperial spirit, militarism

The theme of socio-religious customs had 8 chapters which was next to the theme of common knowledge and advanced technology. By the contents of social customs theme, students studied the Chinese rituals. For examples, V.2 Ch.36, V.4 Ch.14, Ch.25 and V.4 Supplementary ch.5 showed that the Manchurian people still kept the

Chinese rituals, for examples, holding ancestor worship at New Year's Eve and wearing new cloth on New Year's Day, eating fruits and moon cake, burning incense and having family gathering at Mid-Autumn Festival, hanging dragon lanterns and watching lion dance at Lantern Festival, decorating home with Spring Festival couplets for blessing at Spring Festival. As for the religious practice theme, students also received the Japanese assimilation and learnt selfless devotion, Shinto, Imperial spirit and militarism. For example, V.4 Ch. 1 described the main character together with his form 3 or above male classmates including his Japanese friend, Seikichi (清吉) were used to visit and clean the village Shinto shrine on every Sunday morning. Some prayer flags of the Japanese soldiers for the continued luck in the fortunes of war (buuntyōkyū 武運長久) were set up in front of the shrine. The students tried hard to clean the shrine and lined up in two parades for dismiss after the shrine cleaning. This chapter remarkably promoted the Japanese assimilation, selfless devotion, Shinto, Imperial spirit and militarism. Besides, students also learnt the Chinese local religions. For examples, V.3 Ch.5 introduced the temple festival and the commercial activities of the temple market. V.3 Ch.27 introduced Kitchen God Festival held on 23 Dec of lunar year.

7. Geography

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
3 / 29	New capital Shinkyō	Manchu	Knowledge of the political centre of the Manchu State, industrialization, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
4 / 7	A tour to Dailen	Manchu	Knowledge of modernized Dailen, industrialization, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism

4 / 13	Hōten(奉天)	Manchu	Knowledge of historical sites and modernized facilities in Hōten, Shinto, Imperial spirit, industrialization, militarism
4 / 27	Sightseeing in Japan	Japan	Knowledge of historical sites and modernized facilities in Japan, Shinto, Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, industrialization, militarism
4 / Supplement 3	A tour to Yugaku City (熊岳城)	Manchu	Nature appreciation, agriculture, industrialization, health knowledge, Jap assimilation

The theme of geography had 5 chapters which was next to the theme of socio-religious customs. Students widely learnt the knowledge of strategic points of the Manchu State and Japan, industrialization, Japanese assimilation and Imperialization, Shinto and militarism. For examples, V.3 Ch.29 introduced the establishment and rapid development of the new capital Shinkyō of the Manchu State. It explained not only its railway station as a hub of the national railway network due to industrialization, but also some modernized facilities and historical sites which represented the unity of "Great Community and Concord" (大同協和) and the Japanese Imperial spirit and militarism. For examples, Great Community Street (大同大街), Great Community Plaza (大同廣場), Loyal Dead Monument (忠靈塔), Kodama General Memorial Park (兒玉公園) and the South Ridge (南嶺) where the Manchurian Incident took place in 1931. V.4 Ch. 7 introduced the modernized facilities of Dailen like Manchuria Resource Library (滿洲資源館), the pier with

steam ships, Grand Plaza (大廣場), Dailen Hospital (大連醫院), Shop Chain Street (連鎖商店街), bank and the factories in Shakakō Street (沙河口通) in order to encourage students to participate in the industrialization, modernization and monetary development of the Manchu State. It also mentioned Japan Bridge Train Stop (日本橋停留場) and the Memorial Park and bronze statue of Komura Jutarō(小村壽太郎), a famous diplomat and militarist in Meiji Japan which promoted the Japanese assimilation, Imperial spirit and militarism. V.4 Ch.13 introduced the historical, religious and war sites, charitable institution and modernized facilities of Hōten. They included Loyal Dead Monument (忠靈塔), Hōten Shrine (奉天神社) North Mausoleum (北陵), the Qing Palace, battle sites of the Manchurian Incident, Dōzentō (同善堂), Shihei Commercial Street, Grand Plaza, bank, companies, hospital and large factories, etc. It widely promoted the traditional Shinto and Imperial spirit on one hand, and the industrialization and the Japanese militarism on the other hand. V.4 Ch.27 was about a sightseeing tour to Japan which described the strategic sea route of Setonaikai, the trade ports of Kōbe and Yokohama, the commercial city of Osaka, the traditional Imperial capitals of Kyoto and Nara, the Kōdai Shrine in Ujiyamada, the most sacred shrine in Japan, Capital of Tokyo, the foremost metropolis in East Asia, the places of scenic beauty like the torii at Itsukushima Shrine, and the advanced transportation and large population of Japan. It introduced the historical and Imperial sites and modernized cities in Japan to students, and promoted the ideologies of Shinto, industrialization and the Japanese assimilation, Imperial spirit and militarism. V.4 Supplementary Ch. 3 was about a sightseeing tour to Yugaku City (熊岳城) which introduced the train station, spa and hotels of hot springs, Yugaku River, agricultural experiment stations and orchards in the City. It particularly mentioned the famous spa and hotel of hot spring established by the Japanese woman Katada for the Japanese assimilation purpose. It encouraged students to appreciate the nature, to understand the health benefit of hot spring and to participate in the agriculture and industrialization.

8. History

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
4 / 6	Moriranmaru(森蘭丸)	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, wisdom, honesty & loyalty (Bushidō), militarism
4 / 12	Hanawa Hoyaichi (塙保己一)	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, wisdom (Bushidō)
4 / 23	Commander Hirose (廣瀨中佐)	Japan	Jap assimilation, Imperial spirit, militarism
4 / 26	General Nogi's childhood	Japan	Jap assimilation, Bushidō, Imperial spirit, militarism

The history theme had 4 chapters which was next to theme of geography. By this theme, students received the Japanese assimilation and learnt the Imperial spirit, the Bushidō virtues (wisdom, honesty, loyalty) and militarism. For examples, V.4 Ch. 6 was a brief biography of Moriranmaru, a famous retainer of General Oda Nobunaga(織田信長) and it praised the wisdom, honesty and loyalty of Moriranmaru to promote the virtues of Bushidō, the Japanese Imperial spirit and militarism. V.4 Ch.12 was a brief biography of Hanawa Hoyaichi (塙保己一), a well-known scholar of ancient Japanese literature which promote the wisdom of Bushidō, the traditional Japanese culture, assimilation and Imperial spirit. V.4 Ch.23 "Commander Hirose" was similar to V.8 Ch.15 of the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook which promoted the Bushidō virtues, Imperial spirit and militarism. V.4 Ch.26 was same as V.8 Ch.24 of the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook which told the childhood of General Nogi to promote the simplicity and loyalty virtues of Bushidō and the Imperial spirit.

9. Military System

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/	Ideology
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		Region Specific	
4 / 10	Air defense exercise	Manchu	Imperial spirit, militarism

This theme had only 1 chapter. The textbook did not mention the administration system of the Manchu State or Japan which was different from the Taiwan Textbook. V.4 Ch.10 "Air defence exercise" was similar to vl.6 ch.11 of the fourth edition of the Taiwan National Language Textbook (1937-42) which provided war life knowledge and glorified the power of the Japanese military system to promote the imperial spirit and the Japanese militarism.

10. Current Issues

Vol./Ch.	Chapter Name	Country/ Region Specific	Ideology
4 / 21	Rescue dog	Manchu	Selfless devotion, loyalty and bravery (Bushidō)

This theme also had only 1 chapter, that was V.4 Ch.21. It was a current news about a black dog saved many people including its master who lived at the iron factory from a big fire in Dailen. Its story promoted selfless devotion and the Bushidō virtues of loyalty and bravery.

Conclusion

The fourth edition (1937-1942) of the National Language Textbook in Taiwan transformed significantly from the third period edition (1923-1933). In addition to the basic knowledge about the nature and daily life, more practical knowledge about industrialization, military system, cultural knowledge and current war issues were added to disseminate the Japanese ideologies of Shinto, Bushido, imperial spirit and militarism for assimilation and mobilization. 191 chapters, that was 61.4% of the textbook were infiltrated with these ideologies after the introduction of considerable new materials which came mainly from the Japanese sources including the national language textbook (1933-1940). Of these chapters, 105 of them were newly created by the editors mainly based on the Japanese sources, 51 revised chapters and 15 whole chapters were from the textbook of Japan and only 20 chapters were from the

3rd edition. It remarkably shows that the editors deliberately revised the content of the textbook to intensify the imperialization of students and their sense of selfless devotion to the Japanese militarism. The preaching of the Shinto religion and the Bushidō virtues in the textbook further developed students' spirits of Imperial Empire and militarism. It is noteworthy that students were consistently indoctrinated in these ideologies particularly through the learning of socio-religious customs and literature. However, the overall dissemination of ideologies was accelerated gradually in the textbook along with the progress of the Imperialization Movement, industrialization and the southward expansion activities in Taiwan. The four small themes of military and administrative system, geography, history and current issues in which the ideologies were highly concentrated were largely added to the textbook when Taiwan became highly mobilized to support the southward expansion of Japan and particularly the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere" policy adopted since 1940.

As for *Elementary Japanese Language Textbook*, the Manchu State government under the Japanese control preferred to adopt a more gradual and moderate assimilation and Imperialization education policy towards the Manchurian children than the Taiwan children in order to maintain stable political and economic development for wartime mobilization in the Manchu State. Therefore, the various themes of the textbook intended to teach students the practical wartime knowledge, Japanese ideologies and culture as well as the Chinese culture including the Manchurian culture at a more balanced way. In other words, the scope and extent of the Japanese assimilation, Imperialization and militarism in this textbook was remarkably less than the Taiwan Textbook. Yet both textbooks attempted to get the primary school students steadily assimilated to be the "real Japanese" and infused more with the ideologies of Shintoism, Bushidō, the spirit of Imperial Empire, militarism and wartime production knowledge by the immersion approach of learning from the simple Japanese language to the more complex Japanese knowledge, culture and war progress, as both Taiwan and the Manchu State became the economic and military bases of the Japanese Empire. In particular, the steady development of primary education particularly the Japanese language education with focus on Imperialization and militarism enabled the Manchu government to accomplish production increase, shipping, national strategy and volunteer labor system effectively.⁴⁸ The Japanese language textbooks undoubtedly became an effective tool to propagate the Japanese militarism among the teenagers in the colonies during WWII.

⁴⁸ 滿洲國史編纂刊行會著，涉平等譯：《滿洲國史(總論)》(原本由東京之滿蒙同胞援護會出版(1970)，譯本由哈爾濱之黑龍江省社會科學院歷史研究所出版(1990)，p. 620.