

# The Expansion of Bakuhan Civil Education Policies in the Mid-Edo Period: The Case of Hagi Domain

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## I. Introduction

Previous studies of the founding of the Meirinkan 明倫館 domain school in Hagi have tended to be from the perspective either of intellectual history or as part of the local history of Hagi domain. The current study will examine the founding of the school from the standpoint of the wider history of education under the Bakuhan system of the Edo period, by looking at the school foundation's links with events in the Bakufu, in particular with the Bakufu's primary educational institution, the school and temple to Confucius at Yushima, which was a manifestation of the intentions and aspirations of the Bakufu authorities in regard to education. In doing so, it will be possible to clarify aspects of developments in the educational policies of the Bakufu and the domains, and the links between them.

## II. Foundation of the Hagi Domain School: Background

The Meirinkan school was founded in 1718 by the fifth lord of Hagi 萩 (or Chōshū 長州) domain, Mōri Yoshimoto 毛利 吉元 (1677–1731, r. 1707–1731). The school building and associated Confucius temple were constructed on a 3102-square-metre site south of the Hagi castle walls; construction was completed in the twelfth month of 1718, and the school formally opened in the first month of 1719.<sup>(1)</sup> It is possible to isolate three background factors to explain why it was deemed necessary to found a domain school in Hagi at just this time: (1) to educate and inspire domain officials and the wider populace through training in both the literary and martial arts, as was already being done by the Bakufu in Edo; (2) a need to deal with social disorder, especially that arising out of the Mannyakuyama incident and the resulting abolition and then restoration of the

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(1) According to the *Hagishi shi*: “For the Meirinkan, a site of 940 *tsubo* was surveyed and prepared a short way west of the Sōmon Gate 惣門 at Hiyako 平安古, south of the outer castle wall. The construction work was completed in the twelfth month of Kyōhō year 3.” See Hagishi shi Hensan linkai 萩市史編纂委員会 comp., *Hagishi shi* 萩市史 vol. 1 (Hagi: Hagishi, 1983), p. 422. All dates in this article will be given according to the traditional Japanese lunar calendar, with the year treated as if coterminous with the Western calendar year, usually abbreviated in the order year/month/day, e.g. 1710/10/15.

neighbouring Mōri branch domain of Tokuyama 徳山; and (3) the succession crises arising from the lack of available heirs to the rulership of the Mōri branch domains of Chōfu 長府 and Kiyosue 清末.

Mōri Yoshimoto was the natural son of Mōri Tsunamoto 毛利 綱元, third lord of the Chōfu branch domain (1651–1709, r. 1653–1709). His mother was Fusahime 房姫, fourth daughter of Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田 光政, first lord of Okayama 岡山 domain (1609–1682, r. 1632–1672). Yoshimoto was born on 1677/8/28 in Edo at the Chōfu domain residence, given the child name Matashirō 又四郎, later changed to Motoyori 元倚 at his coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku*) in 1691/12. On 1707/10/13 the fourth lord of Hagi, Yoshihiro 吉広 (1673–1707, r. 1694–1707) died without heir. Motoyori was adopted as his son, and on 11/13 the Bakufu granted permission for him to succeed as head of the main Mōri lineage, and he became the fifth lord of Hagi under the name Yoshimoto. In 1701 he had married his cousin Shinako 品子, second daughter of his maternal uncle Ikeda Tsunamasa 綱政, second lord of Okayama (1638–1714, r. 1672–1714). When Yoshimoto became lord of Hagi he already had three sons with Shinako: Mototomo 元朝, Itsukinomiya 齋宮, and Motonobu 元陳. He left his eldest son Mototomo behind in Chōfu as heir to succeed his father Tsunamoto. The second son Itsukinomiya had died young, and the third son accompanied Yoshimoto to Hagi.<sup>(2)</sup>

Yoshimoto's accession as ruler marked the first time in Hagi that the main succession was broken and an adopted successor brought in from a branch domain. Yoshimoto found it difficult to come to grips with circumstances in Hagi, and the main lineage vassals there (*karō*) likewise were uncertain as to how to proceed. To make matters worse, difficulties soon arose in the succession of the rulers in the various Mōri branch domains. When Yoshimoto moved to Hagi, he took his third son Motonobu with him as presumptive heir, only for Motonobu to die in 1713. Yoshimoto then brought his eldest son Mototomo from Chōfu to Hagi as heir, changing his name to Munemoto 宗元. The fourth Chōfu lord Tsunamoto's fourth son Motonori 元矩 (1704–1718, r. 1712–1718) then became the fifth lord, but then died on 1718/4/13, not yet seventeen years of age, leaving Chōfu domain again without a successor. The Bakufu decreed that Chōfu be abolished and combined back into the main domain of Hagi. In response, on 1718/4/15 Yoshimoto assigned 38,000 *koku* of the former territory of Chōfu to Motohira 元平, ruler of another Mōri branch domain, Kiyosue, and requested that the Bakufu allow Chōfu to be restored in this form. The Bakufu approved this, making Motohira the sixth lord of Chōfu, under the name Masahiro 匡広. Kiyosue was abolished, though later it was restored by the Bakufu in 1729 with Motohira/Masahiro's second son as its lord.<sup>(3)</sup>

Then, in the years immediately prior to the founding of the Meirinkan school, Hagi underwent a period of disruption and social unrest, precipitated by the well-known Mannyakuyama 万役山 incident in 1715.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 410.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 410–13.

This incident was a flashpoint in the difficult and complex relations between the main domain of Hagi and the neighbouring branch domain of Tokuyama 徳山. The Tokuyama ruler Mōri Mototsugu 元次 was displeased at Yoshimoto's accession in Hagi, not having been consulted when the Hagi domain officials decided on the succession. The immediate incident which touched off the crisis took place when three peasants from the village Nishikumemura 西久米村 in Hagi territory, a father and two sons, cut down a pine tree on Mannyaku Mountain situated on the border between the two domains. A samurai forest official from Tokuyama challenged them, and a quarrel broke out. The official refused to accept the peasants' protests that they had planted the tree themselves, and attacked them with his sword, killing the father and one son. The other son was wounded, but escaped to tell the tale. In the face of widespread popular anger in Hagi over the incident, Yoshimoto made representations to Mototsugu to have the forest official punished, sending several deputations of high-ranking Hagi vassals to negotiate with him, but Mototsugu flatly refused to do so. The lord of Kiyosue, Motohira, also attempted to mediate the dispute, to no effect. The next year, on 1716/4/11, Yoshimoto finally petitioned the Bakufu to order Mototsugu into retirement and hand over the rulership of Tokuyama to Mototsugu's son Hyakujirō 百次郎.

The Bakufu responded swiftly, and ruthlessly. On 1716/4/13, two days later, Mototsugu was summoned before the Bakufu's court of judgement (the Hyōjōsho 評定所), and informed of their decision: the forest official was to be beheaded; Mototsugu himself was deposed as lord of Tokuyama and would summarily be escorted alone with no servants or retainers into exile in the distant northern domain of Shinjō 新庄; and the domain of Tokuyama was abolished, its territory and people transferred back into the main domain of Hagi. This was an exceptionally harsh judgement, well in excess of what Yoshimoto had requested, to his regret. In the end, in 1719/5, at Yoshimoto's request, the Bakufu lifted the punishment on Mototsugu and approved the restoration of Tokuyama domain.<sup>(4)</sup>

From all of the above it is evident that Yoshimoto faced a series of difficult challenges from the time he took over as lord of Hagi domain. On top of all this, he had to deal with the long-term financial difficulties that had plagued the domain from its earliest days, now growing steadily more serious. In response to the worsening crisis, Yoshimoto introduced a series of austerity measures, which put samurai and peasants under even greater strain, resulting in low morale and general social unrest. Yoshimoto hoped that founding a domain school would encourage the spread of literary education and martial arts training, instilling a sense of moral values and improving social customs.<sup>(5)</sup> Research

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(4) *Ibid.*, p. 412; see also Yoshinaga Akira 吉永 昭, "Suō no kuni Tokuyamahan kaieki sōdō no kenkyū: Emura Hikonoshin kōhen 'Tokuyamahan kaieki sōdō shūtaisei' o chūshin ni 周防国徳山藩改易騒動の研究—江村彦之進校編「徳山藩改易騒動集大成」を中心に," *Fukuyama Daigaku Ningenbunka Gakubu Kiyō* 2 (2002), pp. 1-24.

(5) Yamaguchiken Bunkashi Hensan Iinkai 山口県文化史編纂委員会 comp., *Yamaguchiken bunkashi: tsūshihen*

also suggests that Hagi domain officials had already submitted proposals of their own for founding a school, again for the purpose of raising morale among the samurai and countering the crisis of disorder in the domain.<sup>(6)</sup>

### III. The Founding of the Meirinkan

The formal establishment of the Hagi domain school can be traced to 1718/6/16, with the issuing of a document entitled “Announcement to Retainers on Rules for training in the Literary and Martial Arts” (“Bunbu shokeiko no gi keraichū e ooseidasare sōrō koto 文武諸稽古之儀家来中江被仰出候事”). In this were directives mandating greater emphasis on literary (*bun* 文)<sup>(7)</sup> and martial training both, and raising the rank and salary of the Kagyōnin 家業人, a class of domain officials in Hagi with specialist knowledge in charge of teaching and training. The same directive appointed Yamagata Chōhaku 山県 長伯 (also known as Yamagata Ryōsai 山県 良齋) and Ogura Shōsai 小倉 尚齋 as Confucian officials (Juyaku 儒役) in charge of instructing the domain vassals and retainers.<sup>(8)</sup> Then, on 1718/6/26 Yoshimoto issued a “statement of intent” (*gyōisho* 御意書), which contained first a statement stressing the importance of literary and martial training, and second that the Kagyōnin officials would be the ones responsible for directing this training in letters and the martial arts.<sup>(9)</sup> This was put into effect, the rank of the Kagyōnin was raised, and domain officials applied themselves more diligently to literary and martial training, with the result that a general trend of taking such training more seriously began to spread.

In the eighth month of 1718, Yoshimoto gave the formal order for the construction of a new venue for teaching and training, though it is clear that the various officials responsible for carrying out the project had already been chosen and appointed by this time.<sup>(10)</sup> An additional domain Confucian scholar was appointed, Yamagata Shōsuke 山県 正助 (or Shūnan 周南, 1686–1752).<sup>(11)</sup>

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山口県文化史 通史篇 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchiken, 1951), pp. 572–3.

(6) See Ogawa Kuniharu 小川 國治, “Kyōhōki Chōshūhan no bunkyō to hankō Meirinkan: Meirinkan sōsetsu no saihyōka ni tsuite 享保期長州藩の文教政策と藩校明倫館—明倫館創設の再評価について,” *Nihon rekishi* 1997:6 (1997), pp. 1–16, esp. p. 11.

(7) The translation ‘literary’ does not capture the full connotations of *bun*, here used not in the sense of just ‘literature’ but in the wider sense of reading and writing texts, and civil, refined, or non-martial accomplishments.

(8) Yamagata Shūnan 山県 周南, “Nagato no kuni Meirinkan ki 長門國明倫館記,” in Mombushō 文部省 comp., *Nihon kyōikushi shiryō* 日本教育史資料 (rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1970; originally published 1891) vol. 5, pp. 657–8; and in Yamaguchiken 山口県 comp., *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)* 山口県史: 史料編 近世 5 (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchiken, 2010), pp. 500–501. This document contains lists of the precise raised ranks.

(9) Document reproduced in *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)*, p. 502.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 497.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 498; Yamagata Shūnan, “Nagato no kuni Meirinkan ki 長門國明倫館記,” *Nihon kyōikushi shiryō* vol.

As mentioned above, the construction of the school was completed in the twelfth month of 1718. On 12/20, the teachers for the school were appointed, and on 12/22 a chief Hagi vassal Yamanouchi Hiromichi 山内 廣通 (1688–1747) appointed Nomi Nizaemon 乃美 仁左衛門 and Kunishi Tanomo 国司 頼母 as administrators of the school. On the same day, in preparation for consecrating the Confucius temple and installing in it the spirit tablets to Confucius and the four correlates worshipped in conjunction with him (Yanzi 顏子, Zengzi 曾子, Zisi 子思, and Mencius 孟子), a request went to the head of the Bakufu Confucian school in Edo, Hayashi Hōkō 鳳岡 (or Nobuatsu 信篤, 1645–1732), to write the appropriate honorific titles on the tablets.<sup>(12)</sup> The names “Taiseiden 大成殿” and “Meirinkan 明倫館” were then chosen for the temple and school respectively. “Meirinkan” was proposed by Yamagata Shūnan on the basis of a passage on the importance of schools as an essential part of good government in the *Mencius*.<sup>(13)</sup>

The layout of the completed compound had the temple directly inside the main gate, with the lecture hall behind it. On the site were also arranged practice grounds for archery, weapons training, hand-to-hand arts, and horse riding, with dedicated venues also for teaching in military texts, for practicing ritual ceremony, and a dormitory for students.<sup>(14)</sup>

A ceremony was held to open the school on 1719/1/12, with Yoshimoto leading the proceedings with a retinue of his attendant officials, non-attendant officials, and village elders present. The attendant high vassal Yamanouchi Hiromichi promulgated the “Rules for Literary Training and the Martial Arts” (“Bungaku shobugei keiko no shiki 文学・諸武芸稽古之式”), which specified in detail the content and schedule of teaching and training. Instruction would begin every year on the twelfth day of the first month, and end on the tenth day of the twelfth month. Each month was to include 12 days given over to the explication of Confucian texts, 6 days to military texts, 5 days for martial arts training, and 6 days for archery practice. Text teaching and martial training could occur on the same day, the texts beginning at 8 am, and martial training starting afterwards and continuing until dusk. Horse riding would take place on days of fine weather, each followed by the next available day. Practice reading out loud (*sodoku* 素読) would be held on even-number days throughout the month from 6 in the morning to 5 at night.<sup>(15)</sup>

The following month, on 1719/2/19, a Sekisai 稷菜 sacrifice was held in the Meirinkan temple, followed by a ceremony to entertain the aged (*yōrō* 養老). Yoshimoto himself presided as chief officiant, and read out the invocation “Declaration at the Sacrifice to the Former Sages upon the Completion of the Meirinkan” (“Meirinkan rakusei sai sensei

5, p. 658. Shūnan was Yamagata Chōhaku/Ryōsai’s son.

(12) *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)*, p. 497.

(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 498–9 (items “Plaque for the Hall of the Sage *Seidō no gaku* 聖堂之額” and “Plaque for the Outside of the Lecture Hall *Kōdō gaimen no gaku* 講堂外面ノ額”).

(14) *Hagishi shi* vol. 1, p. 422.

(15) *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)*, p. 499; see also Ogawa Kuniharu 小川 國治 and Ogawa Ayako 小川 亜弥子, *Yamaguchiken no kyōikushi* 山口県の教育史 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2000), p. 72.

kōmon 明倫館落成祭先聖告文”). On the same day, the head of the school (Gakutō 學頭) was made a member of the official hierarchy, and an annual budget of 500 *koku* was allocated for school expenses.<sup>(16)</sup> The domain Confucian scholar Ogura Shōsai was appointed as the first head of the school.

Enrolment at the school was not subject to any particular restrictions in terms of social class. In addition to domain vassals and samurai, subsidiary vassals (*baishin* 陪臣), commoners, and townsmen were also allowed to attend.<sup>(17)</sup>

In the tenth month of 1720 a new set of regulations was promulgated for the administration of the Meirinkan, in which the educational activities and day-to-day management of the school were made still more clear and explicit.<sup>(18)</sup> This marked the end of the school's foundational period, and from that time its educational operations proceeded smoothly on an established basis. The first school head Ogura Shōsai dedicated himself to the school for nineteen years before he died in 1737, and Yamagata Shūnan replaced him as the second head.

#### IV. The Bakufu's Literary Education and Hagi Domain

Up to this point we have explicated the circumstances surrounding the founding of the Meirinkan from the point of view of Hagi domain itself. However, given that Hagi was subordinate to the Bakufu within the wider Bakuhan system of the time, the school foundation could not have been disconnected from policies and trends in Edo, where Yoshimoto and many of his main vassals spent the greater proportion of their time. We have seen, for example, that at the time the Meirinkan school was founded and the Confucius temple in it consecrated, the Hagi Confucian Ogura Shōsai was ordered to request Hayashi Hōkō, Bakufu Confucian official and head of the Bakufu's Confucian school at Yushima, to write the spirit tablets for Confucius and for the four correlates worshipped in conjunction with him. Clearly, they took the Bakufu and the Hayashi family seriously as models and sources of authority when establishing their own domain school and temple. Here, two questions will be considered: first, what relationship there was between the Hagi domain school and the Bakufu's policy of promoting literary (*bun* 文) education and culture; and second, what connections there were between the Mōri family and the Confucian school head Hayashi Hōkō in Edo.

It is well known that the Bakufu's promotion of literary education began in earnest at the initiative of the fifth Shogun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709, r. 1680–1709). It continued under the Shoguns Ienobu (1662–1712, r. 1709–1712) and Ietsugu (1709–1716, r. 1713–1716). The eighth Shogun Yoshimune (1684–1751, r. 1716–1745) championed the martial arts, but at the same time also promoted literary education for the common people. Mōri Yoshimoto

(16) *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)*, p. 500; *Hagishi shi* vol. 1, pp. 425–6.

(17) *Hagishi shi* vol. 1, p. 425.

(18) *Yamaguchiken shi: shiryōhen (kinsei 5)*, p. 504.

had become the fifth ruler of Hagi domain in 1707, when Tsunayoshi was still in power; when the Hagi domain school opened in 1719 Yoshimune had recently become Shogun. Therefore, in the following we will summarize the Bakufu's attitudes to literary education from the Genroku (1688–1704) to Kyōhō (1716–1736) periods.

As part of Tsunayoshi's efforts to promote Confucianism, which he regarded as essential to his policy of emphasizing literary education and culture, in 1690 he moved the Confucian school and associated temple (the Senseiden 先聖殿) originally founded by Hayashi Razan 林 羅山 (1583–1657) in 1632 from its site at Shinobugaoka 忍岡 in Ueno to the new Shōheizaka 昌平坂 temple and school he had built at Yushima 湯島 in Kanda. The next year, on 1691/1/13, he ordered Hayashi Hōkō to open the Yushima Confucius temple at a ceremony to mark its completion. Just before this, at the time the images of Confucius and the correlates were transferred to their new location, Tsunayoshi ordered that Hōkō should henceforth change his hair and dress from Buddhist to Confucian fashion, and appointed him as Head of the Academy (Daigaku no kami 大学頭), with a formal post in the bureaucracy at Lower Rank Five.<sup>(19)</sup> For a Confucian scholar to be given such an official position was a significant turning point in the history of literary education in early modern Japan, and signified that literary education now had a secure place within the Bakufu's institutional system, a foundation from which it could continue to develop.

Up to that time, civil (non-military) officials had existed in the Bakufu, but all of them (including Confucian officials) had been required to present themselves as Buddhist monks. From this point on, not just Hōkō but other Confucians in the Bakufu could also grow their hair long and adopt Confucian dress, with no further need to seem subordinate to Buddhism.

It is worth mentioning that this same development occurred later on in Hagi. Up to the time Yoshimoto in 1718 decreed a new emphasis on both literary and martial training and raised the rank and emoluments of the Kagyōnin 家業人, the Confucian Ogura Shōsai, the one who would take over as head of the school, still dressed as a monk and held no position in the official domain hierarchy, and it was only under Yoshimoto's new measures that this changed.<sup>(20)</sup>

In Edo, on 1691/2/11, the first Sekisai sacrifice in the newly-constructed Yushima Confucius temple was held on a grand scale, with a large audience of people in attendance to observe, including Tsunayoshi, Bakufu officials, and domain lords. When the ritual was finished, Hayashi Hōkō in his role as head of the school lectured on the Confucian canons, and then Tsunayoshi himself also did so, including a demonstration of canonical music and dancing.<sup>(21)</sup>

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(19) These events are covered in greater detail in Zenan Shu, "How the Edo Bakufu Established the Yushima Confucius Temple," *Chiba Shōdai Kiyō* 千葉商大紀要 54.1 (2016), pp. 1–17.

(20) Ogawa and Ogawa, *Yamaguchiken no kyōikushi*, p. 62.

(21) *Jisen* 自撰, by Hayashi Hōkō (unpaginated autograph ms. of c. 1731 in the Waseda University Library), *ge*

From that time on lectures on Confucian texts were held regularly in the Yushima temple and school, and ever-increasing numbers attended. According to Hōkō's own record, when on 1691/7/6 he lectured in the school on the "Quli 曲礼" text in the *Liji* 礼記, an audience of five or six hundred filled every seat in the hall.<sup>(22)</sup> Then, on 1691/9/10, Tsunayoshi himself lectured in his own hall on the opening section of the *Analects*, to 280 Bakufu officials.<sup>(23)</sup> Then in the tenth month Tsunayoshi lectured on the *Mencius*, and in 1692/6 on the "Zhongyong 中庸", on the latter occasion with more than 270 people in attendance.<sup>(24)</sup> In 1693/2 Tsunayoshi lectured on the "Zhongyong" to 151 domain and castle lords of 10,000 *koku* and above.<sup>(25)</sup> As it happened, it seems that Yoshimoto, though not yet lord of Hagi, was present on this last occasion, accompanying his father Tsunamoto, who was at that time lord of Chōfu.<sup>(26)</sup>

Tsunayoshi's lectures continued almost until the end of his rule. A lecture was scheduled for 1709/12/29, but an announcement went out that this was cancelled because he was ill, and he died eleven days later.<sup>(27)</sup>

Why was it that Tsunayoshi dedicated himself so vigorously to lecturing on Confucian learning? The explanation that he founded the Yushima Seidō and promoted the spread of Confucian learning purely out of his own personal enthusiasm is unconvincing. The modern scholar of Tsunayoshi, Tsukamoto Manabu, explains this as follows: "Tsunayoshi lectured on Confucian learning not only to his officials but also to domain lords, which demonstrates that his principal aim was to induce them to use Confucian learning in the governance of their houses and realms. The institutions of the state were already well established, but Tsunayoshi was making it clear to them that he thought that the ways of education were not yet firmly established."<sup>(28)</sup> In 1693, we cannot know exactly what impression the sixteen-year-old Yoshimoto formed of Tsunayoshi's lecture as he sat among the 151 domain lords, or whether Tsunayoshi was actually successful in achieving his aims through such lecturing, but when as a domain lord twenty-five years later Yoshimoto himself established the Meirinkan school, and a Confucius temple with the same name as the Yushima temple (Taiseiden 大成殿), this cannot have been unconnected with Tsunayoshi's promotion of Confucian learning.

Tsunayoshi's policy can be explained in his own words. In the eighth month of 1690,

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下, Genroku year 4 (1691), 2nd month.

(22) *Ibid., ge* 下, Genroku year 4 (1691), 7th month. Hōkō describes the scene as follows: "Five or six hundred people came to listen, and not an inch of space was left to sit, so that an unknown number of people went away disappointed."

(23) *Ibid., ge* 下, Genroku year 4 (1691), 9th month.

(24) *Ibid., ge* 下, Genroku year 5 (1692), 6th month.

(25) Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本 学, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* 徳川綱吉 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), p. 169.

(26) See Watanabe Kenji 渡辺 憲司, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū* 近世大名文芸圏研究 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1997), p. 188.

(27) Tsukamoto, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi*, p. 169.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 168.



when the decision to found the Yushima temple had already been made, he issued the following announcement to an assemblage of domain lords, as recorded in *kanbun* by Hayashi Hōkō:

On the 21st day of the month, the Venerable Great Lord (Tsunayoshi) went to the Kuroshoin 黒書院, and summoned all the officials and administrators in his command. He said to them, “Use the literary (*bun* 文) and the military (*bu* 武) in tandem; this is the administration of Great Peace. All of you address yourselves with much diligence to martial affairs, but greatly neglect literary learning. From now on, you must dedicate yourselves to the Way of learning, the words of this [literary Way] surely must not be neglected. Thus I now command the Kōbun Scholar (Kōbun Gakushi 弘文学士, i.e. Hōkō) to explicate the *Rongo* (Ch *Lunyu* 論語, *Analects* of Confucius), a practice to be followed in perpetuity.”

I therefore obeyed this command and explicated the first stanza “Xue er” 學而 [of the *Analects*]. Over two hundred people were listening, all in great anticipation at this momentous event.<sup>(29)</sup>

We can conclude that Tsunayoshi was not advancing the “literary” way out of personal interest, but was thinking in terms of improving governance, promoting Confucian learning as a way of effecting a transition from a purely martial to a martial/civil order.

After Confucian learning had been encouraged as a basis for civil order for the nearly thirty years of Tsunayoshi’s rule, to what extent any significant proportion of domain lords were actually influenced by this, and to what extent it had any practical effect on the administration of their domains, are questions requiring further detailed research. However, we can certainly deduce that Yoshimoto likely founded his own domain school and temple with the image of the Yushima Seidō in mind.

After Tsunayoshi died in 1709, the sixth Shogun Ienobu appointed the Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) as tutor (Jikō 侍講). Hakuseki, together with the personal retainer (Sobayōnin 側用人) Manabe Akifusa 間部詮房, worked to support first Ienobu and then his successor Ietsugu in directing the Bakufu administration. Hakuseki had been the pupil of the Bakufu Confucian scholar Kinoshita Jun’an 木下順庵 (1621–1699); on Jun’an’s recommendation Hakuseki was appointed domain Confucian scholar in Kōfu 甲府 under Tokugawa Tsunatoyo 徳川綱豊, and remained in his service when he became the Shogun Ienobu. Intelligent and highly learned, Hakuseki proved to be a capable politician and administrator. It is well known that his relations with Hayashi Hōkō were not good, but during his time in power he made no changes to the teaching or Sekisai ritual in the Yushima Seidō, and in general continued the policy of promoting civil government.

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(29) *Jisen* 自撰, *jō* 上 - *ge* 下, Genroku year 3 (1690), 8th month.

When Yoshimune became the eighth Shogun in 1716, he immediately discharged Hakuseki. In comparison with Tsunayoshi and Ienobu, Yoshimune is said to have known relatively little about Confucianism, and yet he gave great responsibility to another Confucian scholar, Muro Kyūsō 室 鳩巢 (1658–1734), a fellow student of Hakuseki under Kinoshita Jun'an. He also treated Hayashi Hōkō with great favour and generosity. After he entered the castle to take up the position of Shogun on 1716/4/30, Hōkō wrote in his journal on 5/10:

I went in response to a summons to attend the current Great Lord, who consulted me on various matters, and in the following days and months I went frequently into the citadel in response to his summons. He treated me with great kindness and generosity. My two sons Nobumitsu 信充 and Nobutomo 信智 accompanied me as I waited upon the Presence and participated in consultations on state matters.<sup>(30)</sup>

Here we see that very soon after becoming Shogun, Yoshimune had already summoned Hōkō and his two sons to consult with them, and treated them with great politeness. In the third month of 1717, when a revision of the *Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度 was in preparation, and again in the seventh month when plans for the reception of the Korean embassy the following year were being discussed, Hōkō was summoned to participate.<sup>(31)</sup> After his period of relative obscurity when Arai Hakuseki was in power, he and his sons were now trusted advisors of the Shogun.

It is well known that Yoshimune was keenly interested in martial arts, and was particularly fond of hunting and riding. As we have seen, the Hagi domain school policy was one of training in both the literary and martial arts, and the facilities of the school had ample provision for both. In the emphasis on both literary and martial, the Bakufu and Hagi domain were certainly in convergence, though we cannot be sure how much this was due to chance, or to conscious conformity with Yoshimune's own ideas on the part of the Hagi authorities.

The Yushima Seidō, the Bakufu's own official school, had undergone a seven-year period of diminished popularity while Arai Hakuseki was in power. By the beginning of the Kyōhō period, it was no longer the centre of activity it had been under Tsunayoshi, and the numbers attending lectures there had shrunk considerably. Yoshimune's response to this was to issue a directive: "The acolytes [in the school] shall lecture on the [Confucian] canons every day. All four classes of people, samurai and commoners, farmers and merchants, are permitted to listen as they wish. At the end of each month, the names of all those attending lectures shall be recorded and reported [to us]."<sup>(32)</sup> When

(30) *Ibid.*, ge 下, Kyōhō year 1 (1716), 5th month.

(31) *Ibid.*, ge 下, Kyōhō year 2 (1717).

(32) *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実紀 vol. 5, Narushima Motonao 成島 司直 et al. comp. (Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1904), p. 504.

we recall that planning for the Hagi domain school began the year after this directive to the Yushima Seidō was issued, and that from the first the Meirinkan likewise was open to all classes of society without restriction, it does very much appear that the Hagi planners knew of the new rules at Yushima and followed suit.

## V. Relations between the Mōri and Hayashi Families

When the Confucius temple in the Hagi Meirinkan school was established, it was Hayashi Hōkō that Yoshimoto and Ogura Shōsai sought out to write the honorary titles of Confucius and the four correlates on the spirit tablets for the altars. And, in 1709, years before the domain school was established, Ogura Shōsai had been sent by the domain authorities to study with Hōkō. And, in 1717 Yamagata Shūnan also was sent to Hōkō to become his pupil. Why was it that Hagi domain so valued their relationship with Hōkō? Previous research has suggested that the Hagi domain authorities hoped for Hōkō's assistance in planning the school, and that Hagi hoped to avail itself of the authority of the Bakufu and the Hayashi family for the project.

As we have seen above, the Yushima Seidō was established during Tsunayoshi's rule, and Tsunayoshi himself frequently lectured on the Confucian canons. During this time the Shōheizaka school prospered. However, after 1709, when Tsunayoshi died and Arai Hakuseki held power under Ienobu and Ietsugu, the Yushima Seidō was neglected and fell into decline. Ogura Shōsai had been sent to study with Hōkō in 1709, at the end of the school's prime under Tsunayoshi, but Yamagata Shūnan was sent in 1717, not long after Yoshimune became Shogun, when the Hayashis and the school were very much still in their period of obscurity.

Yoshimoto, founder of the Meirinkan domain school, seems to have himself studied under Hōkō, and after becoming lord of Hagi he attended lectures on the Confucian canons six times each month.<sup>(33)</sup> During the time of the promotion of literary education under Tsunayoshi, particularly when in 1693 Tsunayoshi lectured on the “Zhongyong” to domain lords of 10,000 *roku* and above, the sixteen-year-old Yoshimoto seems to have been in the audience with his father. However, as far as the policy of literary education is concerned, how close a relationship there was between Hagi domain and the Bakufu, and especially between the Mōri and Hayashi families during this period, has been unclear.

After the founding of the Yushima Seidō in 1691, Yoshimoto's natural father Mōri Tsunamoto, third lord of Chōfu, was one of the first to send one of his domain scholars to Edo in 1692 to study in the Hayashi school.<sup>(34)</sup> Tsunamoto was gifted in the literary

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(33) See Ogawa and Ogawa, *Yamaguchiken no kyōkushū*, p. 67.

(34) Listed in Sekiyama Kunihiko 関山 邦宏 comp., *Shōdōki: Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo shozō honkoku narabini sakuin* 「升堂記」東京大学史料編纂所蔵翻刻ならびに索引 (Ichikawa: Sekiyama Kunihiko, 1997), Genroku year 5 entry.

arts and especially *waka* poetry, and was renowned as one of the cultured daimyo.<sup>(35)</sup> It was through *waka* poetry that he established a close friendship with Hayashi Hōkō, and Hōkō records in his writings how they enjoyed themselves drinking wine and composing poetry together in Japanese and Chinese. A fair number of Hōkō's poems from these occasions are preserved in Hōkō's collected works, and celebrate the close friendship between the two men.<sup>(36)</sup> In particular, we have Hōkō's "Two Poems Harmonizing with Mōri Tsunamoto" (和毛利綱元二首) with a long preface, composed on New Year's day in 1693, congratulating Tsunamoto on his appointment to the post of Chamberlain (Jijū 侍従) at the end of the previous year, and recording many details of Tsunamoto and his family lineage.<sup>(37)</sup> Most significant is another document he wrote on behalf of Tsunamoto, in which he again records much about the details of the man and his family, and in which he says, "Our interactions with you never changes through the generations."<sup>(38)</sup> In other words, the friendship between the two families did not begin with Tsunamoto and Hōkō, but went back to the previous generation.

This earlier relationship can be verified. Hōkō's father, the second Hayashi family head Gahō 鷺峯 (1618–1688), had previously interacted closely with both Mōri Tsunahiro 綱広, second lord of Hagi (1639–1689, r. 1651–1682), and with Tsunamoto. Gahō had early on been commissioned by the Bakufu to compile a chronological history of Japan (the *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑), to which he appended his own personal journal *Kokushikan nichiroku* 國史館日録, and in this journal he frequently records his encounters with Tsunahiro and Tsunamoto. Tsunahiro in particular would send gifts to Gahō in summer and at the end of the year.<sup>(39)</sup> One of the most striking entries is as follows:

Also sent was a copy of the *Heike monogatari* in 20 volumes, from the Akamanoseki Antokutei eidō 赤間關安徳帝影堂 in Chōshū 長州. This was sent by the ruler of the realm, Mōri the Governor of Kai 甲斐 (Tsunamoto). This was a book seen by my father (Razan) in their hall during his travels in the West when he was young. It is slightly different and more detailed than the *Heike* which normally circulates in the world. I had heard [my father] mention this and wanted to see it, but it was too far away to borrow. Now, for the official business of the history, it has come to me, and I rejoice.<sup>(40)</sup>

It is evident that Tsunamoto knew that Razan had seen this precious version of the *Heike*

(35) This is laid out in considerable detail in Watanabe, *Kinsei daimyō bungeiken kenkyū*, pp. 183–201.

(36) See the various poems in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* 鳳岡林先生全集, ed. Tokuda Takeshi 徳田 武 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013), *kan* 57, *passim*.

(37) *Ibid.*, *kan* 75.

(38) *Ibid.*, *kan* 88.

(39) *Kokushikan nichiroku* 國史館日録, by Hayashi Gahō 林 鷺峯, in Yamamoto Takeo 山本 武夫 ed. and comp., 5 vols (Tokyo: Zokugunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1997–2005); see for example the entries under Kanbun 寛文 5/3/28 and 5/6/20.

(40) *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 179.

and that Gahō was interested in it, and so he obligingly sent it to Gahō to assist him in his work for the Bakufu. In that year (1665) Tsunamoto was still only a youth of 16.

Hōkō also mentions encounters with Yoshimoto, and with Mōri Mototsugu of Tokuyama. From all this it is evident that relations between the Mōri and Hayashi families had a long history, as Hōkō says going back to the previous generation, and that these relations were personal, not just of an official nature. Clarifying these relations makes possible a further level of analysis when considering the founding of the Meirinkan school within the context of the Bakuhan system.

## VI. Conclusion

The expansion of literary and civil studies under the Bakuhan system of the Edo period was carried out primarily in the various domains in response to direction from the Bakufu. This pattern was determined by the nature of the society and governing system of the time, and it goes without saying that the power to implement the literary studies policy lay with those in power, namely the Shogun and the domain lords, with effective governance of their realms as their main priority.

This study has sought to clarify the role of Yoshimoto, a figure who has remained largely neglected in research on the Hagi Meirinkan school, and his relationship with the Hayashi family, who were the servants of the Bakufu's literary studies policy, and in particular with Hayashi Hōkō. The educational policy of the Meirinkan was not their own unique creation; rather, the evidence shows that it was determined in accordance with the Bakufu's policy.

On a wider level, this study's explication of Hagi domain's relationship with the Bakufu and the Hayashi family in the context of the Meirinkan school's foundation makes it possible to show at ground level level the closely-linked nature of Bakufu and domain implementations of the literary studies policy in the mid-Edo period.

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## Abstract

This study examines the founding of the Meirinkan school in the Mōri family's Hagi domain in the early 18th century from a new perspective, namely the wider history of education under the Bakuhan system of the Edo period. By exploring developments in Edo, and the policies initiated by the Bakufu and taken up in domain schools like the Meirinkan, it is possible to trace how the expansion of literary/civil studies (*bun-kyō* 文教) under the Bakuhan system in the mid-Edo period was implemented through the various domain schools in response to the example set by the Bakufu, in particular as expressed through the Bakufu's primary educational institution, the school and temple to Confucius at Yushima. The influence of the individual Shoguns Tsunayoshi and Yoshimune can be seen reflected in the education policies of the Meirinkan, and we see also the importance of personal relationships between the Mōri domain lords and the head of the Yushima Seidō school, Hayashi Hōkō (or Nobuatsu).