

from Meiroku Zasshi Journal of The Japanese Enlightenment  
Trans. Braisted, William

(Univ. of Tokyo, 1976) F164L HIST 370  
MODERN JAPAN

MEIROKU ZASSHI

Issue Three

Undated

## First Essay on Enlightenment'

Mori Arinori

Scholars are of the opinion that the course of world civilization since creation has never turned downward notwithstanding the rise and fall of nations. Judging from the evidence of the past, it is indeed true that there has generally been progress and change in man's means of support. Thus, in the beginning when men were savages, their means of support were hardly different from those of beasts. As they progressed, men learned hunting and fishing, observed changes in the seasons, understood techniques for sowing and harvesting, and then advanced sufficiently to appreciate how to conserve their labor by employing horses and oxen. These may be regarded as the means of support at the first stage of enlightenment. We may term half-enlightened those who have come to look upon the products of labor as private property, to see hard work as a source of happiness, to recognize the assignment of occupations as a requirement for community living, and to regard the expansion of social relations as a source of increased pleasure.

Many instances may be found in history of people who have stopped temporarily at this point of half-enlightenment. In the long run, this arises when men have become unable to stimulate their intellects, their thought being out of harmony with their feelings so that they are credulous, or misled, or boastful, or hesitant. Those who overcome these uncertainties and advance steadily against a myriad of difficulties will finally attain a brilliant level of talent and virtue, having understood the wonders of creation and the principles in things, encouraged brotherly love, and developed discrimination. These should be called men who have reached the level of enlightenment. Once national customs have achieved this level in some part, countries can construct machines, erect buildings, dig mines, build ships, open seaways, produce carriages, and improve highways. Thus will the thousand

ISSUE THREE 31

industries and ten thousand arts burst forth one after another. By these means, the virtues of social intercourse will spread through the liberal expansion of commerce, products will reach perfection as machines are increasingly refined, and men will ultimately appreciate the true value of civilization. I would say that only then can countries defend their prestige and enter the glorious realm [of enlightenment].

NOTICE: This material may be protected by  
copyright law (Title 17, U. S. Code).

## Words of Admonition

Nishimura Shigeki

I am deeply impressed and most fearful when I read the histories of Western countries. When Greece first arose in ancient times, her strong and brave people were filled with patriotism. They were consequently able to defeat their great enemy Persia, and their prestige spread in all directions. The country thereafter prospered, the knowledge of her people advanced day by day, and the refinement of their arts reached its zenith. From that time, however, the customs of the people deteriorated: luxury, greed, frivolity, and cunning were prevalent; the early spirit of bravery and strength was completely extinguished; and Greece was finally conquered by the Romans.

Since the rugged and sturdy Romans at first had a spirit that was bold and indomitable, they were able to expand their territory by conquering East and West so that the world was obliged to respect their authority reverently. After Rome's national power reached its zenith, her people achieved the level of enlightenment by competing for knowledge and perfecting their skills. From this time, however, the customs of the people disintegrated; their rugged and sturdy ways were replaced by the vice of lust, luxury, frivolity, and cunning; and Rome was finally destroyed by the various German tribesmen.

Looking at the causes, it is clear that ruggedness and bravery are medicines to strengthen countries, while luxury and frivolity are poisons that destroy countries. The customs of our people

Methods for Advancing Enlightenment<sup>10</sup>

Tsuda Mamichi

Nowadays, men talk of “enlightenment, enlightenment” whenever they open their mouths. For the reason that learning and religion are generally circulating through the country, the level of enlightenment is gradually changing, just as night gives way to day. In the final analysis, learning falls into two major categories. There are empty studies (*kyogaku*) that are devoted to such lofty doctrines as nonexistence and Nirvana [of Buddhism],” the theory of the five elements [of Sung Confucianism],<sup>12</sup> or intuitive knowledge and intuitive ability [of *Yōmeigaku*].<sup>13</sup> And there are practical studies (*jitsugaku*) that solely explain factual principles through actual observation and verification, such as astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, political economy, and philosophy of the modern West. We may call a society truly civilized when the reason of each individual has been illumined by the general circulation of practical studies through the land. Progress by the people as a whole to the area of civilization, however, cannot be expected for a very long time even in the various countries of the West. How much more is this the case in the regions of the South and Eastern Seas! Ah, when can our people reach the area of civilization? When I contemplate the matter, I am in despair. When asked then by what means we should promote education generally among the people who have not achieved civilization, I would say by religion. On the whole, the object of religion is to lead the unenlightened people so that they will advance along the good path.

Among the various religions of the world, two are practiced in our country: Shinto and Buddhism. Although the religions practiced abroad are innumerable, the most important are not many: Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, and Christianity. Of these, Christianity is the most fine. Christianity may in turn be divided into three sects : Greek, Roman, and Protestant, of which the Protestant is the most fine. Protestantism is further divided into factions, among them the Lutheran and the Calvinist. And within these, there is a split between the old and the new groups, of which the preponderantly liberal new elements come closest to civilized thinking.

Now, when religion spreads among the people, the pressure for the superior to overcome the inferior and for the new to win over the old is as steady as the flow of water. The examples of this tendency in the histories of the various foreign countries are beyond counting. Setting these aside for the moment, I would turn to our own land. Before the introduction of Chinese characters, our country was a Shinto theocracy in which administration and religious rites were one and men were confused with gods. Upon the introduction of the *Analects* and the *Thousand Character Classic* by Achiki,<sup>14</sup> Chinese writing spread with extreme rapidity in the court. Nakatomi Kamako and Moriya Ō-muraji<sup>15</sup> thereafter were helpless to halt the eastward flow of Buddhism even though they opposed it with all their might, and the religion was rapidly diffused through the country. When the Zen, Pure Land (Jōdo), and Lotus (Hōkke) Sects<sup>16</sup> subsequently emerged or were introduced, there were none who stopped them, although many tried to hurt them. In the recent past, the single sect of Catholicism alone has been successfully suppressed after the shogun’s might with one blow exterminated thousands of lives at Shimabara.<sup>17</sup>

Still more recently, there were also efforts to crush Western scholarship when it was first introduced, but its circulation was speeded with the changed conditions in the country after the arrival of the American ships at Uraga.<sup>18</sup> And so we have finally reached the situation today in which men discuss enlightenment whenever they open their mouths. The persons who thus discuss enlightenment, however, do not exceed a few hundred scholars, officials, and newspaper editors. They thus really constitute only an infinitesimal fraction of our population of thirty million. In the final analysis, the people of our country, being men attached to customs of the past, are generally rude fellows misled by groundless theories of hades, paradise, cause and effect, reward and punishment, the five elements, and geomancy.<sup>19</sup> How can we call these people half-enlightened?

Judging from present conditions, it is clear as the reflection in a mirror that the Christian invasion of our country cannot be prevented as it is just like a rushing torrent. There can be nothing like another Shimabara.

There is no religion in the world today that promotes enlightenment as does Christianity. Nevertheless, since all Christianity is

not an unmixed blessing, the best way at present to promote enlightenment is to adopt the Christian ideas that are most liberal, most civilized, and most advanced. Now what if we should employ the best and most enlightened missionaries to guide our people openly, just as we are learning their arts and sciences from the numerous Westerners employed by the various ministries? I beg your comments on my proposal.

## Refuting the Joint Statement by the Former Ministers

Nishi Amane

I have been unable to avoid some private doubts after reading the memorial to the *sain* in which the former ministers and other gentlemen propose a popularly elected assembly. Let me take up in sequence the gist of their arguments. The purport of their memorial seems to be as follows. Strengthening the government lies in uniting the minds of the people; establishing a popularly elected assembly will unite the minds of the people; and the way to introduce a popularly elected assembly is to adopt and apply the rules governing parliamentary proceedings in the West, just as we make use of steam trains and the telegraph, whose principles have been discovered in the West. The memorialists point out that the government really would be unable to undertake anything should it delay using steam trains and constructing telegraphs until we ourselves invent such things. Ah, how mistaken is their reasoning [when they thus treat physical and human laws in the same manner]!

In what disciplines and in what texts are such things as steamships and telegraph taught and discussed in the West? We study them through physics, chemistry, and mechanics. Then can these disciplines be discussed in the same manner as politics, law, and religion? I have not heard that gravity follows a different law in England from in France or that the principles of electricity in America vary from those in Japan. Then why do political matters alone, on the contrary, not conform to universal principles? Why

are not the parliaments of England and France regulated by the same law? And why do the political structures of England and America differ as does Heaven from earth? Now in trains and the like, only a few years will suffice to develop technical proficiency if we select talented students and have them trained in the West. Their success may be expected in due course if we provide them with capital and charge them with administrative responsibility. Can we then invariably hope for success in political matters if we follow a similar course? Now let me inquire further into the thinking of the memorialists.

If you try throwing a pebble into the air, it will rise toward the heavens according to the strength of your thrust. Even if the pebble rises to extreme heights, however, it will invariably fall, and its velocity will multiply while falling. Even a child of but three feet will not doubt this fact. If you now employ an indigent man with whom you have had no daily contact and provide him with one hundred yen with which to purchase goods thirty miles away, do you know that the man will invariably return with the goods, just as you expect the stone to fall from the heights? Now I have heard that, according to Western studies in government, a rule will only be successful if it is adapted to the area and the times after the level of public enlightenment has been clarified. Here is where the fundamental laws of the physical sciences and of government differ. The former ministers now want to treat the two as one. Is there, after all, such a study in the West?

The former ministers state that there is a universal principle of government that the people derive the rights to participate in, to know, and to sanction their government's affairs from their obligation to pay taxes. Is this principle then universal? The people may have the right to expect security in return for payment of taxes. The rights of participation and sanction, however, should only be determined when the nation establishes its political structure.

Now let me take up government as an entity that arises from a social contract. According to one version, the people say to the officials, "You shall rule us because we are supporting you by contributing half of our labor to your administration." Another type of social contract arises when the people say: "We shall subscribe half our labor for your support so that you may rule us. To

must always be controlled by law since the right or wrong of marriages invariably later affects the interests of society and since begetting of children begins with marriage."

Thus when a husband takes several wives or when free love is permitted, rearing the offspring will invariably become a public responsibility as the parents will be unable to raise their families. After all, this is why the evils of polygamy and free love cannot be allowed. Therefore, I would say that it is naturally important for government itself, in conformity with the logic of morals and utilizing its appropriate rights that relate to society, to establish laws prohibiting polygamy and free-mating even though the Mormons and the Free Lovers claim that these evil customs are sanctioned by the religions in which they believe.

I shall defer until later my discussion on why the government properly has an obligation to follow the moral path. It is my intention here only to prevent misunderstanding of religious freedom by discussing its true meaning. Even though it is important for government to be entirely separated from church affairs, it also should not disregard morality. Even though it is important for government always to recognize the right of religious freedom, it also must not tolerate immorality and wrong among its subjects. [To be continued in the next issue.]

## Imagination (Sōzō)<sup>4</sup>

Tsuda Mamichi

Imagination is a succession of forms conceived by men during meditation that closely resembles a mirage. A mirage is without substance, but its vivid forms appear as a reflection in the atmospheric mirror. [Similarly], even though there is no actual trace of men or of the manifold things of the universe in our hearts, imagination is a clear reflection in our hearts, there being nothing that we cannot conceive during meditation. The Japanese word *omokage* is a synonym for *sōzō* or imagination. Some mistakenly think that *omoiyari* is the Japanese [*kun*]<sup>5</sup> reading of the characters

for *sōzō*, imagination. *Omoiyari*, however, had the meaning of casting out trouble [*haimon*]<sup>6</sup> in ancient Japanese, and it has assumed the meaning of compassion [*jo*]<sup>7</sup> in common speech.

Imagination is different from memory. Memory is not forgetting a previously noted experience. Imagination is contriving anew what has not yet been previously experienced. Since imagination is not without some connection to previous experience, however, it is naturally related to memory. The plays and novels by Japanese and Chinese usually arise from their authors' imaginations, and the verse by the most famous European poets also generally is all derived from imagination.

Events in the antiquities of various countries as transmitted by the ancients are a mixture of imagination and memory. The doings on the Plain of High Heaven [Takama-ga-hara],<sup>8</sup> in Hades [Yomi],<sup>9</sup> or at the Dragon King's Palace [Ryūga]<sup>10</sup> of Japan as well as the legends of Egypt, Greece, India, and Rome are all absurdities unworthy of belief because they arose from the imagination of the ancients. Did not Confucius decide to omit from his editing of the *Book of History* everything before T'ang and Yü because he saw no value in teaching myths?" This elder should be praised for the high level of his perception. The imaginations of Buddha and Christ happened to coincide in their respective comments on heaven and hell. It may be said that the views of Daruma and his followers were also elevated when they penetrated the truth with one stroke.<sup>12</sup>

Then did Confucius and Daruma wholly eschew imagination and are they to be compared with Lao Tzū's accomplished man who does not dream?<sup>13</sup> It may be replied that Confucius and Daruma were both men who employed their powers of imagination to a great extent. Confucius' commentaries on the *Book of Changes* and Daruma's enlightenment through meditation [*zazen kampō*]<sup>14</sup> are all forms of broad imagination. It is only that their imagination was somewhat different and more elevated than that of the ancients. Even though there were distinctions in the degrees of profundity in the later Chinese studies on the natural principles of the five elements and the florid scholarship of rote memory,<sup>15</sup> they were generally not without imagination. The empiricism of the Ch'ing scholars and modern scientific research in the West employ only a minimum of imagination.<sup>16</sup> Yet in such matters

as appreciating that the earth is oval or discovering new stars, scientific research generally only establishes Heaven's Laws after verification of what originally had been imagined.

What we refer to as the principles of morality or political economy largely arise from imagination. If conjectures on things are verified by experiment, these principles are then regarded as unchanging Laws of Heaven. But if conjectures are proved wrong by experiment, we know that principles diverge from facts. Verification, however, is easy in the natural sciences and difficult in the humanities. This is why metaphysical disciplines are so divided that they cannot reach conclusions. Even the self-evident principles governing such phenomena as comets and eclipses do not escape from unsupported hypotheses. How much more difficult it is to understand the humanities!

The black man cannot become white because he honors the black skin. We Japanese are indeed of the yellow race, but we enjoy the whiteness of skin rather than its yellowness. Since this is, after all, an innate character, it is instinctively our nature to enjoy Western styles. My theory should not be judged as wholly imaginary since our people, hardly ten years after the country abandoned its seclusion policies, crave all things Western from clothing and utensils to the institutions of civilization. There is absolutely no room for doubt regarding clothing and utensils, which are evident at a glance.

Our people, however, cannot easily investigate and understand the institutions of civilization that have been derived from interminable disputes through countless centuries of learning and experience. The Siamese do not know ice, and the men of inner Africa do not know white men. Even though their wise men chance to hear of and to imagine ice or white men, they are like the blind men who imagined the elephant.<sup>17</sup> Today's so-called enlightened scholars imagine liberty without knowing the price of liberty, and they freely discuss French codes, English law, and American government without studying law and political economy. In extreme cases, they would forthwith adopt a translation of the French Civil Code as the civil code of Japan. They are exactly like the Siamese who misunderstand ice or the Africans who imagine white men. How dangerous this is!

## Should We Not First Determine the Political Structure before Introducing a Popularly Elected Assembly?

Sakatani Shirōshi

In the recent vigorous discussion about a popularly elected assembly, not one has wholly denied the system, the multiplicity of views notwithstanding. More particularly, there is general consensus that it would be premature to introduce such an assembly before we have reached the level of enlightenment. While I believe that it is indeed too early, to assume the time to be premature is 'to be waiting achievement of the level of enlightenment.

There are also things that must be done during the waiting period. One of these is education, but there is also the root of the undertaking. Failing to plant this root, the popularly elected assembly will be no more than leaves and branches. If you ask what the root is, I would suggest that it is establishing the objective of our political structure.<sup>18</sup> Judging from history, the political structures of nations have all emerged from their inborn natures. Yet the reform of political structures is generally produced by political disturbances, and political disturbances are by Heaven's Nature. It is man's responsibility to judiciously cultivate [*saisei hoshō*]<sup>19</sup> Heaven's Nature. To leave political disturbances to Nature is like the mean man of trivial mind who nonchalantly plays on thin ice.

It is said that Washington and other statesmen labored seriously and diligently in numerous conferences before the formation of the United States. This is the common method of superior men as well as the source of the present expression of opinions on a popularly elected assembly. Personally, however, I doubt the utility of a popularly elected assembly before the political structure is determined. Then why is it that the polemicists have not one word for the political structure when they talk lightly of establishing a popularly elected assembly?

The popularly elected assembly is an instrument for joint rule by high and low (*jōge dōji*).<sup>20</sup> When the authors of the memorial on the popularly elected assembly<sup>21</sup> now want to establish such an assembly from above, what profit will arise therefrom if the structure

foxes, badgers, trees, and stones should be obliged to rule over people who believe in foxes, badgers, trees, and stones.

## On Changing the Character of the People

Speech of February 16, 1875

Nakamura Masanao

When we speak of the imperial renewal since 1868, to what does “renewal” refer? It probably refers to the abandonment of the old of the bakufu and the introduction of the new of imperial rule. If this is the case, “renewal” refers only to that of the political system, not a renewal of the people. The people are like water, while the political system is like a vessel into which one pours water. If you pour water into a round vessel, it becomes round; into a square vessel, square. The character of the water does not change even though the vessel is changed for another of different shape. The people, after all, remain as before even though the vessel into which they have been placed since 1868 may have a better shape than the old one.

They are the people rooted in servitude, the people who are arrogant toward their inferiors and flattering toward their superiors, the ignorant and uneducated people, the people who love *saké* and sex, the people who do not like reading, the people who do not reflect on their duties and who know not the laws of Heaven, the people of shallow wisdom and limited capacity, the people who avoid toil and do not endure hardships, the egocentric people who practice cheap tricks, the people without perseverance and diligence in character, the frivolous and shallow people who, are without principles in their hearts, the people who like to rely on others as they are without a spirit of independence, the people who are poor in their powers of thought and perception, the people who know not the value of money, the people who break promises without honoring loyalty, the people who are unable to act together and have but a slim capacity for friendship, and the people who do not strive for new inventions. People are generally of such

types even though there naturally are not a few who are able to escape from the above injuries.

If we desire to change the people’s character and thereby encourage elevated conduct and virtuous feelings, we will accomplish absolutely nothing if we only reform the political structure, which is only changing round containers for hexagonal or octagonal **vessels** without altering the character of the water within. Rather than changing the political structure, therefore, we should aspire instead to change the character of the people, more and more rooting out the old habits and achieving “renewal” with each new day.

We should welcome as a good omen the recent public clamor for a popularly elected assembly. Such an assembly, of course, will undoubtedly contribute to a renewal of the public mind since it will develop the will to possess and to defend the country among the people themselves, change the attitudes of those who have relied on government officials, daily reduce the spirit of subservience, enable talented men to emerge from all quarters in large numbers, and gradually halt the evil of selecting leaders from a single source.

There is one point, however, to which we should here give our attention. Even though the rulers may share a part of the political power with the people through the establishment of a popularly elected assembly, since the people still remain as before, there will be no major effect in the direction of changing the people’s character from the fact that only the political structure has been somewhat changed. Should you ask how to change the character of the people, there are but two approaches—through religious and moral education and through education in the arts and sciences. Through the mutual assistance of these two acting together, like the wheels of a cart or the wings of a bird, we shall guide human lives to happiness.

The arts and sciences alone may indeed be advanced to the sphere of utmost refinement, but we cannot thereby rectify the demoralization in customs when, as in ancient Greece and Egypt, enlightenment is limited to the material sphere. It may be said that we shall prepare the way for renewing the people’s hearts only *if*, through the vigorous practice of religious and moral education, we cultivate the area to which the influence of the arts and

the sciences does not extend. This is a fact known to all, neither highbrow nor novel. Nevertheless, even among scholars and teachers, there are some who, giving their attention wholly to the arts and sciences, put religion and morals aside, or abominate Western religion and morals. I am, therefore, calling this extremely ordinary and extremely common idea to the attention of my honored colleagues. If there is any other method to change the character of the people and to elevate them to the level of the most advanced peoples of Europe and America, I shall welcome your advice.

<sup>1</sup>Hōchisha, 報知社. The publisher of the *Tōbin Hōchi Shimbun* (郵便報知新聞), the Hōchisha also printed and distributed the *Meiroku Zasshi*.

<sup>2</sup>*Ken-inryō*, 検印料. This was apparently a stamp that approved or licensed publication.

<sup>3</sup>*Tsubo*, 坪, about thirty-six square feet.

<sup>4</sup>*Zōhan no kenri*, 藏版ノ權利.

<sup>5</sup>Mori presumably is here criticizing such men as Sakatani Shiroshi, whose terse style was so loaded with unusual ideographs (Kanji, 漢字) and Chinese phrases that it could hardly have been understood unless seen.

<sup>6</sup>Mori is anticipating the censorship that would eventually bring the *Meirokusha* to halt publication of the *zasshi*.

<sup>7</sup>For the society's regulations, see Ōkubo Toshiaki (大久保利謙), ed., *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* (明治文學全集), vol. II, *Meiji Keimō Shisō Shū* (明治啓蒙思想集) (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 403-405.

<sup>8</sup>*Jinzai*, 人材.

<sup>9</sup>Five emperors and three kings, *wu-ti san-wang*, 五帝三王. Tsuda refers to the ancient and legendary period of Chinese history, whose traditional data are 2953 to 1122 B.C. The five emperors were Fu Hsi (伏羲), Shên Nung (神農), Huang Ti (黃帝), Yao (堯), and Shun (舜); the three kings were the founders of the first three royal dynasties: Kings Yu (禹) of Hsia (夏), T'ang (湯) of Shang (商), and Wên (文) and/or Wu (武) of Chou (周).

<sup>10</sup>*Temūjin*, 鐵木真, Jenghiz Khan.

<sup>11</sup>Manchu-Ch'ing, 滿洲清, the rulers of China from 1644 to 1912.

<sup>12</sup>Kashiwara (橿原) in Yamato (大和) was the palace of the first Japanese emperor, Jimmu (神武).

<sup>13</sup>Heian (平安) in Yamashiro (山城), the present Kyoto, was founded by Emperor Kammu (桓武) in 794 A.D.

<sup>14</sup>The military houses of Minamoto (源), Hōjō (北條), Nitta (新田), and Ashikaga (足利) all arose in the Kantō (關東) region of eastern Japan.

<sup>15</sup>Owari, 尾張, the home province of Oda Nobunaga (織田信長) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豐臣秀吉).

<sup>16</sup>Mikawa, 三河, the home province of Tokugawa Ieyasu (德川家康).

<sup>17</sup>Satsuma, 薩摩, Chōshū, 長州, Tosa, 土佐, and Hizen, 肥前 were the great exterior domains most influential in the events of the Meiji Restoration.

<sup>18</sup>Land of the Dragon-flies, Akitsushima, 蜻蛉洲, a poetic name for Japan.

<sup>19</sup>Kashiwabara is here commenting on Nishi Amane's second article on religion that appears in Issue Five. See Issue Twenty-Nine for Kashiwabara's previous article in this series.

<sup>20</sup>Chieh, 桀, and Chou, 紂, the wicked kings blamed in tradition for the fall of the Hsia (夏) and the Shang (商) dynasties, respectively.

## Abuses of Equal Rights for Men and Women

Katō Hiroyuki

As the true principles regarding married couples have been gradually clarified in public since the appearance of the discussion on equal rights for husbands and wives by Mori and Fukuzawa,<sup>1</sup> the ugly custom of keeping concubines promiscuously and the bad practice by which the husband holds his wife in contempt will gradually be destroyed, and we shall consequently reach the point where equality between husband and wife is truly observed. Are not the achievements of these two gentlemen indeed wonderful?

It is my opinion, however, that, even though the system of near equality between husband and wife in modern Europe conforms with Heaven's Reason, the rights of the wife seem rather to surpass those of the husband in present-day society. This evil, after all, arises from a misunderstanding of the principle of equal rights. There is not time to enumerate all the abuses, but the following are a few examples.

When the husband and wife pass through a door, the wife goes first and the husband follows. When they are seated, the wife occupies the highest seat; the husband, the next best seat. When others call on the couple, they greet the wife before the husband. When they address the couple, they place the wife's name first, the husband's later. If men are seated with ladies, they are especially discreet in speech, and they do not smoke without first securing permission from the ladies. The extent of women's rights is really surprising. Although it appears that Westerners cannot actually understand the impropriety of their ways since they have been soaked in them for a long time, I must say that the customs are indeed strange from the point of view of East Asians. How can they be called equal rights of husband and wife? The other day, when I was smoking as I pleased among a large number of women in a certain person's house, a foreign guest said to me, "Since many of the ladies present do not enjoy smoking, I beg you to

stop." Even though I also naturally knew the custom that forbids smoking in the presence of Western ladies, I dared not to follow it since it is **completely** unreasonable. Frankly speaking, I must say that the foreigner's words were indeed uncivil. The prohibition against smoking may indeed have arisen from their dislike of the custom, but it is my free right to smoke since I enjoy tobacco. If ladies do not like smoking, they may themselves leave their seats. It can never be right for them to obstruct a man's freedom for the reason that they themselves disapprove. Moreover, why should dislike of smoking be limited only to women? There are also men who dislike smoking. I must say that I really cannot understand why women alone forbid smoking while we smoke without asking men whether they like it or not. Furthermore, if the habit violated morals or if it injured another's health, then I too naturally would not smoke. Since it does not in the least injure another's health or violate human morality, what reason is there for discriminating between men and women when determining whether one smokes?

Although such a question is really a small matter, it clearly misrepresents the principle of equality between men and women, and it is also clearly an evil that has arisen from the infatuation with which men court the favor of women with flattery. It is the unbearable but natural outcome that in Europe one often hears of adulterous scandals even about women reputed to be noble ladies. **How** dreadful this is! At present, when we are putting into practice in our country the principle of equal rights for men and women, we shall finally reach the point at which we are unable to control the injury of excessive women's rights if men of intelligence, fully recognizing this danger, do not prevent it in advance. What do my friends make of this?

## Abuses of Equal Rights for Men and Women

Part Two, March 1, 1875

Katō Hiroyuki

Some gentlemen have said : "We found extremely mistaken your discussion of the abuses of equal rights for men and women. You



said that Westerners, misunderstanding the principle of equal rights, have come to venerate women and finally to allow them excessively great power. After all, however, what you take for veneration by Westerners of women is never veneration. It is helping women. These practices arise from the fact that women can never be secure without the help of men since women in general, in addition to being weak in body, are by nature reserved. We beg you, therefore, seriously to consider how inappropriate it was for you recklessly to criticize Western customs without recognizing this principle."

Looked at from my point of view, the wisdom of my critics notwithstanding, they have so long soaked in Western customs that they no longer recognize the bad customs of the West, having accepted the evil together with the good as good. Let us consider, for example, the view of my critics that what appears to be veneration of women by men is not venerating women but helping them. After all, the distinction between helping and venerating is self-evident. How can they interpret as helping the practices of forbidding smoking before ladies, of calling the wife's name before the husband's, of seating the wife above the husband, and of greeting the wife before the husband? I must say to regard the above practices as helping women really represents extreme inability to understand. If it is the opinion of my critics that, in order for men to help women, men must follow even the above-described conduct that is practically the same as veneration, however, I have a further point to make.

Why is helping the weak wholly confined only to man's relations to woman? The government's relations to the people and the relations of parents to children all involve helping persons because of their weakness. (Even though the principles in the relations of government to people and parents to children are, of course, not the same, they are essentially similar in the sense that government and parents, respectively, protect their people and children for the reason that the recipients of their protection are unable to protect themselves.) If it is necessary to adopt such practices resembling veneration when helping the weak, the government must take a humble place while elevating the people to the highest level, and the parents must place their children in seats of honor while they themselves occupy lesser seats. Since such is never the case even in

the West, however, why do these bad customs of veneration exist only in relations between men and women? (Since government exists for the people who are its masters, it seems that, as a fundamental principle, the people should take the upper place, and the government the lower place. Nevertheless, it is important that the government invariably occupy the upper position since it must grasp the power to protect the people. Governments, therefore, always rank above the people even in republican countries.) This is why I shall never concede to my critics' theory. How can it not be said that the [theory] is an abuse arising from amorous passion in which men court the favor of women with flattery? What do my critics have to say?

### Government and Ethics Are Not Separate Paths<sup>2</sup>

Speech on March 1, 1875<sup>2</sup>

Nishimura Shigeki

Confucian scholars of China mourned the separation of scholarship and governing into two paths. I think it unnecessary to regret deeply the separation of scholarship and governing. What is to be regretted is the separation of ethics and governing into two paths. In the Great Learning<sup>3</sup> is explained the logical sequence of disciplining the individual person, managing the household, ruling the country, and keeping peace in the world, and Mencius also observed that the family is the foundation of the nation and that the individual person is the foundation of the family.<sup>4</sup>

There is not time to enumerate the other instances in which ethics have been regarded as the foundation of the country. When men in our country honored the ways of Confucius and Mencius, those who upheld these teachings and undertook to rule the country invariably thought that they should cultivate ethics. (Although, actually, there were exceptions.) Since the Restoration, scholarly styles have already changed. Just as when the sun has already set but the moon has not yet arisen, the Way of Confucius and Mencius has already declined, but the philosophy of the West

on its shores. If you now observe the clothing of the Peruvian king, his chest was decorated with a chrysanthemum. (See page 90 of the geography by the American [Samuel Augustus] Mitchel published in 1863.)<sup>13</sup> Moreover, it is said that the grammar of their language closely resembles that of ours. There is also the symbol of a chrysanthemum adorning the forehead of the queen of Hawaii. (See the picture on page 464 of the book on regional customs by the Dutch author [Auguste Wahlen?]<sup>14</sup> and printed in 1855.)

When asked to discuss these accounts, scholars in national studies (*kōkokugakusha*)<sup>15</sup> will surely say that castaways drifting abroad from our country in antiquity established countries in foreign regions. Yet how can a dynasty establish a religion in this manner? The Peruvian kings have already been destroyed by Spain. Of all the countries established by the descendants of Heaven, our empire alone survives to this day as an independent state among the nations of the world. How can we avoid reflecting on the example of Peru? Even if a person should actually descend from Heaven today, how could men regard him as the Son of God if his words and his conduct were not holy? Still less would we accept the descendants of a person whom men had not actually seen come down from Heaven. This is why all men, whether commoner or Son of Heaven, must invariably have religion.

We have had a religion since antiquity that is called the religion of Heavenly Nature (*Tennen*).<sup>16</sup> Its principles cause men naturally to return to the character of the original essence, that is, the unity of the sincere heart. Nevertheless human affairs gradually became more complex with the unfolding of history, and the religion of Heavenly Nature was inadequate to correct evil. Thereupon, Confucian teachings (*meikō*)<sup>17</sup> were spread and practiced, but this Chinese thought also was still inadequate to move the ignorant people. The religion of Shaka was then added, and the superstitious worship of insects, beasts, trees, and stones, in the meantime, emerged in confusion. Looking at the record from the point of view of today, why is it that some hold that it would have been best had there been no religion from the beginning? It is, after all, because men's minds have been confused by the profusion of religions. At this point, the injuries of religion are indeed extreme. There will be untold harm to government in the near future if we

do not at this time spread a new religion and remedy ancient evils. Yet the damage may also be large if the remedial religion is not appropriate.

It is said that the nation should select the best religion, or that it should let the people worship as they please, or that it should eclectically take from various religions what comports with national customs. These proposals are all oversimplifications. High-toned speeches cannot enter humble ears, and superior teachings are inadequate to lead mediocre men. What the superior man believes is doubted by the inferior, and what satisfies an old woman is ridiculed by youth. The people who indulge in the new detest the old, and those who admire the old suspect the strange. The differences between men's minds are like those between their faces. If there are no accomplished leaders, therefore, a religion will not be practiced even though it is true in principle, and theories will not be believed, notwithstanding their reasonableness. Ah, the real difficulty in faith is the difficulty in causing others to believe. Is not describing the way of religion quite beyond the power of language?

## The Equal Numbers of Men and Women<sup>18</sup>

Fukuzawa Yukichi

One does not know who is right in the recent noisy discussion of equal rights for men and women. Now when a person discusses anything, he will not grasp the matter unless he first closely examines its character. Therefore, we should take up this discussion of equal rights for men and women only after we have first considered the nature of men and women and become well informed on what rights are. If to the contrary we set forth our opinions at will according to our individual viewpoints, conjecturing on the nature of men and women and speculating on the word "right," we shall be reduced to limitless futile argument. When equal seating for men and women is taken up, for example, giving precedence in seating to ladies is veneration for those who call it venera-

tion and helping for those who call it helping. Even though some may not become angry when we think of the practice as helping, they may also gnash their teeth if they regard it as completely dedicated, sincere veneration.

Since public discussion has generally sunk to this level, rather than become embroiled in a noisy discussion of the merits of equal rights, I would direct attention only to an aspect that anyone can easily understand after we have taken up a simple point that is close at hand. This simple point is neither religious nor theoretical but rather a mathematical computation on the *soroban*<sup>19</sup> of the equal number of men and women that anyone can readily grasp.

First, since the number of men and women in the world are roughly equal, the calculation will show that one man should marry one woman. If, contrary to this, an excessive number of women is taken into one house, there must be scarcity in another. If the phrase "eight suitors for one daughter" on the *iroha* card<sup>20</sup> is unfair, it is also unreasonable for one man to take eight concubines. Today setting aside the difficult discussion of equal rights, I only say that for one man to take several wives is not right as it does not conform to computations on the *soroban*. We may then take this as the first step toward equal rights and decide to postpone other discussion of the matter until scholarship has progressed. If anyone feels that even this theory is too advanced, we shall tacitly allow him to keep concubines or take geisha. But these practices must be hidden from others as private affairs. Hiding from others is the beginning of shame, and being ashamed naturally is the beginning of voluntary abstention. Once we thus introduce the first step toward equal rights, the present futile arguments somehow can also be resolved in a few years.

<sup>19</sup>*Fūfu dōken*, 夫婦同權, equal rights for men and women. The term *fūfu* may be construed as either husbands and wives or men and women, depending on the context. Katō here refers to Mori Arinori's articles "On Wives and Concubines" in this journal and to Fukuzawa Yukichi's eighth essay in his *Gakumon no Susume* (學問のすすめ), *The Encouragement of Learning*, that appeared in April 1874. Whereas Katō makes fun of what he chooses to regard as subservience by Western men toward women as evidenced in their daily civilities, Mori and Fukuzawa were concerned to assure wives

basic dignity in their marital relations. Fukuzawa held that taking more than one wife violates the laws of nature, that even a lofty mansion is no more than a beast's hut if it is a house of one father and many mothers, and that failure to provide an heir should not be regarded as unfilial. The last point was directed against those who argued that a man should be allowed to take a concubine that he might secure an heir and thus fulfill what Mencius held to be the prime duty of a filial son. For an English translation of Fukuzawa's article, see David A. Dilworth and Umeyo Hirano, trs., *Fukuzawa Yukichi's Encouragement of Learning* (Tokyo, 1969). pp. 49-55.

<sup>20</sup>Although Nishimura actively engaged in writing and translation on behalf of enlightenment, he was more interested in the ethical (*shūshin*, 修身) and moral (*dōtoku*, 道徳) aspects of Western culture, deplored the absence from the new Japanese education of training in the traditional virtues of loyalty, filial piety, human-heartedness, and justice (*chū kd jin gi*, 忠孝仁義), and rejected Western utilitarian individualism as an invitation to selfishness and licence. This essay epitomizes clearly Nishimura's desire to draw from the West as well as the East in his campaign to revive the teaching of ethics. In 1676 Nishimura joined with Sakatani Shiroshi and others to organize the Tokyo Shūshin Gakusha (東京修身學社, Tokyo Scholars in Ethics) and thereafter emerged as one of the most active spokesmen for expanding the moral and ethical content in Japanese education, including the teaching of loyalty to the nation and the imperial line.

<sup>3</sup>*The Great Learning*, or *Ta Hsüeh*, 大學. Nishimura here refers to the famous statement in the *Ta Hsüeh* that families are regulated if persons are cultivated, that states are well ruled if families are regulated, and that that the world will be at peace if states are well ruled.

<sup>4</sup>This is from Book IV of the *Book Of Mencius*, which states that the foundation of the world is the state; the foundation of the state, the family; and the foundation of the family, the person.

<sup>5</sup>*Kōri*, 功利.

<sup>6</sup>*Jōtei*, 上帝.

<sup>7</sup>*Tenri*, 天理.

\*The phonetic original of this name is or "ayman." It seems entirely likely that Nishimura intended to refer to Francis Wayland, whose writings were popular among the early Meiji enlighteners.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Brown, 1830-1897, a Scottish philosopher.

<sup>10</sup>Wu, 吳.

<sup>11</sup>Kashiwabara is presumably commenting on Nishi Amane's third article "On Religion" that appears in Issue Six. Part Two of this series appears in Issue Thirty.

<sup>12</sup>Tenson, 天孫.

<sup>13</sup>[Samuel August] Mitchel, 1792-1868, a successful author of geography textbooks.

<sup>14</sup>The phonetic original is ム.イハンオーヘン or "mu. cc. hanōhen." It is tempting to think that Kashiwabara refers to a Dutch edition of a work by the Belgian Auguste Wahlen (1785-1850) entitled *Moeurs, usages et costumes de tous les peuples du monde . . .* (4 vols.: Brussels, 1843-1844). See vol. IV, page 168 of this work for a picture of the queen of the Sandwich Islands who sports a decoration that could be taken for a chrysanthemum.

<sup>15</sup>*Kōkoku gakusha*, 皇國學者.

<sup>16</sup>Tennen, 天然.

<sup>17</sup>*Meikyō*, 名教.

<sup>18</sup>In this essay on the equal numbers of men and women (*danjo dōsū*, 男女同數), Fukuzawa is responding to Katō Hiroyuki on the equal rights of men and women

will fall immediately on the man who, in neglect of this obligation, does not like studying and asking questions, cannot turn to the good that he sees, cannot submit to the justice that he hears, enjoys himself arrogantly, or resigns himself in despair. Such a person will never be able to appreciate the joys in life. I would call this retribution ignorance. This, after all, is why wise men from antiquity have spared no efforts in training and guidance to promote scholarship and humility. [Finally], should you ask regarding the punishment for neglecting the third obligation [to seek wealth], I would reply that Heaven's retribution will immediately fall on the man who, neglecting this obligation, whimsically wastes his life by eschewing hard labor, avoiding serious endeavors, and idly indulging in pleasures. I would call this retribution poverty. Even the owner of great wealth in treasure will suddenly face starvation [if he thus ignores this treasure]. From ancient times, the sages have often touched on this point.\*

Therefore, the great fundamentals of morality will [only] be established if individuals really honor these three treasures faithfully and avoid making light of Heaven's endowments. Thereby will they reach the level of greatest happiness. Nay, they can only hope for correct conduct and richness of mind after establishing these fundamentals. If they do not completely establish these three great fundamentals, then will meet unbearable embarrassment and daily frustrations even though they desire to be respectful in "conscience," to honor sincerity, to control themselves, and to abide by the proprieties. Indeed, retribution will fall on their backs if they in the least oppose these fundamentals. Binding and dragging us, the three [retributions] of illness, ignorance, and poverty will then despatch us to Hell. Since, among the retributions that fall upon individuals, there are none greater, none more important and none more cruel than these three, we must energetically overcome them and thereby develop the great principles of morality. What else can there be than the three treasures as the keys to conduct and as principles for cultivating truth and for advancing morality among individuals?

Further, these being the principles by which individuals should

\*The Confucian teaching that man should be satisfied with poverty only means that he should not indulge in ill-gained wealth. It does not admonish against earning money by hard work.

conduct themselves in [my] theory of morality, the principles for man's social intercourse (namely, the way men deal with their "fellow creatures") and the principles for governing men derived therefrom (namely, the way men assume responsibility once it has been entrusted by their fellow creatures) arise from nothing more than honoring these three treasures. This is a point that I shall take up in a later discussion. I indeed feel extreme shame and regret because, being weak in body, I have violated the first obligation; being biased and narrow in mind, I have violated the second obligation; and, having failed to provide sufficiently for my family, I have violated the third obligation.

## Pivotal Times of Change Speech on May 1, 1875

Sakatani Shiroshi

There are pivots in the changes of things generally, just as last year came before this year; this year will become next year; spring becomes summer; summer, fall; and fall, winter. Even though these changes are all irrevocably the work of Providence (*Ten-un*)<sup>7</sup> and the trends of the times (*jisei*),<sup>8</sup> human power of judicious cultivation (*saisei hoshō*)<sup>9</sup> is also important as we move from one point to another. Nevertheless, the natural course of Providence cannot prevail, and arbitrariness may readily emerge if change is artificially contrived. Some people may then be influenced by old customs to regard vacillation as appropriate, while others may try violently to act with military force. Being like fitting a round peg into a square hole, such behavior will only produce confused disorder and lead to naught as it contradicts Providence and the trends of the times. We must be especially cautious at this time. The change of the Restoration was the greatest Heaven-sent opportunity in history. How really wonderful it is to reveal fresh glowing skin after washing away old sweat!

New injuries and great harm will again be brewed, however, if much is left undone during such a pivotal occasion. Our country is a house in which many persons are sheltered together. Year before

last, even a humble person such as I feared for the destruction of the house when men's minds in the nation were misled by the agitation of great ministers.<sup>10</sup> I have discussed the fact that today's urgent business is to preserve harmonious government and to establish the structure of joint rule by high and low (*jōge dōji*)<sup>11</sup> before there are disturbances. And I have also explained that we should encourage a sense of responsibility through the whole country by referring to open discussion the taxes and finance that are the spiritual foundations of the nation. Some may say that I should confine myself to my own business. I am of the opinion that words labelling others' views as groundless fears are only slavish talk of "despotic" lands where the people do not assume responsibility on the ground that public matters are outside their concern. All persons, even beggars; should be concerned for their homeland during stirring times like these when the people's rights are cultivated and the challenging of traditional taboos is encouraged. When people are silent even though they are anxious in their hearts, they become flatterers, deceive, and forget their responsibilities. I think that this is a great crime.

Yet we cannot suddenly exclude these old obsequious customs. The former ministers presented their memorial during a period of hesitation. While I certainly do not know their intentions when they thus addressed the *sain* at the beginning of February 1874,<sup>12</sup> they were not far from the facts. I subsequently joined the rear ranks of the Meirokusha, and the purport of my writings and criticisms have invariably drawn from the ideas in their memorial. I recognize, however, that a clumsy and circuitous fellow like me can only ventilate his sincere feelings. On April 14 of this year, an enlightened decree brilliantly perpetuated the Restoration Oath of 1868.<sup>13</sup> Directed toward establishing a constitutional system, this decree enjoins the people broadly to assist the throne while denying the ministers their private gains. This humble soul should deferentially await the achievements of the many wise men. Yet he cannot avoid passionate feelings of patriotism and deep anxiety. This is because the most noteworthy words in the edict warn against rash and sudden change as well as against clinging to past customs. The admonition has inevitably caused me deep concern at this pivotal time of unique opportunity [provided by the Meiji Restoration].

In the final analysis, it is the nature of things that there is momentum in movement and that calm is accompanied by inertia. A boat continues even after the oarsman stops rowing; a stopped cart hesitates even though the puller begins with full strength; breathing remains heavy after anger subsides; and eyes are still sleepy upon awakening. We call these phenomena momentum or inertia. Such momentum and inertia are most extreme in human feelings. Take *saké* for example. If one tries to halt drinking by degrees, one will ultimately fail as the disinclination to stop will be strengthened [by the phenomenon of momentum]. The habit can only be controlled by calm determination.

I need not speak of the beauties in the three thousand years of our national history. Mounting "despotism" and bigoted "ambition," however, have deeply penetrated and immobilized our minds, and sudden change is discouraged by the great mass of remaining inertia. Even men who want to reform the evils they recognize, therefore, are unwilling to go down among the people because they do not want first to sacrifice their privileges. They think that they will be despised if they descend, as their authority will not have been maintained. When undertaking changes in this frame of mind, they conduct affairs with their former oppressive power without being able to learn the fine points of the West. When they thus emphasize old customs and dominate the people, their inertia mires them to old ways and inures them to the past. Moreover, these leaders claim that the unenlightened people, obstinately clinging to the past, are too dispirited and listless to understand opposition to oppression. This type of leadership in the country promotes inertia. We should fear a slowing down at this time of pivotal change. There are also those who in general advance superficial facets of Westernism one after another. Such people set aside what is privately inconvenient on the pretext that it is premature for our countrymen to learn the fundamental essence of the West, and they quickly carry out projects when these projects are handy as decorations, hasten their quest for power, and spread their fame. Their measures are like fitting a round peg in a square hole. If these fellows do not reflect that men's minds and customs are daily degenerating, the accelerating momentum will contribute to the rash and sudden change [against which the emperor warned]. They say, however: "Our conduct should be

unfettered. Unenlightened persons who chatter incessantly only vainly protest their unrightness and make complaints. How are they worthy of our cooperation? We can only stimulate their knowledge through increased controls." These are people who defend the defects of accelerated momentum.

High and low comprise the people, and there is a large amount of both inertia and momentum among the people. After all, as between high and low, which is most [plagued] by the inertia of those who are unenlightened and without spirit and by the momentum of those slaves to ambition who are wise to the ways of the West? Should we not reflect on the opium smoker in China whose body will be damaged if he stops suddenly after the habit has deeply penetrated his brain. Yet if he tries to stop only indolently, he will die though he changes the pretexts and methods of his smoking as he will take puff after puff until he finally stoops to theft.

Now let me just pose a few questions. Taxation and finance are the foundations of protection, being the nerves of the nation and the major items that should be shared publicly. As there have been established no clear and explicit public laws by which receipts are collected according to the amounts to be disbursed, however, finance is handled according to the old customs in which arbitrary expenditures are made from fixed requisitions. There are only private [financial] consultations inside the government without public discussions among those outside. If the spirit of responsibility is thus obstructed after the doubts of the people are stimulated, when will the inertia in the nation's nerves be ended? If we acknowledge the judicial power of foreigners and the maritime [conventional] tariff,<sup>14</sup> what can we do about the inertia in the national structure? The criminal code is a basic law. If we move rapidly to correct the offenses of the lower classes while, with inertia, we are perfunctory in dealing with the crimes of the upper classes, is this not the same as establishing law without putting it into practice?

I have recently heard of an incident relating to the Frenchman [Gustave] Boissonade,<sup>15</sup> who is employed as a lecturer on criminal law by the Justice Ministry. One day, upon hearing anguished cries from a torture chamber, Boissonade was greatly surprised and threatened with heated protests to halt his lectures for as long

as torture continued. His passion and bravery are greatly to be admired. If we are unable completely to end torture, we cannot halt the inertia inherent in this condition. When promotions are often obtained by connections and obsequiousness, these practices encourage men to push their names to the fore whenever they accomplish anything and to embellish their reputations by undertaking spectacular public works. Such persons are narrow in their discussions and undertake reforms rashly. Officials and people are thus mutually deceptive and inconstant, trifles daily proliferate, and conduct and etiquette are rough. Relying on connections, graft, and silent usurpation, lower officials falsify accounts and flatter their superiors. As these are all old evils of the late bakufu, are we not encouraging inertia when we practice them now?

There are at present ranks in government and distinctions between classes. Such ranks encourage arrogant ways and only add useless complications. Regardless of whether peers, samurai, or the people are involved, these distinctions obstruct the progress of morality and destroy the means for communication between high and low. Such conditions may indeed be inevitable. But is not the present inertia also excessive in this respect? As taxes and finance have not yet been referred to public discussion, the people confuse public expenditures for their own property and are reduced to cunning by 'their extreme muddle-headedness. It is naturally appropriate to abolish controls on interest rates.<sup>16</sup> If we pay attention only to theory without heeding the evils, however, how shall we after all prevent injury and protect the people in conformity with the times?

Even civilized countries like France have established laws governing interest rates after discussing publicly the evils arising from absence of control. It is today a punishable crime in France when interest rates exceed five or six percent on public bonds and ten percent on private loans. After her recent great defeat, France rapidly paid off a huge indemnity, and her wealth is increasing still more. 'The people have recently been paying several times more in taxes than the officials have assessed. But even though the people thus habitually shoulder heavy responsibilities in public finance, there has been perfect confidence and mutual harmony between rich and poor because their financial measures contribute to protection, If such be not the case in Japan, how can we

avoid the injuries arising from innumerable suits and bankruptcies and the harm of falling victim to the momentum of financial profiteering after society has been confused by many superficial arguments in a multitude of tricky suits?

We unaccountably give profit to foreigners by failing to encourage maritime commerce, which is the foundation of English and French prosperity. In the development of Hokkaido, wily officials and wicked persons are abusing the inhabitants.<sup>17</sup> Hurrying to levy taxes without long-range plans, they are inexorably heading toward destruction with their opportunistic attitude toward old customs. How much more is this the case in Karafuto!<sup>18</sup> We should become champions of the nation by quickly establishing public laws for the election of a popularly elected assembly under the aegis of the throne. Vacillation and oppression, however, are daily stirring up anger, and the other agents of momentum and inertia cannot be counted.

What after all will come from this pivotal time of change if we continue to suffer the twin ills of clinging to the past while we rashly introduce reforms? The people are responsible for failing to assist the throne, and the people naturally include high and low. Since the power of the people is now generally held by the upper classes, which is most to blame, the high or the low? I have heard that the English like neither to be controlled by other men nor to control other men. The Japanese, on the other hand, like to control other men and to be controlled by others. Their vices are that high and low flatter each other, oppress each other, imitate each other, bow to strength, scorn the weak, act violently if they are not shrinking, or are complacent with the domineering and frivolous manners of the Edokko.<sup>19</sup> Once enraged, such people are like mad rats. Otherwise, they are like mice-timid, suspicious of each other, and craven on the outside even as they are fearful on the in. Should we be the rotten rats who shrink, the poisonous rats who are violent, or change into good white mice?

We should really consider deeply this pivotal [time of] change. After all, the prevention of momentum and inertia lies in calm determination. To bravely punish anger, squelch desire, return to good, and correct errors are "morals" for the individual. Of still greater importance is the "moral" conduct of the nation by which the blessings of strength and prosperity are achieved through the

elimination of private interest and the cleaning out of the inertia in old customs among harmonious leaders in government and energetic people below. I hope that we may assist the throne in the crisis of this pivotal time by prudent change and that we shall observe "morals" conducive to courageously halting inertia and momentum in the nation, being united by "morals" that bravely exclude inertia and momentum among individuals through mutual stimulation among the people.

<sup>17</sup>Three Human Treasures, *Jinsei Sambō*, 人世三寶. Nishi's first four essays on the three human treasures were his most important philosophical contributions to the *Meiroku Zasshi*. They are also the essays in the journal that most clearly reflect the influence of John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism on Nishi's thought. Like Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nishi was convinced that Japan would only advance to the level of civilization if her feudal traditions of loyalty and subservience as well as the ethic of Chu Hsi (朱熹) Confucianism were replaced by a new morality that stressed individual initiative. To this end, he proposed as the ethical basis for society the individual pursuit of the three treasures of health, wealth, and wisdom. While his ideas of individual initiative and private gain may appear commonplace in the West, they were quite alien to the group-oriented society into which Nishi was born. For a fine explanation of the significance of Nishi's essays in Japan, see Thomas Havens, *Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 141-163. Nishi eventually completed eight essays in this series, but the Meirokusha halted publication of their journal before the final four could be printed. These last four may be found in the collection of Nishi's writings edited by Professor Ōkubo Toshiaki (大久保利謙), *Nishi Amane Zenshū*, 西周全集 (3 vols. plus one preliminary vol.: Tokyo, 1945-1966), I, 533-554.

<sup>18</sup>*Jitsuriha*, 實理派.

<sup>19</sup>*Rigaku*, 利學.

<sup>20</sup>For *mame*, *chic*, and *tom*, Nishi also provides the ideographic synonyms *kenkō* (健康), *chishiki* (智識), and *fu* (富有).

<sup>21</sup>*Zen*, 禪.

<sup>22</sup>Lao Tzū, 老子, and Chuang Tzū, 莊子. It is interesting to note that Nishi and Sakatani Shiroshi were united in their disparagement of Zen Buddhism and Taoism.

<sup>23</sup>*Ten-un*, 天運.

<sup>24</sup>*Jisei*, 時勢.

<sup>25</sup>*Saisei hoshō*, 裁成輔相.

<sup>26</sup>Sakatani refers to the division within the Japanese government over the Korean question that provoked Saigō Takamori (西郷隆盛), and Itagaki Taisuke (板垣退助), and others to resign.

<sup>27</sup>*Jōge* ddji, 上下同治. See especially Sakatani's articles in *Issues* Fifteen, Twenty-Seven, and Twenty-Eight.

<sup>28</sup>The memorial to the Left Chamber (*Sain*, 左院) in which Soejima Taneomi (副島種臣), Itagaki Taisuke, and others urged establishment of a popularly elected assembly.

## On Change

Nishimura Shigeki

My fellow member Sakatani has previously explained the hinge of change.<sup>1</sup> I shall also discuss what I call change, but my thought is quite my own even though my title is the same as Sakatani's.

In the world generally, there are natural changes and changes in human affairs. The alternations of night and day and the shifting seasons are minor natural changes, while the progress from the world of fire, turbulence, and stone to the world of mud, water, and stone and then to the world of human beings involved great natural changes. The rise of a poor farmer to become a large landholder and the bankruptcy of a millionaire are small changes in human affairs. In terms of our country alone, the rise of the samurai clique with the decline of imperial power and the restoration of imperial power with the destruction of the samurai clique were great changes in human **affairs**.<sup>2</sup>

It is futile now to discuss the advances and regressions in natural change since they are the Creator's work, which cannot be influenced by human power. While it is essential to consider the changes in human affairs as they are often related to our human interests, we naturally can leave out of consideration the minor changes that affect an individual or a family. Great changes determine in large measure the happiness and well-being of the people of an entire country. More especially, we must give some thought to such changes as those in recent years since we too are deeply influenced by their benefits. Changes in human affairs invariably have their fundamental characters and their fundamental **roots**.<sup>3</sup> I shall not speak of fundamental roots since these relate to past events and are not important for the future. But it is imperative to discuss fundamental characters in detail because they are the essence of these changes and generally develop the pressure for change. Sometimes fundamental characters are unique; sometimes, **multi-**

ple. The American war for independence arose from a unique fundamental character, the preservation of national independence. The great disturbance of the French Revolution arose from multiple fundamental characters, which are said to have included popular revulsion against royal oppression and the full expression of aspirations by all the people. The recent great changes in our country initially developed from the theme of "Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarian" (*Sonnō Jōi*),<sup>4</sup> but this later became mixed with what is known as "Civilization and Enlightenment" (*Bummei Kaika*).<sup>5</sup> I would call "Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarian" the first fundamental character and "Civilization and Enlightenment" the second fundamental character.

The first fundamental character embraces yearning for the past and disparaging the present, honoring the rulers and detesting the ruled, greatly respecting ourselves and arrogantly hating other countries. The second fundamental character involves adopting the new after casting off the old, helping the ruled by curtailing the rulers, and broadening the amenities of intercourse after dropping arrogant customs. These two fundamental characters, therefore, seem as mutually contradictory as black and white or ice and charcoal that cannot be mixed. Their simultaneous coalescence in one government and one people should be judged a truly extraordinary phenomenon.

The power of the first fundamental character was so extremely strong in the beginning that it rapidly achieved change, but the **second** fundamental character later gathered strength so that its power was often actually employed, albeit in the guise of the first fundamental character. There is no need to speak of this fact here since it is known to all from its clear manifestation in government.

The **first** fundamental character was beneficial in hastening the achievement of change. Nevertheless, if there had been only the first character, [our country] ultimately would have fallen into bigoted and narrow ways without being able to achieve equal standing among the nations. Once we reached the great change [of the Meiji Restoration], however, the merging of the two fundamental characters, whether by the spirit of our ancestors or the Will of the Creator, was really a great blessing.

Yet if one views [the Restoration] in terms of the status of the people, are their blessings more numerous in today's society than



before the change? Judging from present conditions, it cannot be said that today's blessings greatly exceed yesterday's. What if there had been only the first fundamental character and not the second? Again, judging **from** today's conditions, I do not know that the blessings of the people have greatly increased, the addition of the second fundamental character notwithstanding. If you ask why I do not know, it is because the heads of the people today are permeated with a mixture of both fundamental characters.

What is the situation when the minds of the people are permeated by the first fundamental character? The people indeed pay taxes, but they know not how the government uses these taxes. The high regional officials are like territorial lords **of old**, and even the lower, unranked clerks trifle with the people oppressively. Legislation is entirely in the hands of officials who cause the people to obey the law whether they agree or not and who punish those who disobey. Such being the rule that emerged from the first fundamental character, feudal government of the past was also entirely of this nature.

What is the situation when the minds of the people are permeated by the second fundamental character? The people are forced to send their young men for military service, to pay the cost of roads, bridges, police, flood control, and embankments, and to provide funds for schools, the construction and maintenance of which have been established by law. It is practically impossible to observe and abide by the numerous changes in the rigorous and vexing laws relating to census registration, land surveys, and taxation. These trials are all the consequences of the second fundamental character that were extremely rare in old feudal society.

There are advantages and disadvantages for the people in the first fundamental character. What I have recorded above are disadvantages for the people, but there are also advantages. Thus the upper classes are themselves practitioners of frugality who lighten the tax burdens of the people. In troubled times of flood, draught, or epidemic, they make large grants in money and rice or help the distressed people by lending these essentials. When there are venerable elders or admirable persons, such as filial sons and loyal retainers, the rulers help the aged and encourage the virtuous by granting them rice stipends for life. But whereas one often heard of these advantages in feudal society, the people cannot receive

such favors today. They have only destroyed such despotic measures as forced loans, compulsory assistance to neighboring villages, and property confiscations that were practiced during feudal days.

The first fundamental character regards the people as the treasure of the nation and is concerned to train and nurture them as well as to shield them from calamities and dangers. Yet it assumes the people to be completely ignorant and holds that they should not be allowed to participate in governmental affairs. Therefore, government is extremely benevolent toward the people when tyrants arise. Between the extremes of benevolence and despotism, there is the [type] of rule that, as previously explained, is sometimes advantageous and sometimes disadvantageous for the people.

Since the second fundamental character assumes the people to be the main body of the country and the government to be established by the people, the people themselves then formulate the laws, and they pay taxes the level of which they themselves have established. Public expenditures of the entire nation are wholly subscribed by the people and devoted to their needs, since the people can dismiss officials if they arbitrarily exert tyrannical power and change the government if it **rules** autocratically. It is then naturally unnecessary to draw a distinction between the people's expenses and official expenses. If these rights are withheld and if the people are subjected to the aforementioned arbitrary ways, they should become extremely vexed even though they may not call the practices autocratic. At present, the advantages devolving on the people from the second fundamental character are limited to such items as the adoption of family names, permission to ride on horseback, bringing outcasts into the ranks of the common people, and elimination of the requirement that the people sit on gravel in the courts of justice.

As I have said before, the minds of the people today are permeated by two fundamental characters. More especially, it is also not unreasonable that the people voice annoyance and distress since the disadvantages they derive from these characters are more numerous than the advantages. The first fundamental character, however, is gradually being extinguished, while the second fundamental character is daily more flourishing. And since even the

government really intends to revive the people's strength and to plan benefits for the entire nation, the advantages no less than the disadvantages of the second fundamental character will ultimately pass to the people. Since the present is a time of change when the people are gaining their freedom as they abandon the old for the new, they should surely reach a fine season once they have endured and moved through this present troublesome period. I feel, therefore, that there was a change of governing power in the year of Teibō (1867)<sup>6</sup> and that there will be a shift to people's rights not long hereafter.

Should you ask when we will shift to people's rights, the change will come when the people grasp the legislative power that is for them most precious and most noble. To acquire this legislative power, however, they must be endowed with both education and spirit. Without these two, they cannot hold the power even if it is given to them by the government. If the people prematurely try to grasp the power forcefully, they will actually foment disturbances in the country, ultimately injuring their own well-being. Therefore, I earnestly beg you : train the people in letters, cultivate their spirit, avoid bowing to authority and force, and ignore hardships. Then when the people are able to grasp the legislative power, their other disadvantages will melt away like ice. The people's power being strong and flourishing, national power will also be strong and flourishing. When such comes to pass, we shall conform with the intent in the Imperial Oath (*Goseimon*)<sup>7</sup> regarding our country's position among the nations and reach the point where high and low both receive blessings. Should we not then rejoice?

## Honoring the Emperor and Expelling the Barbarians

Sakatani Shiroshi

If I now take up such a theme as *Sonnō Jōi*,<sup>8</sup> "Honoring the Emperor and Expelling the Barbarians," I fear that people will scoff and wonder whether the toothless Sakatani has become mad

since he is reviving an outdated issue that is as old as the *tengu's* loin cloth hanging from **Heaven**.<sup>9</sup> My ideas on patriotism may indeed be mistaken, but I must set right in this speech how I feel in my heart on the matter. There was discussion of *Sonnō*, "Honoring the Emperor," in Katb's recent speech, and Fukuzawa also touched on this **theme**.<sup>10</sup> Their arguments were different even though they reached the same conclusions. Differing opinions should be welcomed in society because they enhance discernment. I also differ from them since I shall discuss both *Sonnō*, "Honoring the Emperor," and *Jōi*, "Expelling the Barbarians." Although this may not benefit others, I beg your indulgence since I am setting forth my views on these two themes for my own benefit.

I shall not be understood unless I return to fundamentals. There is an anecdote that contains my cherished views on the slogan "Honor the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians." In the fourth month of the first year of Ganji [1864],<sup>11</sup> Nakamura **Kurō** and Kusaka Gisuke (formerly Genzui) of **Chōsha**<sup>12</sup> called at my house in **Bitchū** when they were returning home together from **Bizen**.<sup>13</sup> When we touched on the phrase during an evening of delightful conversation, I observed :

You may ridicule me or become angry, but I would say a word since it would be flattery and deception for me to hide what is in my heart. While the peace following your defeat in the fighting at Shimonoseki last year did no honor to your *han*,<sup>14</sup> I must say that it was extremely commendable since the reputation of the empire was established thereby. To explain this, under old laws, foreign ships were invariably repulsed when they brought **castaways** to Japan, and we always drove away the distressed vessels that sought help or asked for fuel and water. Was it not extremely savage that we regarded such impolite, unfeeling, and inhuman conduct as appropriate? Let us set aside the possibilities that our people would have been completely destroyed or that we would have been shouldered with an indemnity of many millions after enemies had been provoked to attack on all sides by an initial victory on our part at Shimonoseki. If we had fortunately won victory after victory, foreign states would have warned against approaching a country of tigers and wolves like Japan. Our empire would then be known through the world as

a land of savage wolves, and our unparalleled emperor, representing an unbroken line, would be regarded **as** the chief of savage wolves. Could a man with the least degree of spirit permit his sovereign to be thus demeaned rather than honored? How splendid it was for the empire that you were fortunately defeated and pacified before we suffered great shame.

When Kusaka asked if then the opening of the country by the bakufu<sup>15</sup> was good, I responded:

No, no, its professions are good, but its heart is bad, and its conduct is still worse. If you look at the bakufu, it undertakes to open the country saying that there is no alternative, even though at heart it hates foreign countries and would establish inhumane savagery by expelling them. It is without courage or policy, still less settled convictions. It invariably acts like women and children confronted by robbers. Its every act and every word being subservient and fawning, it resorts only to flattery without expressing its true convictions. It explains that we must await the right time as it is too early to expel the barbarians [foreigners], and it is no less savage for having changed from tigers and wolves into rats and monkeys. I can only be really enraged that the [bakufu] has demeaned the sovereign, brought shame on the nation, and brewed great harm for future foreign relations.

To Kusaka's inquiry as to what we should do under the circumstances, I responded:

The word barbarians (*i*)<sup>16</sup> was applied to those who did not comport themselves according to the manners and ways of China. Barbarians, therefore, refers to savages (*yaban*).<sup>17</sup> How can we think of Westerners as barbarians when we weresavages in the first place? When a flying bullet suddenly fell before two men who had set out in the night, one drew his sword in fury, and the other prostrated himself and begged for mercy. Their aversion for ghosts was the same even though their conduct was different. They were both no more than savages insofar as they were at a loss to distinguish between bullets and ghosts. The king is the leader of the country who protects the people by following the virtuous path. Should he stray in the least **from** this virtuous path, [the country] will surely decline if it is not

destroyed. We should reflect on the clear lessons of history. Take the fellow who lacks the courage to defend the virtuous path in the country whose rice he eats and from which he receives remuneration. Like a drunkard who expands his ego, he is arrogant and arbitrary if he is not flattering and servile, and he will bring shame on the country and weaken the monarch. That is, he is savage and barbarian. If one tries to love the country and honor the king with barbaric ways, how is this different from honoring barbarians and demeaning one's sovereign? Even great treachery like that of a Yoshitoki or a **Takauji**<sup>18</sup> cannot **destroy** the principle that we should honor emperor and country. This is because the principle is inherent and thus immutable. Nevertheless, the monarchy will clearly fall into confusion and decline if it loses the virtuous path by turning toward injustice. Society is finally becoming enlightened, and there are many who understand the nature of things. By the end of the Chou **Dynasty**,<sup>19</sup> there were no longer efforts to mix administration with the mysterious teachings of religion or to stimulate loyalty [to the throne] with miraculous theories. The way to honor the emperor lies entirely in expelling our barbaric customs by acting in conformity with the virtuous and just path that extends through the whole world. To open the ports today is both just and in conformity with the times, and this is why opening the ports is honoring the emperor.

Without replying, Kusaka left after giving me a small volume on facts relating to imperial edicts. The book is still in my home, the bequest from a dead friend. Being pressed to defend his *han* against false charges, Kusaka was too diverted to comment on my opinions. I cannot again discuss [with my dead friend], but my views have not changed. At this time, therefore, we should consider foreign and domestic conditions when we treat such current matters as Korean relations. And when we decide, we should act in accordance with the just path that is common to all nations.

At the time of my conversation with Kusaka, I was unacquainted with Western studies and the trends of the times, as I was a dullard who had lived long in the country. I only contemplated these problems by relying on the one righteous and just path. Since recently joining your society, I have come to appreciate

many things from listening to your discussions, and I have increasingly learned that I shall not be far from the mark if I consider matters in light of the righteous and just path.

When I earlier asked you to correct what I had written on a popularly elected assembly, you may have laughed at my essay, as there were many rough places that I was unable to revise quickly. My purport, however, was that the way to honor the emperor and to expel barbarism is surely as I have explained here. The expositions by Fukuzawa and Katb were indeed not the same, but they agreed in detesting subservience. Even though I have many fears, they all amount to a fear of flattery. Flattery is the source of subservience, and subservience is the source of flattery. When there is flattery and subservience, it is like the parent who gives poison to a child in compliance with his willful demands. Such conduct is really contemptible even though it arises from a true feeling of affection. To honor the emperor is but to expel barbarism. If we want to honor the emperor, we shall defend the virtuous path by invariably casting out barbaric customs of flattery and by standing up independently. A flatterer is one who tries to realize his personal ambitions by resorting to words and conduct that he knows in his heart to be wrong. His direct speech and exalted theories at times may surprise others, but the injury of his crafty conduct is even greater than subservience. These flatterers mislead the king down the wrong path by playing with him like a toy and pandering to his wishes, and they seek advantages for themselves by talking behind his back. There are those in society whom we call jesters and brothel touts. Such persons are invariably flatterers and sycophants who on occasion may startle their guests with their straight arguments. But they **only** degrade their patrons even though they may include one or two sincere words.

Just reflect how many in old China and Japan were not touts and jesters. Leading examples of such persons were **Dōkyō**,<sup>20</sup> Takauji, Wang **Mang**,<sup>21</sup> Ts'ao **Ts'ao**,<sup>22</sup> Chao Kao under **Ch'in**,<sup>23</sup> Ishida Mitsunari under **Hō Taikō**,<sup>24</sup> the Egyptian Cleopatra who captivated two great warriors, and John Law who threw France into confusion. Truly, there are innumerable people who take fancy to trifling honors that resemble hundreds of flowers. Those who flatter invariably enjoy flattery by others since it is also human nature to detest bitter words, to enjoy pleasantries, and to desire the realization of one's personal ambitions.

When touts and buffoons become patrons, they boast of their luxury, and find pleasure in foolish conduct until they themselves unwittingly become fools. Flattery is really more to be feared than opium-smoking. This is why some of reputed brilliance in the past became fools as they rose in the world. Slander cannot induce changes in conduct and morality even though it harms reputations. But flattery blunts man's discernment, upsets his mind, and leads him down the evil path. Moreover, slander generally arises from flattery. Those who are free from flattery are extremely firm of character, and those produced by flattery are crafty tricksters whose injuries are incalculable.

From antiquity, persons who have subverted dynasties were all the creatures of flattery. Drawing close to those of like opinions, detesting those who differed, and striving to achieve only their own profit by means of divisive factionalism, these flatterers inevitably end in destruction, treason, or tyranny after suppressing national public opinion. The country is not a house of ill fame, and the monarch is the protector of the country, not its patron. To honor the ruler is to secure adoption of the virtuous path of protection even at the risk of opposing him. No country in the world is without a leader, even though **monarchial** traditions differ. The leader is an individual, and the subjects are many. What can even kings like the notorious Chou and **Chieh**<sup>25</sup> accomplish by themselves if the people all act in accordance with the righteous path of **self-reliant** independence without resorting to flattery? Still less will there emerge dull kings and tyrants to jeopardize the succession once a constitution is determined by public opinion.

If we review and compare history with statistical methods, however, [it will be seen] that people actually demean the ruler and bring ruin when they assume that they do him honor by following the savage path of flattery. Fellows who thus reduce rulers to misery are as numerous in history as swarms of maggots. Instances of their bravery, independence, and success have only been isolated achievements, the end results of which have really been to increase oppression and nurture flattery until there was no salvation. Under such circumstances, all things flow toward temporizing.

By what means can we then achieve enlightenment? And by what means can we establish the practices of honoring the emperor and expelling barbarism? There cannot indeed be established laws

against flattery. We can only make flattery unprofitable. The various enlightened countries of Europe are noteworthy in this respect. They have made clear the principle of public conduct of national affairs and devised political structures that provide for harmonious rule by high and low [limited monarchy]. In their system, there is no room for flattery and subservience since those guilty of such conduct only suffer loss and shame without deriving any profit. Even the Chao Kaos and the Mitsunaris only cultivate their intellects on behalf of country without practicing their deceptions. [Western countries] have been able to avoid disturbances by establishing good laws and constitutions through public discussion. Their finances are not doubted as they are public; appointments can bring no complaints as they are fair. In these strong and prosperous countries, the people exert themselves to the utmost to honor the emperor and expel barbarism, loving their countries ardently, performing their duties with high spirits, and departing from the bigoted customs of the past.

The Chinese, on the other hand, admire savage ways, willfully follow customs of flattery and oppression, and are content with methods that degrade the sovereign, even though they were the first to advocate honoring the emperor and expelling barbarism. I hear that the Americans are debating whether to expel the Chinese immigrants whose disturbance to customs they loathe. This truly is expelling barbarians, a twist in circumstances at which some may snicker or grieve. When I pondered on the causes of national misfortune, they all came down to temporizing by the officials and the people. Men are without backbone when they cajole and oppress each other with flattery and subservience, and they hasten aimlessly hither and yon when they are without backbone. It can be clearly and factually demonstrated in the case of China that nothing can be accomplished in the face of such confusion and irresolution. We detest these old customs in our country, and we are trying to adopt the fine points of Western civilization before we are overtaken by disaster. There have already been the Imperial Oath enjoining the determination of all matters by public discussion and the imperial edict calling upon the people to assist the throne in its efforts to establish a constitutional system.<sup>26</sup> Honoring the emperor and expelling barbarism formerly lay in opening the ports after rejecting flattery. Today it lies in deter-

mining the methods for public discussion by high and low after rejecting flattery. If asked where we should start from, I would begin with the nation's public finance.

These are my views on honoring the emperor and expelling barbarism. Some may complain that theories at times contradict facts. Looking at this contention more closely, however, there have actually been no facts either good or bad in the course of history that have not arisen from theories. I honor most divergent views and dissenting opinions that do not arise from flattery. This is why I previously contributed the article on honoring differences to the journal of the society.<sup>27</sup> I beg you to favor me with your criticisms.

<sup>1</sup>See Issue Thirty-Eight for Sakatani Shiroshi's speech on "Pivotal Times of change."

<sup>2</sup>Nishimura here refers to the rise of the military houses (*buke*, 武家) to win power from the old court nobility (*kuge*, 公家) in the late twelfth century and the destruction of the prerequisites of the *buke* after the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

<sup>3</sup>Fundamental roots (gee-in, 原因) and fundamental character (*genshitsu*, 原質).

<sup>4</sup>*Sonnō Jōi*, 尊王攘夷, the slogan of the critics of the Tokugawa bakufu (徳川幕府) before 1868.

<sup>5</sup>*Bummei Kaika*, 文明開化, a slogan of the era of enlightenment during the decade after 1868.

<sup>6</sup>*Teibō*, 丁卯, the calendrical combination for 1867, the year in which the last shōgun (將軍) returned his powers to the emperor.

<sup>7</sup>[*Gokajō no*] *Goseimon*, 五箇條ノ御誓文, the Five Article Imperial Oath of 6 April 1868.

<sup>8</sup>In this essay, Sakatani has tried to modify the meaning of the phrase *Sonnō Jōi* so that it could be applied in the era of the enlightenment. Whereas in the decade before 1868 it was a call to honor the emperor and expel the Western barbarians from Japan, Sakatani would have it mean to honor the emperor by expelling from Japan the barbaric elements that did not conform with the mores of an enlightened and civilized world.

<sup>9</sup>Sakatani here refers to a folk legend of the *tengu* (天狗) whose loincloth (*fundoshi*, 褌) was so long that it reached from Heaven to earth. If men compared Sakatani with the *tengu*'s loincloth, therefore, they would think him a long-winded bore.

<sup>10</sup>Although Sakatani does not specify the occasion for the statements by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Katō Hiroyuki, it is entirely possible that he refers to a meeting of the Meirokusha, which was reported in the *Chōya Shimbun* (朝野新聞) the previous 7 May. While Katō held that the Japanese people were not yet ready to grasp liberty since they had been ground down by 2500 years of despotism, Fukuzawa claimed that the liberties of the people had been greatly expanded since the abolition of the domains (*han*, 藩) in 1871. In an article on dividing the national power in the *Minkan Zasshi*