VOLUME TWO
APPARATUS
AND
APPENDICES.
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INTRODUCTION NOTES

1 Professor Ōkubo, in addition to writing the standard biography of Mori Arinori and a most useful survey history of Tokyo University and its origins, has contributed numerous articles to various magazines and anthologies on the Meirokusha. He has edited the first complete edition of the works of Nishi Amane and is currently engaged in a similar labour for Mori. Most recently, the volume on Enlightenment Thought, No.3 in the Meiji Bungaku Zenshū series, also edited by him, assembles in the final sections invaluable information on the Meirokusha. All relevant works by Professor Ōkubo are listed in the bibliography.

2 Ōkubo Toshiaki: Mori Arinori, Tokyo: Bunkyō Shoin, 1944, (henceforth OKMA), 64.


4 OKMA, 64.


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10 Craig CJATM, 151.


13 Shively CJATM, 209.


16 RJPT, 18-19. My emphasis.

17 This is more particularly the 'standard' interpretation which may be gleaned from Western sources. There do exist in Japanese historiography differing interpretations of the Meirokusha, in
particular with regard to the society's political progressiveness. One notable example is the post-war Marxist approach, exemplified by Toyama Shigeki, who has devoted a very helpful article to the Meirokusha entitled: 'Nihon no Shisō Zasshi: Meiroku Zasshi' [Japan's Intellectual Magazines: The Meiji Six Journal] in Shisō, 447, Sept. 1961 (henceforth TSMZ). Ten years prior to this, however, he had already outlined his class views of the Meirokusha in his seminal work Meiji Ishin [The Meiji Restoration] Tokyo, 1951. (The following quotation is from the 20th printing in the Iwanami Zensho series, Tokyo, 1966, 303):

...the liberty, independence and enlightenment expounded by the members of the Meirokusha never got without the framework of the government's enlightened despotism. They certainly levelled a thorough-going criticism against pure feudal ideas and the concept of one's moral duty as being simply to 'revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians'; and in so far, they played a certain part in laying the ground for modern ideas. Nevertheless, their criticisms pointed the way for the government's absolutism, and to the extent that they educated the people into acquiescence in this, they never got beyond gradualism. Even Fukuzawa, who of them all maintained the most consistent stand outside the government, in which he was all the more thoroughly anti-feudal, was not even a representative of the modern bourgeois revolution, but upheld to the end the ideas of enlightened despotism.

Such an attitude towards the Meirokusha did not even first gain currency with the Marxists, but has a tradition among the old type 'liberal' historians going back at least to 1942, when Aso Yoshiteru published his pioneering Kinsei Nihon Tetsugaku Shi [History of Modern Japanese Philosophy] Tokyo: Kinto Shoten, 1942. See for example p.3 where Aso says all that Toyama was later to say, only without the Marxist framework.

And this alternative view within the 'liberal' tradition finds more recent reflection in the work of Yanagida Izumi, who feels free to talk of the Meirokusha as being far from the 'promoters' of Western democracy but actually as breaks on its development. Cf. Meiji Shoki no Bungaku Shisō [Literary Thought in the Early Meiji Period], volume IV of Meiji Bungaku Kenkyū [Studies in Meiji Literature], Tokyo: Shunshusha, 1965, 282.

This matter of how liberal the Meirokusha actually was does not constitute an essential part of this thesis, but it will be noted that even in the case of these differing interpretations, there remains the tendency to use the name Meirokusha with what will be claimed to be too unwarrantably extended a coverage.
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18. Cf. supra 1 & 5.

19. Further discussion and documentation of these facts will be found in Ch.4.

20. Nishimura Shigeki: Ojiroku [Record of Things Past], Tokyo, 1905. The relevant section is quoted fully in the more readily available Hakuō Nishimura Shigeki Den [Biography of Hakuō Nishimura Shigeki] II, Tokyo: Nippon Kōdo Kai, 1933 (henceforth HNSD) I, 370-1. The Shōyōken was a Western style restaurant.

21. However, there are also quite definite, if comparatively trivial slips of detail. The meetings, for example, were not monthly, but semi-monthly, while there were not 42 issues of the magazine but 43.

22. Further discussion and documentation is given in Ch.4.

23. By 'arts' Mori did not mean 'fine arts' but rather scientific and industrial 'techniques'.

24. The total known membership of the Meirokusha was thirty-three, cf. Appx.Three A. But discussion in this thesis is restricted to those sixteen who contributed to the society's magazine, the Meiroku Zasshi, which, as already indicated, was the only way in which the society made any real contribution to the Bunmei Kaika Movement.

25. The Kaiseisho is the name used throughout this thesis to designate the Bakufu's 'school' of Western learning in Edo. This establishment went under a variety of names, that most commonly otherwise cited being the Bansho Shirabesho, the Centre for Investigating Barbarian Writings. The name Kaiseisho is applicable, strictly speaking, only after 1863, but it is used here at all times for the sake of uniformity, and as avoiding the 'quaint' connotations of Bansho Shirabesho. Full details of the development of the Kaiseisho and other institutions into Tokyo University are given in Appx.Six.
CHAPTER ONE NOTES

1 The principle sources used for Mori's biography is: Ōkubo Toshiaki: *Mori Arinori*, Tokyo: Bunkyo Shoin, 1944 (OKMA), Nihon Kyōiku Sentetsu Sōsho [Library of Pioneers in Japanese Education] XVIII. Two earlier biographies on which Ōkubo draws heavily and which have also been consulted are: Kaimon Sannin: *Mori Arinori*, Minyusha, 1897 (henceforth KSMA); and Kimura Tadashi: *Mori Sensei Den* [Biography of Mori Sensei] Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1899 (henceforth KTMD). There is also an account in volume one of the uniformly excellent series: *Kindai Bungaku Kenkyū Sōsho* [Modern Literature Research Library] published by Showa Joshi Daigaku. Since the commencement of publication in 1956, twenty-six of the projected sixty were brought out by 1967. This series has been invaluable for the lives of other members of the Meirokeisha and reference is made to it henceforth as KBKS plus the volume number in Roman figures. (This practice is followed for all series). A study of Mori in English is being prepared by Ivan Hall of Harvard University, to whom I am indebted for a copy of his introductory study on the first half of Mori's life: *Mori Arinori: The Formative Years*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University East Asian Research Center, Papers on Japan, volume three, 1965. (henceforth IHMA). The complete works of Mori are at present being edited for publication by Professor Ōkubo and by Professor Hayashi Takeji of Tōhoku University.

2 Mori first set out for England in April 1865 (from where he paid a brief visit to Russia in 1866), and went to America in 1867.7, returning to Japan in mid-1868 on hearing of the Restoration. His second period abroad was as official Japanese representative in Washington from 1870.10 until he returned to Japan on 23 July 1873. Nishi and Tsuda had had the next longest foreign experience, having been in Holland from 1862-1865.

3 KSMA, 4.

4 KSMA, 4.
5 KSMA, 4.

6 OKMA, 9. For an account of how Fukuzawa grew up 'different', see Eiichi Kiyooka (Translator): The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi, Re-revised and Authorized Edition, Tokyo: Hokusaido Press, 1948 (henceforth EKFY), Ch. I passim. pp. 2 & 15 in particular discuss how this was due to the influence of his mother.

7 Godai Tom'atsu, 1835-1885. Kagoshima samurai. Later large scale Meiji entrepreneur. As early as 1857 had studied navigation, gunnery, mathematics etc., at Nagasaki. 1859, sent by han to study in Shanghai. During British bombardment of Kagoshima, 1863, Godai, then Satsuma admiral, was captured together with Terashima Munenori. They were taken on the British flagship, where they met Shimizu Usaburo (cf. Ch. 3), to Edo. Impressed by what he saw on board, Godai petitioned the han government during the peace negotiations, to open up foreign relations and despatch students to England and France. This was at least partly the cause of the first group of Satsuma students sent to England in 1865, which included Godai himself, Terashima, Mori and twelve others. OKMA, 13. It is unlikely that Godai would have had any direct contact with Mori before this time.

8 OKMA, 11. The book was Hayashi Shihei: Kaikoku Heidan [Discussions on the Defence of a Maritime Country], c. 1777. It was brought back from Edo by one Mukai, a relation by marriage of Mori's elder brother, Yasutake.


10 OKMA, 11.

11 This school, the foundation of which was greatly influenced by the bombardment of Kagoshima, was set up by Satsuma in 1864.6 to give instruction in Western studies related to military and naval arts. It had no connection whatsoever with the Bakufu's Kaissisho in Edo, which was essentially a school of translators and interpreters.

12 The dates are from OKMA, 11 & 13.
OKMA, 12 says there were from sixty to seventy pupils taking Dutch and only eight or nine who did English. (Quoted from KSMA, 14).

The increasing concern with English was a natural result of the growing importance for Japan of America and to a lesser extent England. In Mori's particular case, he knew something of American history from quite early on. His third eldest brother, Kihachi, for example had taught him about George Washington. KSMD, 11.

OKMA, 12.

KTMD, 10.

KSMA, 16.

KBKS, I, 272 states that Mori took naval surveying at the Satsuma Kaiiseisho, but it has not been possible to trace the source of this assertion.

OKMA, 15 & 25.

Thomas Lake Harris, 1823-1906. Semi-Christian mystic of powerful personality, and profuse author of mystic poetry and tracts. After a strict Baptist upbringing, he became in 1843 a Universalist preacher in Utica, New York. Soon he turned to spiritualism and Swedenborgianism under the guidance of A.J. Davis. On a lecture tour in England, 1859-1860, he won the patronage of Lawrence Oliphant and his mother. This led to the establishment of the Brotherhood of the New Life, a utopian spiritualist society, largely financed by the Oliphants and run on communistic lines. After two moves the society finally settled at Brocton, New York, near Lake Erie. Through Oliphant, quite a number of Japanese also became members. In 1875, Harris and Oliphant split, and Harris with some followers founded a new colony at Fountain Grove, California. This was later disbanded because of alleged scandals resulting from Harris' doctrine of the mystical union of 'spiritual counterparts' incarnate in members of the opposite sex. This particular concept was a development of Harris' central (Swedenborgian) idea of the equally male and female, bi-polar God, 'the Twain in One'.
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There is a full and fascinating account of Harris, Oliphant and their Japanese connections in: H.W. Schneider and G. Lawton: A Prophet and a Pilgrim; Being the Incredible History of Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant; Their Sexual Mysticism and Utopian Communities; Amply Documented to Confound the Sceptic, New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, Columbia Studies in American Culture.

21 The Diary is entitled Kōro Kikō [Travel Notes of a Voyage to Russia]. KBKS, I, 274 gives Kōro Kikō as having been drafted in 1870, but this dating does not appear to be borne out by the very precise entries for particular days. Even if the surviving manuscript was drafted as late as 1870 it must have been done from detailed notes made at the time. Kōro Kikō was started in 1866.7 when Mori left England and the first fully dated entry is given in Western style as 1 August 1866. It continues until 10 September when they reached England again 'with the feeling of coming back to our own country'. Kōro Kikō was never made public until 1941 when it was published with an introduction by Ōkubo Toshiaki in Gekkan Roshia [Russia Monthly] VII, 4, April 1941, under the title 'Mori Arinori no Kōro Kikō' [Mori Arinori's 'Travel Notes of a Voyage to Russia'].

22 OKMA, 18. Mori to Yasutake, 1865.12.3.
23 OKMA, 20. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.3.
24 OKMA, 20. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.3.
26 OKMA, 20. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.3.
28 OKMA, 30. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.7.26.
29 OKMA, 25. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.
30 In the letter to Yasutake of 1866.12.3, for example, he talks of 'extending the Imperial dignity' (OKMA, 18), and more specifically in Kōro Kikō he has words of praise for the Bakufu group he met in St Petersburg whose members 'did not merely stick to upholding the Bakufu, but repeatedly affirmed their purpose of supporting the Emperor'. The leader, Yamauchi, in particular, apparently supported this line basing his arguments upon Moto'ori Norinaga: 'A country divided into separate fiefs as Japan now is would find it hard to accomplish its mission in the world. And without a single ruler and a single source of policy, the state would remain unenlightened and there would be great danger of it becoming the property of others.' (OKMA, 22). Here again is emphasised the underlying fear of foreign aggression.

31 OKMA, 17-18. Mori to Yasutake, 1865.9.1.

32 OKMA, 18. Mori to Yasutake, 1865.12.3.

33 OKMA, 31. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.7.26.

34 OKMA, 33. Kōro Kikō.

35 The following two selections from Harris' works as quoted in Schneider & Lawton, 302, will illustrate the prevailing sentiment of the community towards sex relations and the style of their 'spiritualization':

There is no redemption for humanity till humanity shall deny itself the pleasure of the natural marriage bed. Polygamy was permitted to lead men out of promiscuousness. Natural cohabitations through legal marriage were permitted to lead the races out of polygamy, and to furnish an outlet for the crude lusts....

But with all this allowance, the race must arise above the sphere and above the practice of natural cohabitation, or the cancer infernalism will prove its destruction. Out with the scorpion! Not that nuptial intercourse is to cease. Far otherwise: it is to be made a sacrament of the BRIDAL WORD.

Nor does the following passage clarify much:

The devout heart of woman, in answer to prayer, receives from God the nuptial spirit, which enlarges the bosom, leads the life
downward into the belly, and so opens the organs of nuptiality, and causes them to glow with hymeneal fire. They meet in their angelic circles praying for perfection; and the Holy Ghost comes down upon them like a shower of bright rain, to concentrate at last in the nuptial structure. Thus the sex organ makes itself manifest as a organ of piety, cleansing its suppressed functions, and reasserting the original holiness of woman ... .


37 IHMA, 62. Ivan Hali gives a concise and fascinating account of the Brocton community and a careful analysis of its influence on Mori and the other Japanese. IHMA, 57-64.

38 Almost as soon as he returned, being a Satsuma man, and having recent first hand knowledge of the West, he was given a high secretarial post in the Foreign Bureau (GaiKokukan). (OKMA, 27). This seems to have been largely through the influence of Iwakura who had been impressed at an interview with Mori. Kaimon Sannin, who often takes a depreciative line on Mori's achievements, records how Iwakura questioned Mori, as someone freshly back from abroad, about Western culture and institutions; and how Mori later admitted that he had replied with guesses. KSMA, 23. Mori's post was GaiKokukan Gonhanji, the highest Sonin rank. He held it from 1868.7.5 to 1869.3.12. OKMA, 37. Later he also served in the Military Bureau (Gumukan) as Gumukan Hanji from 1869.1.18 to 1869.4.17.

39 The Seidokyoku was established immediately by the Restoration government in 1868.1, under Yamauchi Yōsō, the DaiMyō of Tosa. It was a section of the Dajokan and was to undertake wide-ranging investigations into Western governmental institutions, legal systems and general organization of the state (NYH, 722 [55]). It tended to split up into various smaller committees to examine particular problems, but members frequently sat on more than one committee. The Seidokyoku was renamed the Seidoryo in 1869.4.17.

40 Mori, Kanda and Mituskuri had all been Schooling investigators (Gakkō Torishirabe) before the government rationalised their investigations into the committee within the Seidokyoku. Mitsukuri was appointed earliest in 1868.10.13. Mori and Kanda were appointed
together a month later (1868.11.4). One month later again, in 1868.12.13, Yamauchi Yodō and Akitsuki Taneki of the Seidokyo were ordered also to investigate the educational system. Finally in 1869.5.18, an official committee was set up for this purpose under Yamauchi and was called the Seido Chosakyoku. On this date Kato Hiroyuki was also appointed to the committee. Mori and Kanda had in fact been relieved of their posts as Gakkō Torishirabe two months earlier, presumably to free them for duties in the Kōgisho. But they too were now brought into the new committee. Inatomi Eijirō: Meiji Shoki Kyōiku Shisō no Kenkyū [A study of Educational Thought in the Early Meiji Period] Tokyo: 1965 (henceforth MSKSK) 116.


42 The remaining members were: Akitsuki Taneki, Fukuoka Kōtei, Oki Takato and Samejima Hisanobu. Kato and Tsuda were actually later additions. OTRS, 262 & 264.

43 OTRS, 264-265.

44 This was actually the date of the first meet. Its establishment was officially sanctioned the preceding month in 1869.2.25. OKMA, 28. There were 270 members representing all the han. It was clearly meant to be a legislative assembly but only lasted for four months, until it was absorbed in 1869.7.8, into the newly established Shūgi’in, which had no legislative power at all. There is a full account of the Kōgisho and its preliminaries in OTRS, 157-312.

45 Proper debates were not held in the Kōgisho. Members read out prepared statements.

46 The first President of the Kōgisho was Akitsuki Taneki but most of his duties seem to have been performed by Mori, who was appointed Acting President (Tōban Gichō) from the second meeting Kanda was appointed Deupty President (Fuku Gichō) in 1869.4.23, in addition to his other duties in the Seidoryō. He then took on the post full time in 1869.5.19. OTRS, 299. OKMA, 28 gives essentially the same account with small variations of detail.
Some of the more important matters discussed by the Kōgisho are briefly dealt with in OTRS, 300-307. The other motions tabled are listed on pp.308-311. Of the keimō men, Kanda tabled motions on tax reform and the introduction of competitive exams for government appointments; Tsuda tabled motions prohibiting the purchase and sale of humans, on the abolition of nengō, and on the abolition of posthumous names and courtesy spaces left above names in writing etc.; and Kato tabled motions on the abolition of hinin and eta classes, on the free sale and purchase of land, and on the freeing of restrictions on money-lending.

In a bill entitled Sosei no Gi [Taxation Proposals], OTRS, 308.

In a bill of 1869.5.4, entitled Onkokutai no Gi ni Tsuku Mondai Yonjō [Four Problems concerning our National Polity]. For full text see Kōgisho Kōshiki [The Kōgisho Journal] (henceforth KGN), XII.

In a bill entitled Keibatsu wa sono Isshin ni Yamubeki no Gi [Proposal that Punishments be confined to the Individual (Perpetrator of a Crime)], OTRS, 309.

In 1869.4.7. KGN, VIIa, 9ff.

KGN, XII.

OTRS, 303.

OKMA, 33.

OKMA, 33; OTRS, 303.

Amemori Kensaburō, member for Matsue han (Shimane), as quoted in OKMA, 34.

KGN, XVII, 16.

OKMA, 34-5. Ono Shōgorō, Kōgisho Secretary and proposer of the bill on kiriuta, actually was later assassinated in 1869.10.20. OTRS, 306.
59 OKMA, 38. This was two and a half weeks after the rejection of his bill in 1869.6.2. KGN, XVIII, i.
60 cf. supra, N.44.
61 OKMA, 35. Mori to Ōkubo Toshimichi, 1869.5.2. As Ōkubo points out, in the light of this date, the letter must have followed a prior unofficial announcement of the bill to Toshimichi.
63 OKMA, 37.
64 OKMA, 37.
65 The full text is given in OKMA, 166-167.
66 OKMA, 38.
67 OKMA, 38. The other appointee, to France, was Mori's lifelong friend from the same village, Samejima Hisanobu, who went on to become a prominent diplomat in Europe.
68 OKMA, 40.
69 The Iwakura Embassy was, of course, by far the more important of the two. Mori was not in fact empowered to negotiate the postal treaty until February, 1873, not very long before he left for England on the way home to Japan. Yūbin Hoashi Shim bun [Mail News] (henceforth YHS) XL, Furoku [Supplement], February 1873.
70 Mori Arinori Ed.: Education in Japan: A Series of Letters Addressed by Prominent Americans to Arinori Mori, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1873 (henceforth MAEJ), I. This letter, together with selections from the answers it received is reprinted in, Herbert Passin: Society and Education in Japan, Columbia University, 1965, 212-225.
Hayashi Takeji: 'Meiji Kyōiku no Shuppatsu to Zasetsu: Mori Arinori o Chūshin to shite' [Progress and Setbacks in Meiji Education: Focus on Mori Arinori] in: Ushio, Special Spring Edition (Bessatsu Shunki Gō) April 1967 (henceforth HTMK), 95. There remains some confusion over Mori's actual position during the full year between this resignation and his return to Japan. For although the Gaimushō refused his resignation, and even promoted him, Mori in turn refused the promotion. This notwithstanding, he continued to reside at the legation and even retained his later title of Chargé d'Affaires (Dairi Kōshi) until after he returned to Japan, while still apparently regarding himself as a free-lance individual. HTMK, 95, 96 & 98.

The total number of the group was 37. Six of these, including Mori, comprised the membership of the legation. The other five are said to have been hand-picked by Mori himself. OKMA, 39. Kanda Memorial Committee Ed.: Memorials of Itai Kanda, Tokyo: Toko-Shoin, 1927 (henceforth MNK), 10.


An abridged version of Mori's report was published at his own request in YHS, Ll, Fūroku [Supplement], May 1873, 1-4.

MNK, 10.

CLJA, 55 & 57. Some correction to this idyllic picture is given by a letter from Kido Kōin who had come to America with the Iwakura Embassy. In 1872.3.11 he wrote privately to Inoue Kaoru at home:

...Nowadays the bunmei kaika mood seems very strong. But although our knowledge has increased, people's evil deeds in their scrambling for self advantage have increased even faster....I think you have really been doing the best you could in the matter of school education. But recently, Junior Commissioner Mori has been shooting his mouth off about schools and has made various statements. At the time I thought his ideas were right, but on later reflection I realised that he was giving himself airs. And some of the students [in America] who are quite talented are on really very bad terms with him and rumours of their discontent have repeatedly come to me.
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From this it is clear that Mori was not only perhaps being overly zealous in his supervision, but was also concerning himself with educational matters well without the scope of his instructions.

77


78

LLJN, 103. Nishima, for the same reason that he had refused a prior offer of Mori's to make him a government sponsored student, was non-commital. He seems to have had an almost paranoid fear of being deprived of his 'freedom' to preach in Japan the Christian gospel he had so completely and abjectly adopted himself. cf. LLJN *passim*.

79

The *Shokokushūsho* is discussed further below. See pp.48-9.

80

LLJN, 119-120. Nishima subsequently remained in Tanaka's employ, following him to Europe, and was the principal author of his report on education in Europe and America to the Japanese government. OKMA, 52-53.

81

OKMA, 43.

82

People to whom Mori was able to introduce Tanaka included Professor B.G. Northrop (the Secretary of the Connecticut Education Board, and one of those whom Mori had circularized for information on education) and the American Commissioner of Education, Mr Eaton. LLJN, 124 & 134; OKMA, 47.

83

CLJA, 137.

84

CLJA, Preface.

85

Also significant is Mori's emphasis on clearing up mutual prejudices, and the fact that he had the pamphlet immediately reprinted as a work clearly designed to arouse more general American interest in Japan (Lanman's *The Japanese in America* cited above), highlights a feature common to all three of Mori's American publications: they were aimed at both a Japanese and an American audience. (cf. IHMA, 68-9).
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The Japanese in America was put together by Lanman at Mori’s request and published in 1872. It comprised three sections: the first an account of the Iwakura Embassy (already heralded in Life and Resources...) the second a collection of short essays by 'Mori's' students, and third a reprint of the previous year's Life and Resources in America. This whole work was republished under the editorship of Y. Okamura with added notes and the new title of Leaders of the Meiji Restoration in America, Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1931.

Religious Freedom in Japan: A Memorial and Draft of Charter, (henceforth MARF), privately printed by Mori Arinori, and dated at the end of the Memorial section: 25 November 1872, is a small sixteen page pamphlet, of which the last two constitute the Draft of Charter. It is reproduced in the original English in MBZ, XI, 532-546. (Page references here are made to the Arabic numerals of the pamphlet and not to the Japanese pagination, which is not given for this section of the volume.) 'Some friend or other' is said to have made the translation which appears in Kimura's biography of 1899, 230ff (KTMD). Religious Freedom... however, was never published in Japanese by Mori - although much of his article on religion (Shukyo) in MZ, 6, cf. MBZ, XVIII 83-86, contains similar ideas. This article is in two parts, the first being translations by Mori from Emer de Vattel: The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law Applied to the Conduct and to the Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns, first published London 1758; and the second, translations by Shibata Shōkichi, from Robert Joseph Philleimore: Commentaries upon International Law, London, 1854-1861.

It is highly probable, in view of the marked resemblance, that Mori got many of his ideas for Religious Freedom... from the humane and liberal Vattel. Vattel's reputation in both England and America had always been very high in both juridical and diplomatic circles. Writing in 1913 on the influence still exercised by him, C.G. Fenwick writes: 'Vattel's treatise on the Law of Nations is quoted by judicial tribunals, in speeches before legislative assemblies, and in the decrees and correspondence
of executive officials. It is the manual of the student, the
reference work of the statesman, and the text from which the
political philosopher draws inspiration. Publicists consider
it sufficient to cite the authority of Vattel to justify and give
conclusiveness and force to statements as to the proper conduct
of a state in its international relations.' ‘The Authority of
Vattel’, American Political Science Review, August 1913, as
quoted in Vattel, op. cit., 1964 Classics of International
Law Ed., XXXVIII. It would not then be surprising if Mori, as
his country’s first and inexperienced representative in America,
should have come across Vattel and been attracted by his clear
exposition of a very confused subject. For in the United States,
‘Vattel...was followed as the most competent, the wisest, and
the safest guide, in all the discussions of Congress, in all the
trials in court, and in diplomatic correspondence, especially
that concerned with questions of legality.’ (emphasis added)
Vattel, 1964 Ed. (cf. supra), XXXV.

87 This statement and the following discussion is by no means
to deny the very obvious sincerity with which Mori espoused the
cause of freedom of religious belief. Religious Freedom...is
in fact ample evidence that he was at this time personally
very sympathetic to Christianity, a state to which he will have
been helped by his familiarity with the semi-Christian teachings
of Harris, his own puritan inclinations, and perhaps particularly
his regular contact with the fervid Niishima. Later, of course,
he was to deny any connection with Christianity, and his two
early biographers also devoted some time to removing this
particular smear from his memory. When he met Li Hung-chang
in 1876, shortly after the collapse of the Meirokusha, the
latter, struck by his forceful advocacy of the equality of
women asked him straight out whether he was a Christian. Mori
replied: 'I profess none of those so-called religions: the
Christian, the Buddhist, the Mohamedan or anything else.'
Later still, Mori seems also to have tried to cover up his
association with Harris; for in the short biography of him given
by Lanman in his Leading Men of Japan, Boston: 1883, for which
Mori must himself have contributed the material, no mention is
made of his first visit to America. The relevant section runs:
'He was amongst the first of those students sent to England to
be educated, and after residing in London for two years, he
returned to Japan.' (p.135). However, this reticence may have
been less to avoid being smeared as a Christian at home than to
avoid association abroad with the scandals which had since
brewed up over Harris' and his associates' doings at their new
community of Fountain Grove in California. (Mori's conversations with Li Hung-chang have so far only been known in Japanese, although the medium of communication was English. The above quotation is from a hand-written English memo of the second interview, found in the Gaimushō archives by Professor Hayashi Takeji in April, 1967. It is to be published in the Mori Arinori Zenshu.)

88 MARF, 3.
89 MARF, 9.
90 MARF, 9 & 10.
91 MARF, 10.
92 MARF, 11-12.
93 MARF, 11.
94 MARF, 12.
95 For a short biography of Mann and a discussion of his influence on Mori, see Appx.10.
96 MARF, 11. These quotations do not appear to come from any of Mann's best known writings, his twelve reports to the Massachusetts Board of Education, though Mori almost certainly read some or all of these. It is possible that they come from Mann's Lectures on Education, 1845, which I have so far been unable to obtain.
97 OKMA, 43. Since Mori uses the term 'social statics' in his introduction to Education in Japan..., he may well have read Spencer's Social Statics; or the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of them Developed, London: 1850. If he did, however, he was very far from adopting Spencer's rigidly laissez-faire attitude towards education.
98 cf. supra N.102.
chapter one notes

Religious Freedom in Japan, as described below, consists of a circular letter by Mori, requesting information on education, together with the replies it received. The practice of circularizing people for information and later publishing the circular with selections from the replies, was adopted by Mann on several occasions in the Education Reports. Specifically: the first report (1837) contains a circular to schoolmasters, etc., requesting information on general school conditions; the fifth report (1841) contains a circular to employers requesting information on the general effects of education (a remarkably similar theme to Mori's); and the sixth report (1842) reprints a circular letter requesting information on the general relationship of ignorance to ill-health.

100 cf. supra p.22.

101 i.e. from his attempted resignation in February 1872 to his return to Japan in 1873. cf. supra N.71.


103 MAEJ, I.

104 The parts translated were: (i) The last letter, from Thomas Garfield. (ii) Prof. W.D. Whitney's letter 'On the Adoption of the English Language in Japan', and (iii) 'On Education in the United States. Prepared by Request in the Office of the Commissioner of Education, in Washington'. The Japanese text may be found in MBZ, X, 101-123. Kaigo Tokiomi, in his accompanying notes (Kaidai, 18), says that the only clue as to the translator, apart from the imprint of a seal [possibly read 'Yoshiyuki'], is the fact that the translation is on paper used in the Sei'in and the Dajōkan. He puts the date of the translation at about 1874-5. Since the parts translated comprise the whole of the last quarter of Mori's English edition, it is possible that this is the only surviving fragment of a complete translation. But in any case, no part of Education in Japan... was ever published in Japanese before the above MBZ version.

105 cf. supra N.70.
chapter one notes

106 MAEJ, lvii.

107 MAEJ, liv.

108 MAEJ, liv-1v. Such an assertion is probably a combination of wishful thinking, lack of contact with home, and a perhaps not wholly ingenuous desire to impress his Christian American audience with Japan's preparedness to abandon heathen ways.

109 MAEJ, lvi.

110 HTMK, 95 says about one month. It is not known how Mori returned to Japan from England. But he apparently met Spencer as early as March 1873 (cf. D. Duncan: The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer, London: Williams and Norgate, 1911, reissue of 1908 ed., 161). Thus, since he got back to Japan on 23 July he could well have been in England over a month.


112 OKMA, 62.

113 cf. supra p.24.

114 Mori's introduction to Education in Japan..., cf. supra p.32.

115 Ōtsuki Nyoden Ed., revised and enlarged by Sato Eishichi: Nihon Yōgaku Hennenshi [Chronological History of Western Studies in Japan] Tokyo: Kinseisha, 1965 (henceforth NYH, 865 [49]). In referring to NYH throughout this thesis, the first number is the page and the second number (in brackets) is the entry number on that page.

116 NYH, 865 (49).

117 Kaimon Sannin, again rather deprecatory about his official work, says that Mori was far more valuable as a propagator of knowledge via the Meirokusha. KSMA, 41. Professor Hayashi claims that even in his own mind, Mori believed that he was fulfilling his personal mission through the Enlightenment Movement. HTMK, 98.

118 cf. Introduction, 7.
It should be noted however that Mori's motivation in writing *Saishōron* was far from being solely a moral one. In fact he argues his points almost entirely from the standpoint of national necessity.

MBZ, XVIII, 51-6.

This and the above quotation from Smithson's will are from the *Encyclopedia Americana*, XXV, 131.

MAEJ, 41-2.

cf. MAEJ, 82-3. Henry's answer to Mori's circular letter of February 1872 is dated 4 March. The exact date of Mori's letter to Whitney on the adoption of English (cf. supra p. 46) is uncertain, but Whitney's reply is dated 29 June. This gives ample time for Mori to have sent a separate letter inspired by Henry's suggestion.
CHAPTER TWO NOTES

1. He was, of course, born in Osaka, where his father was employed, but at eighteen months he was taken to Nakatsu by his mother on his father's death.


2. Fukuzawa describes how he loved such activities as mending clogs and shōji, and decorating scabbards. And as he wrote with reference to this early period: 'I was very clever at doing little things with my hands, and I loved trying to inventing and devising things.' EKFY, 9-10.

3. The actual incident which seems to have made the greatest impression on him was the famous one of his brother having a letter returned for resubmission on the grounds that it was not in suitably honorific language. EKFY, 23.

4. EKFY, 23.

5. EKFY, 41.

6. EKFY, 39. Ogata Kan, c.1810-1863, practising doctor, specialist in Dutch medicine and author of several medical works. Born into a lower Samurai family of the Ashirmori Han in Bitchu (modern Okayama), at 15 Ogata succeeded to his father's position at the Han estate in Osaka. Here he studied medicine under Naka Tenyu. Ten years later he continued his medical studies.
in Edo under Tsuboi Shindo and Udagawa Genshin. Later he also studied under a Dutch doctor at Nagasaki. Returning to Osaka, he set up in practice there and also opened a school, the Tekijuku (cf. infra N.7). In 1838 to teach both medicine and any other branch of Western learning for which books could be obtained. Ogata was very famous both as a physician and as a teacher. In the former role he is said to have treated both rich and poor alike; while as a teacher, he is said to have had very many pupils pass through his hands. The roll he kept from the time he moved to larger premises in January 1844, lists 637 until the time he moved to Tokyo. This was in 1862 when he had reluctantly to give up his school to take up an appointment as head of the Bakufu's School of Western Medicine (Seiyō Igakusho). He died the following year. DJJ, I, 552; CBFY, 4 & 140; Ogata Tomio: Ogata Kōan Den [Biography of Ogata Kōan] 2nd Ed., Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965 (Henceforth OTOK), 184.

Tekijuku was the common abbreviation for Tekitekisaijuku, also sometimes called Tekitekijuku. Tekitekisai was one of Ogata's go and has the significance of 'being content with what will content one's heart' (Jibun no kokoro ni teki-suru tokoro o teki to shite tanoshimu.) OTOK, 81.

EKFY, 26-28 & 37.

EKFY, 41.

Much of 1856, however, was taken up with two return visits to Nakatsu. In April both he and his brother went home sick. Fukuzawa returned cured to Osaka in August, but the following month his brother died. So he went again to Nakatsu, and did not succeed in getting back to Osaka this time until November. EKFY, 42-43, 51-53.

EKFY, 60.

EKFY, 97-98.

EKFY, 85.

EKFY, 90.

EKFY, Ch.4 'Student Ways at Ogata's School' passim esp. 67-68 & 90-93.
chapter two notes


17 EKFY, 100. For Sugī see Ch.2. Ōkami had also engaged the Satsuma man, Terashima Munenori (then known as Matsuki Kōan).

18 EKFY, 104.

19 EKFY, 109.

20 Amongst them was one of the first copies of Webster's to reach Japan. Another copy was brought in at the same time by the official interpreter for the trip, Nakahama Manjiro. NYH, 623 (29). An earlier copy still had been brought by Perry in 1854. SWWJ, 279. Fukuzawa also brought back a Chinese-English Conversation dictionary, the Hua-yíng T'ung-yī by Tzu Ching. cf. infra section iv and Appx. Four.

21 Sailing in January 1860, the Kanrin-Maru reached San Francisco after 37 days in early February. The return trip via Hawaii must have lasted even longer, so since the ship arrived back at Uraga in 1860.5.5, (23 June 1860) it must have started back mid and possibly early May.

22 EKFY, 123-124.

23 From January 1862 to January 1863 (1861.12 - 1862.12.11 FYD, I, 301 & 337).

24 EKFY, 138.

25 EKFY, 142.

26 EKFY, 135.

27 NYH, 661 (15).

28 EKFY, 177.

29 NYH, 674 (20).

30 EKFY, 176.
Amongst the twelve crates of volumes which he finally amassed were such works as *The Elements of Moral Science* by Francis Wayland, George Payn Quackenbos' *Natural Philosophy* and the same author's history of America, *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* and so on.*

Some titles were listed above. Others which he is known with fair certainty to have used by at latest 1876 include Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy*, Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*, Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, Spencer's *First Principles*, Mill's *Utilitarianism* and so on. These titles are quoted in HMEL, 315 (Appx. Three).

*The full title of Quackenbos' *Natural Philosophy*, a work widely used in early Meiji, was: *A Natural Philosophy, embracing the most recent Discoveries in the various Branches of Physics, and exhibiting the Application of scientific Principles in every-day Life*, etc., New York, 1860.
chapter two notes

45. EKFY, 229.

46. EKFY, 230.

47. EKFY, 229-230.

48. EKFY, 65.


50. NYH, 753 (20).

51. MJSZ, 41-42. Kurimoto Jōun, 1822-1897, was born into a family of hereditary doctors to the Bakufu. He studied both Japanese and Western medicine, and Confucianism under Sato Issai at the Shōheikō. He gained several high positions under the Bakufu, becoming Metsuke, head of the Shōheikō and Commissioner for Foreign Affairs etc. After the Restoration, he became famous as a journalist and author, first with the Yokohama Mainichi and then with the Yūbin Ōchi.

52. Ueki Emori, 1857-1892, was later one of the most prominent theorists of the Popular Rights Movement and was closely associated with Itagaki Taisuke's Risshisha, whose memorial to the throne of 1877 he is reputed to have drafted. Mita Ensetsukai and the Meirokusha. The diary he kept during this time is a useful document for dating certain events and is in thus important for the history of the Meirokusha, but it is not otherwise discursive or descriptive. cf. Ueki Emori Nikki [Ueki Emori's Diary], Kochi Shimbunsha, 1955 (henceforth UEN). (Citations do not give page references since the place is always readily findable from the relevant date.) Ueki's relationship with the Mita Ensetsukai and the Meirokusha are discussed further in Chapter Four below.


54. cf. Appx. Four for comment on these works.

55. The restriction to these years is explained in Chapter Four.

56. MAEJ, 11v.
cf. *infra*: Chapter Four.

Kató writes: 'Mr. Fukuzawa's Gakusha Shokubun Ron has appeared in part four of his Gakumon no Susume. Since it was in fact written with this society in mind [*no tame*], it should clearly have been carried by our magazine [*the Meiroku Zasshi*]. However, since it has already been published, we are not printing it here and readers should consult [*Gakumon no Susume*].

70 FGSR, 40.

71 FGSR, 42.

72 FGSR, 43.

73 FGSR, 43-4.

74 cf. supra: N. 64.

75 FGSR, 45-6.

76 FGSR, 47.

77 cf. MBZ, XVIII, 58-61: Kato Hiroyuki: Fukuzawa Sensei no Ron ni kotau [In Answer to Mr. Fukuzawa's Argument]; Mori Arinori: Gakusha Shokubun Ron no Hyō [A Critique of 'On the Vocation of Scholars']; Nishi Amane (same title as Mori); and Tsuda Mamichi: Hi-Gakusha Shokubun Ron [Against 'On the Vocation of Scholars'].

78 cf. infra: Chapter Four, section four.

79 cf. Appx. 8.

80 The Meiroku Zasshi was not in fact published until April, but plans for publication were being held around February and even earlier. cf. infra: Chapter Four, section four. The Minkan Zasshi is also reproduced in toto in MBZ, XVIII, 269-318.

81 This is not to assert that the Minkan Zasshi was set up from the start in conscious rivalry with the Meiroku Zasshi (unlike the Bankoku Sōza, where such does seem to have been the case. cf discussion of the Mitsukuri 'brothers' in Chapter Three). The originally stated aim of the Minkan Zasshi was quite different. The cover page of the first issue stated: 'It is intended to publish this paper called the People's Magazine three or four times a month, so that we, a city group,
may get to understand the conditions of the people in the countryside... (cf. MBZ, XVIII, 267)
Nevertheless, during its first short run, from February 1874 to June 1875, (it was revived from September 1876 under the
title of Katei Sōdan [Household Words], and from 28 April 1877 ran as the Daily People's Magazine [FYD, II, 418 & 421])... It did
not stick to this original aim at all, and frequently dealt
with other (usually political) matters.

82
MZ, XXIII, in: MBZ, XVIII, 166-169.

83
Fukuzawa does also mention this subject briefly in his MZ
article against Nishi. cf. MBZ, XVIII, 294.

84
cf. supra: N.81.

85
Fukuzawa's speech, entitled: Meiroku Zasshi no Shuppan o
Yameru no Gian [Proposal to cease Publication of the Meiroku
Zasshi] is reproduced in MBZ, XVIII, kaidai, 5-7.

86
MBZ, XVIII, kaidai, 5-6.

87
MBZ, XVIII, kaidai, 8.

88
The 'public' meetings, as will be seen in Chapter Four,
were by this time not operating.
CHAPTER THREE NOTES

1 There is one major exception both ways: Sakatani, who was the third most prolific writer for the *Meiroku Zasshi*, was known, if at all, more as a Confucian scholar, and has remained unimportant in the history of Meiji thought. Kato Hiroyuki, on the other hand, remained as much for his early liberalism as his later statism, made only eight contributions.

2 The *Seiyō Zasshi* was, of course, rather earlier than the *Meiroku Zasshi* (being first published in 1867.10) and did not last as long. It was produced largely under the inspiration of Yanagawa Shunsan, who also did most of the writing. It faltered early and had collapsed completely by the time of his death in 1870.2. It was, however, an earlier attempt to perform much the same task as the *Meiroku Zasshi*, which is often falsely accredited with having been the first true magazine in Japan.

The *Bankoku Sōka*, as a contemporary rival of the *Meiroku Zasshi*, is discussed below in this chapter in the section on the Mitsukuris.

3 cf. Appx. Four.

4 cf. Chapter Four.

5 Namely: Nishi, Tsuda, Kanda, Kato, both Mitsukuris, Sugi and both Tsudas (Mamichi and Sen).

6 54 out of a total of 154. cf. Appx. Eight.


8 There is no really good biography of Tsuda. The following account is based principally on: Ōkubo Toshiaki: 'Tsuda Mamichi no Chosaku ni Tsuite' [Concerning the Writings of Tsuda Mamichi], *Teikoku Gakushi'in Kiji*, III,3, November 1944; IV,1, March 1946; & VII,1, March 1949 (henceforth: *OTTM*, I, II, & III respectively); and also on the chronology given by Professor Ōkubo in MKSS,453.
Tsuda Dōji: Tsuda Manichi, Tokyo, 1940, is a not wholly reliable biography, and is of interest for its inclusion of several otherwise unpublished manuscripts of Tsuda's, as well as a number of his poems. Manichi is also commonly read as 'Masamichi' and even 'Shindo'. The name by which he is otherwise also most commonly known, especially for the early years, is Tsuda Shin'ichirō.

9 OTTM, I,494; MKSS,453.

10 MKSS,453.

11 OTTM, I,495.

12 OTTM, III,73.

13 Mitsukuri Gempo (1799-1863), physician and Dutch scholar. Famous as the author of many translations on Western history, geography, astronomy, shipbuilding etc. A Tsuyama man, he studied Chinese medicine in Kyoto at the age of 17-18, and in 1822, became private physician to the lord of Tsuyama. Following the latter to Edo, he studied Confucianism under Koga Doan, and Dutch medicine under Udagawa Genshin. He became a translator for the Bakufu's Temmondai in 1839, and later became head of the Kaiseisho.

14 Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), patriot, scholar of Dutch and amateur scientist, with a particular interest in gunnery and the military sciences. Convinced by his own experiments from Dutch texts of the superiority of rational Western science and the necessity of adopting it, he still remained convinced of the moral superiority of Japan. His attitude is summed up in his famous dictum: Tōyō Dōtoku Seiyō Gijutsu, or Eastern Morality: Western Techniques. A strong advocate of opening the country, he was assassinated for his views. Among the important men he influenced were: Tsuda, Katō Hiroyuki and Mitsukuri Rinshō, all later of the Meikokusha, as well as Yamagata Aritomo, Inoue Kaoru and Katsu Kaishū, the great Meiji military and naval leaders.

15 Katsu Kaishū (1823-1899), Bakumatsu-Meiji period politician and naval expert, prominent in the Restoration as advisor to the Shōgun. Also commonly known as Katsu Awa and Katsu Rintarō. One of the first students at the Bakufu's Kaigun Denshū Sho, Katsu was long associated with the navy, and was the Captain on the Kanrin-maru voyage, on which
Fukuzawa and Mitsukuri Shūhei also went. Katsu had many friends among the Yōkakusha and close connections with the Kaiseisho, and was a prominent figure in early foreign relations.

16 OTTM, I, 518, N. 12.

17 It was Sugi Kōji (qv. infra: this chapter) who was then approached and took up the appointment with Abe Masahiro. He had previously taught at Katsu Kaishū's school of Western studies for children. OTTM, I, 495; DJJ, I, 66.

18 OTTM, I, 496-7.

19 MKSS, 453.

20 The Kaiseisho (at that time, the Bansho Shirabesho) was expanded as a centre of Western studies in 1855-6 and Katsu Kaishū was one of the two charged with selecting new staff. Tsuda, who was among those he put forward, was at the time still in Nagasaki. But Ōkubo ichiō wrote to him in 1856.11 of this new chance, and it is almost certainly this which brought him back from Nagasaki in the first place. The Kaiseisho instructors were graded from the top down as:

I. Professor (Kyōju hokū)
II. Junior Professor (Kyōju hokunarabī)
III. Assistant Professor (Kyōju Tetsudai)
IV. Junior Assistant Professor (Kyōju Tetsudainarabī) &
V. Reading Instructor (Kuto Kyōju)

OTTM, I, 496.

21 OTTM, III, 74.

22 Kato wrote enthusiastically in his auto-biography about the effect on himself of having all these books available to him once he had joined the Kaiseisho.

23 These manuscripts were: Tengai Dokugo and Seiriron qv. Appx. Four, 1861.

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25 NYH, 640(7) & 642(13); OTTM, 111, 74 & 53. The others went on to the Hague.

26 In Jinsan Sampō Sete, Pt. 1, MZ, XXXVIII, MBZ, XVIII, 236.

27 Plovesana says that they met Mori in Paris (RJPT, 7). This is possible but I have found no other reference to such a meeting.

28 OTTM, 111, 74.

29 OTTM, 111, 74.

30 These translations are discussed below.

31 MKSS, 453. Nishi stayed in Kyoto and opened his own school, as discussed below.

32 OTTM, 111, 52.

33 The whole question of whether the books based on the Vissering notes were published officially or privately by Nishi and Tsuda is discussed in OTTM, 111, 52-3. Professor Ōkubo inclines to the opinion that it was done on the authors' initiative. Nishi's was certainly published by an independent printer, but the position is complicated in Tsuda's case by the fact that Taisei Kokushi Ron was published through the Kaiseisho.

34 MKSS, 453. For a discussion of the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee (Gijítetsu Tōshirabekyoku) and the Kōgisho cf. supra: Ch. I, 28-32.

35 cf. supra: Ch. I, N. 47.

36 MKSS, 453. Also cf. supra: Ch. I, 29.

37 MKSS, 453; HKRR, 1, 278.
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38 OTTM, III, 76.

39 MKSS, 453.

40 Tsuda's subsequent career, from 1875, does not really concern this thesis, especially as he produced no further major writings in his own name until rather later, but may be briefly outlined here as follows: From 1880 he was an important member of the Civil Code Compilation Committee (Nichō Rensean I'in), and from 1895 he contributed many articles to the Tokyō Gakushi Kai'in Zasshi, the organ of the Tokyo Academy. (This body was in a certain limited sense a revival of the Meirokusha, being comprised of largely the same membership. But in this case it was an official organization.) His best remembered article here was his defense of Materialism of April 1895, titled simply Yuibutsuron [Materialism]. For the rest, Tsuda became in 1885 a judge of the High Court, and in politics he sat successively in the Chihōkan Kai'gi (1875), the Shūgōin (1890) and the Kizoku'in (1896). He was made Baron (Danshaku) in 1900, received a Doctorate of Laws (Hōgaku Hakusho) in January 1903, was awarded the Order of Merit 1st. Class in August, and died thus full of honours the following month. MKSS, 453.

41 OTTM, III, 70.

42 qv. infra: sub-section b.

43 Sugi's (unpublished) version was called Keisei Gakuron. cf. MBZ, IX, kaidai, xix.

44 OTTM, III, 47-9. This is the source for all subsequent information on Taisei Kokuho Ron.

45 Specifically on title-deeds and property rights in Seiron, Pt. 5.

46 In Seiron, Pt. 4 he says:
'...nothing would be better than to establish along the lines of the European ones I have mentioned above, a special Institute of Statistics directly responsible to the Council of State (Daizōkan).
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Exact and fully detailed accounts for all government ministries, departments, institutes, offices and bureaux & sections, for all towns and prefectures, all army camps, naval bases, courts of justice, public schools, and national banks should be submitted to this institute, which would check and investigate them, correcting the smallest mistake, and would then draw up a detailed report, which would be publicised to the people of the whole country. Thus everyone in the Empire would be made to see clearly that the Imperial Court is fair and just and that the many officials are honest and not making the smallest amount of illegal private profit. In this way the government would for the first time gain the complete trust of the nation, which would fortify the national strength and put the minds of the people at rest.

MZ, XV, MBZ, XVIII, 131.

47 In: Hogozei o arazu to suru Setsu (On abolishing Protective Duties), MZ, V.

48 In: Shuppan Jiyū naran Koto o nosomu Ron (On my Desire for Freedom of Publication), MZ, VI.

49 cf. especially Seiron, Pt. 3 and Moto wa Hitotsu ni Aranaru Ron (Things are never based on one thing alone), both in MZ, XVIII.

50 Seiron, Pt. 3, MBZ, XVIII, 116.

51 Seiron, Pt. 3, MBZ, XVIII, 116.

52 Fufu Dōken Ben (On the Distinction of Rights in the Matter of Equality between Man and Wife), MZ, XXXV and Fufu Yūbetsu Ron (On the necessary Differences between Man and Wife), MZ, XXII.

53 Seiron, Pt. 3, MBZ, XVIII, 115.

54 p. 217 of his article cited below N. 57.

55 Although such comparisons are hard to sustain and document (and perhaps in any case ultimately meaningless) a case can be made out for claiming that, in its immediate effects on the tone of Japanese history, Nishi's work for the army was the more important. Nishi had
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A commanding hand in the drafting of the 1873 conscription regulations as also of the Military Criminal Code (both drafted in 1872). He was also the original author of the two other most important documents of Meiji military history: the Admonition to Soldiers (Gunjin Kunkai) of 1878; and the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors (Gunjin Chokyu) of 1882. (For a full discussion in English of these two documents see THNA (cited below, N.57) 250ff.) THNA,231 & 249.

56
RJPT,11.

57

58
THCM,224.

59
1 November 1868. THNA,69

60
cf. supra:p.106.

61
THNA,77,N,38.

62
THNA,69.

63
Reputedly as many as 500. THNA,55.

64
THNA,56.

65
THNA,70.
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66 NYH,675(26).


68 THNA,91 & 189.

69 The other two being: Hyaku-ichi Shinron and Jinsei Sampō Setsu. THNA,181.

70 The contents of Hyakugaku Renkan are discussed briefly in THCM,219-221.

71 THCM,219 & 221. Though never published until 1945, Hyakugaku Renkan remains a highly important document in Meiji intellectual history.

72 THCM,221 & 224.

73 Piovesana's article cited above N.57,305.


75 For a full discussion of the contents and significance of Hyaku-ichi Shinron in English, cf. THNA,Ch.4; and in Japanese, Kuwaki Ganyoku, op. cit. supra N.74, Chs.2 & 3.

76 MZ,Nos.: XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL, & XLI. The final full version of Jinsei Sampō Setsu was first published in 1880 as part of an edition of Nishi's collected writings prepared by his students titled Nishi Sensei Ronshū. THNA,183,N.7.

77 THNA,95.

78 THNA,189.
THCM, 224. Havens refers specifically to Chichi Keimō and the later Rigaku of 1877.

80

cf. supra: N.69.

81

THNA, 197.

82

THNA, 200.

83

Ch. 2, 88.

84

THNA, 204.

85

THNA, 207. It may be noted in passing that Kyōmonron [On Religion] was Nishi's longest serial publication in the Meiroku Zaeshi, being in six parts and thus comprising about a fifth of his total contribution to the magazine.

86

viz.: Hakkyū Sōkō Ichi Dai (One Point to be raised against the [Proposal for a] Popular Assembly [made by] the ex-Sangi [Tagaki etc.], MZ, I, April 1874; Himitsu Setsu (Theory on Secrets), MZ, XIX, November 1874; & Mōkai Gi’in no Setsu (Proposal for a Composite Assembly of officially appointed Representatives)), MZ, XXIX, February 1875.

87

THNA, 211.

88

THNA, 218.

89

THNA, 207 & 213 respectively. cf. also supra: N.86.

90

THNA, 218.

91

Takahashi Masao: Nakamura Masanao, Tokyo, Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1966, Jimbutsu Sosho Series, CXXXV (henceforth TMNM), I. This is the principle source used for Nakamura's life.
92. TMNM, 4. This was the first time so young a pupil had succeeded.

93. The point, of course, is better made in Japanese where Nakamura can be said to have been three. "Reading" here means reading for sound value only and not for meaning.

94. Keigo was Mitsukuri Shūhei's eldest son and a student of Nakamura's.

95. NYH, 586.

96. TMNM, 21. The dictionary in question was probably Medhurst's Chinese and English Dictionary, NYH, 670(27).

97. TMNM, 29-30.

98. TMNM, 34.

99. The Mitsukuri brothers, Keigo and Dairoku, are said to have made the best progress in language once the group was in England. TMNM, 42. Keigo later died early, and Dairoku was adopted into his father's original family of Kikuchi. DJJ, VI, 145. The given name of Sugi's nephew was Tokujirō.

100. TMNM, 41.

101. This is not to say that he became in any sense a fluent speaker. E.W. Clarke (cf. *ifra*) says of him in 1871 that "...although he was the most noted scholar of Chinese literature in Japan [sic] he was as simple as a child and quite amusing in his use of broken English." E.W. Clarke: Katz [sic] *Awa: The Bismarok of Japan*, New York: B.F. Buck & Co., 1904, 13.

102. It is worth mentioning in passing that Nakamura too had met T.L. Harris in London. And though it is known what were his personal reactions to this formidable mystic, another member of the group, Fukuzawa Einosuke was apparently greatly taken with him. (Personal communication from Prof. Hayashi Takeji).
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103
TMNM, 6-8.

104
Hiyang Antei: Hihon Shūkyō Shi [History of Japanese Religion],

105
TMNM, 91.

106

107
First published in English in The Japan Weekly Mail on 11 and again
on 18 May 1872. It was published in Japanese much later as a
suplement to Shimbun Zasshi, LVI. TMNM, 95-6.

108
TMNM, 60.

109
TMNM, 116.

110
TMNM, 132.

112
NYH, 881(4).

113
Though not actually present at the debate, Nakamura gave his
assent later to the principle of stopping the magazine. OKMK, 46.

114
TMNM, 180.

115
Nakamura's last contribution was to Meiroku Zasshi, XXXIX of June
1875, and being the last of a series, could have been written some time
earlier. His penultimate contribution was to Meiroku Zasshi, XXXVII
of May 1875.

116
'Saiṣaiku Ippan' [A Fragment of Western Learning], Meiroku Zasshi,
X, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XXIII & XXIX.

117
'Zenryō naru Haha o tsukuru Setsu' [How to make good Mothers],
Meiroku Zasshi, XXXIII.
118 Meiroku Zaashi, XXX. He in fact argues that the two essential bases are science (geijutsu) and religion (kyōdo) 'which are like the wheels of a chariot or the wings of a bird,' But the point he is making is that whilst the former is recognised even too much, no attention is payed to the latter. 'Nothing,' he says, 'but the combined exercise of religion [with science] will help to counter the excessive preponderance of science.' MBZ, XVIII, 201.

119 'Shina [ni taishite] Euron [o su]bekarazu' [All Things Chinese cannot simply be regarded as Objects of Scorn], Meiroku Zaashi, XXXV.

120 cf. infra: Ch.4.

121 NYH, 856(200).

122 TMNM, 73.

123 Parts I & 2 in 1871.3.6, and the remainder in 1871.7. TMNM, 286.

124 As quoted in TMNM, 73.

125 In 1872.11. The book version was published in January 1873.

126 NYH, 810(28).

127 NYH, 744(104).

128 Nakamura's preface as quoted in TMNM, 105.

129 NYH, 826(135); TMNM, 109. (The original author's name, given in kana, could be construed as 'Ransome Gillette').

130 For Mitsukuri Gempo cf. Ch.3,N.13.

Except where otherwise stated, biographical material on both Shūhei and Rinshō is from DJJ, VI, 145-6.

Koga Doan, 1788-1847, also called Shōtarō, was born in Saga. From 1809 he became an official Confucian instructor for the Bakufu, and was also an educational administrator. He was interested in the West and used to associate with scholars of Dutch. In 1838 he wrote a book on coastal defence called Kimbo Okusoku [Speculations on Coastal Defense]. He also ran a private school called the Ryūmonjuku. DJJ, 11, 531-2; NYH, 513(1); SYD, 54.

For Sakatani see below, Section three.

The Temmondai was the Bakufu’s observatory in Asakusa, originally founded in 1782 for astronomical and calendrical work. As such, part of its function was the translation of relevant Western books. Later, these translation activities extended to most other branches of learning. The Temmondai had close associations with the Kaiseisō. It was finally abolished after 88 years in May 1869. NYH, 715(12).

NYH, 638(59).

cf. Ch.2.

Itazawa Takeo: 'Mitsukuri Shūhei to Fukuzawa Yukichi', in: FYD, X, Furoku (a separately bound appendix), 1.

The Hakodate Bugyō was the commissioner in charge of foreign affairs relating to Russia.

Shūhei retired from here in 1877, having in two years largely established the courses for both Normal and Higher Normal Schools. The following year he was made head of the library at the Education Museum (Kyoiku Hakubutsukan). In 1879 he became head of the whole institution, a post which he held for six years until his death, and from 1880 he was a member of the Tokyo Academy. For quite how long he continued his school is unclear, but it was certainly until 1876, and probably also until his death.
Also known as the Sansajuku or, Triple Fork Academy, due to its position at a triple junction of streams forming the Ogawa river. NYH,741(69) & 753(10); SYD,55.

SYD,55. The same source also gives Peter Parley: Universal History on the Basis of Geography (listed as Bankokushi). A translation of this work was very popular around the Restoration period. It is not clear whether Mitsukuri used a Japanese or English text, but in either case it was at a rather different level from Adam Smith, being a book for children. Peter Parley was the pen-name of the American, Samuel Griswold Goodrich, 1793-1860, a prolific author of didactic books for children. The Universal History... was first published in London in 1837, and went through numerous editions. ISJJ,422; BMGC.

This figure compares very favourably with those recorded at the same time for other well-known private schools of Western studies in Tokyo:

1. Fukuzawa's Keiō Gijuku (English).........................323;
2. Naruto Yoshitami (Jirokichi)'s Narutojuku(English)........141;
3. Seki Shimpachi's Kyōritsu Gakusha (English & trad.).....111; &
4. Fukuchi Gen'ichirō's school (English & French)..........78.

SYD,54-5 quoting the Shimbun Zasshi,V,1871.6.

Yoshiro entered in 1873 at the age of eleven, and spent three years with Shūhei before going on to the Tokyo School of English (Tokyo Eigo Gakkō). SYD,54 &57.

MBZ,XVIII,95.

All three surviving numbers of the Bankoku Sōwa are reprinted in MBZ,XVIII,357-74. No.1 was published in June 1875 and No.2 in August. No.3 is undated. How much longer, if at all, the magazine continued is not certain. It was published in both Tokyo and Osaka at 4 Sen, and did provoke discussion in other journals. It was thus at the time of some influence but has come to be completely eclipsed by the Meiroku Zasshi. cf. Osatake Takeshi's notes (kaidai) in MBZ,XVIII,x.
Yoshida Kensuke, 1838-1893, was a scholar of English and worked as a low grade translator at the Kaiseisho and under the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. After the Restoration, he became a teacher at Keiō and also taught at Seki Shimpachi's school (cf. supra: N.143.) From 1872 he also did work for the Finance Department, and later still edited a history of Japan for the Mombushō. DJJ, VI, 517.

MBZ, XVIII, 359.

The significance of the Bankoku Sōwa is brought up again in Chapter Four below.

Also sometimes referred to under his yōmei (child's name) of Tei'ichirō.

NYH, 724(62).

cf. supra: Ch.1.

For Rinshō's 'enlightenment' writings cf. Appx. Four.

Mitsukuri Shōgo, 1821-1846, originally of the Sasaki family, retainers of the Date branch family at Mizusawa in Miyagi. Studied in Edo under Gempo, by whom he was adopted. Despite his short life, he became quite famous as a geographer and published several atlases based on Western sources. DJJ, VI, 145.

Exactly how long Rinshō stayed teaching at the Kaiseisho is uncertain, but it was certainly till after 1871 when he was appointed Daigaku Daihakase at the University.

qv. infra: section three of this chapter. Still another member of the group was Akamatsu Daisaburō, who brought back the statistics book for Sugi, qv. also infra: section two.

OKMH, 142. Ōkubo is here quoting from a biography of Rinshō which I have been unable to obtain, viz. Ōtsuki Fumihiko: Mitsukuri Rinshō Den, Tokyo: Maruzen, 1907.
158 cf. supra: Ch. I.

159 The outline of Rinshō's remaining career is as follows: Throughout the late '70s and early '80s, he remained (through the various changes of terminology) at the highest Sonin rank as head of the compilations and translation section of the Department of Justice. From 1880 he worked in addition as a translator for the Law Drafting Bureau (Hōseikyoku) of the Dajōkan. He became a member of the Tokyo Academy and was appointed to the Genro'in. In 1888 he received an honorary Doctorate of Laws (Hogaku Hakushi) and in November of that year he became Vice-minister of the Department of Justice. He became a member of the House of Peers, presided over the Law Investigation Committee (Hōten Chōsakai), and served from 1891 as a supreme court judge. He was also head of the Franco-Japanese School of Law (Wa-Futsu Horitsu Gakko). He was awarded the Order of Merit, First Class, and after his death in 1897 was promoted Baron.

160 Eto Shimpei, 1834-1874, prominent Bakumatsu and early Meiji bureaucrat. Eto rose to high administrative rank in his native han of Saga and was one of the Restoration leaders. Serving in the early Meiji Departments of Education and Justice, he was a foremost advocate of reform along Western lines, particularly in the matter of the codification of the law. Amongst the many petitions urging reform to which he put his name was the Itagaki Memorial of 1873. Disillusioned with the government, he led an insurrection the following year and was executed.

161 JLME, 577-580.


163 JLME, 581.

164 cf. Appx. Four, 1870.

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166 Similar ethics textbooks produced by other members of the Meirokusha were: Nakamura's Saikoku Risshi Ren (1869); Sugi's Seihoryaku (1871); and Fukuzawa's Dōmō Gahigusa (1872). See further Appx. Four.

167 NKTK, III, 509.

168 By a French Lawyer called Delacourte. See further Appx. Four, 1873.

169 NYH, 728(108).

170 NYH, 768(101).


172 Both were members of the Kaiseishō. Yanagawa was the last head of that institution under the Bakufu. Ōi was a close associate of Rinshō's and collaborated with him in much of his translation work.

173 James Kent, 1763-1847, American jurist and legal commentator. His Commentaries on American Law (developed from his law lectures at Columbia University in 1823) was extremely popular and ran to six editions during his lifetime (and a further eight after his death). It 'still remains the foremost American legal treatise'. It was first published in four volumes between 1826 & 1830. The Commentary on International Law, which constitutes Pt. I of Vol. I, was twice reprinted separately in 1866 and 1878. This was the first general American work on this subject, preceding Wheaton's Elements... by a decade, and it has been hailed as '...superior to any previous treatise on this subject and a landmark in the history of international law.' DAB, X, 344-7. Rinshō's translation was produced at the request of Eto Shimpel, then Minister of Justice, but it was never in fact published.

174 Moreau de Jonnès, 1778-1870, French scientist and statistician. Often referred to as the 'father of statistics', Moreau was a prolific writer on this subject, which he defined on the first page of his Éléments de Statistique, (Paris, 1847) as 'the science of social facts expressed in numerical terms.' From 1832 he served under Thiers as supervisor of the publication of the Statistique
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Général de la France, having previously served since 1817 as an
administrator in the government, where 'he first introduced the
habitual use of statistics...' NBG; Larousse du XIXe. Siècle.

175
NYH,853(54). The titles of Rinshō's translations of the works
listed in this paragraph are respectively: Keizai Genron (Basic
Economics); Bankoku Köhō (International Law); and Tōkeigaku
(Statistics). see further Appx. Four.

176
CBFY,30, and Ch. 3 passim.

177
‘Jimmin no Jiyū to Tochi no Kikō to tagai ni Sōken suru no Ron'
(On the mutual interrelationship of a people's freedom and the
Climate of their Country) Pts. I & II, Meiroku Zasshi IV & V,
MBZ,XVIII,68 & 77.
It is assumed to have been an English translation since Rinshō
cites his source (in katakana transcription) as 'Spirit of Laws'[sic].
MBZ,XVIII,69.

178
‘Kaika no Susumu wa Jimmin no Shūron ni yoru no Setsu' (That the
Progress of Enlightenment depends on public Discussion).
Meiroku Zasshi, VII, MBZ,XVIII,88.

179
‘Riboruchī no Setsu' (An Explanation of Liberty) Pts. I & II,
Meiroku Zasshi, IX & XIV, MBZ,XVIII,99 & 124.

180
There is one article by Rinshō in each issue, respectively:
i. ‘Furansu Kyōwa Seiji no Kempō' (The French Republican Constitution),
MBZ,XVIII,360;
ii. 'Kokusei Tempen no Ron' (On Changes of Government), MBZ,XVIII,364;
iii. 'Seifu to Shimbunshi no Setsu' (On Newspapers and the Government),
MBZ,XVIII,368.

181
Sir Arthur Helps, KCB., 1813-1875, Clerk of the Privy Council
and trusted advisor of Queen Victoria. Author of various plays,
novels and historical works, as well as a number of essays on
'social and intellectual subjects, written with much earnestness,' his
Thought upon Government was first published in London in 1872.
Exactly when Rinshō left the Meirokuasha is not clear. Mori in his retiring speech simply says: 'Mitsukuri Rinshō had to retire because of illness.' (cf. Appx. Two) But since his last contribution to the magazine was in Meiroku Zasshi, XIV, it may be assumed that he left at the latest by August 1874. (cf. Appx. Seven).

183 cf, supra: N.182.

184 cf. Appx. Four for Rinshō's works up to 1875. After 1875 he published very little at all, but the two most important works would be:

i. Deruson-Shi Fakkoku Mimpō Kaishaku, 1877, a translation from a treatise on French civil law; and

ii. Shisen Shinkyō oshi Dōtokugaku, 1880, a translation on 'natural law and morality', which was published as one volume of the Mombushō's Ryakka Zensho (Encyclopaedia). NYH,855(194) & 938(75).

(It has not been possible to identify the original of either of these works for certain. The law treatise may have been written by the French lawyer Delzons, but it would be out of character with his other works. Possibly, however, the katakana 'de-ru-so-n' is a mis-transcription for 'de-ru-so-ru', in which case the work in question is very likely to have been Jean Joseph Delsol: Explication Élémentaire du Code Napoléon, mise en rapport avec la Doctrine et La Jurisprudence, III, Paris: 1834-5.)

CGLF,VII,314.

185 This is discussed more fully in Chapter Four below.

186 cf. Appx. Two.

187 cf, supra: N.148.

188 Sakatani wrote 16 articles in 20 contributions, and his work thus totals over an eighth of the whole Meirokuasha output.

on this paper. The main Japanese biography otherwise used is
Yoshida Kumaji: Nishimura Shigeki, Tokyo: Bunkyō Shoin, 1942,
Nihon Kyōiku Sentetsu Sosho, XX (henceforth: YKNS), with
occasional reference to the official biography, Hakuō Nishimura
Except where otherwise noted, details of Nishimura's life may
be checked in MKSS, 459-60. Apart from the Meiroku Zasshi articles
the source for Nishimura's writings is, Nippon Kōdōkai Ed.: Hakuō
Sōsho, II, [The collected Writings of Hakuō (= Nishimura Shigeki)],

190 The others being Fukuzawa's Seiyō Jiō and Nakamura's Saikoku
Risshi Hen, qv. supra: pp. 76 & 130.

191 YKNS, 60; NYH, 744(103).

192 cf. Appx. Four.

193 viz.: Kachū Keizai [Home Economics], 1873; and Kōsei Yōshi
[Essential Economics], 1874.

194 viz.: Kyūshokisei Kōgi [Lectures on moral Training], 1874, a
translation of Laurens P. Hickock: A System of Moral Science,


196 Shively: CJATM, 207.

197 Shively: CJATM, 201.

198 Shively: CJATM, 240.

199 Shively: CJATM, 227.

200 Shively: CJATM, 235.
Shively: CJATM, 211,

Shively: CJATM, 222-30, gives a useful rundown of the essential features of Nishimura's thought. The following discussion is based on this although the essential features have been reorganised to separate the traditional from the modern elements.

For Nishimura, world progress is an absolute, and will happen come what may (cf. MBZ, XVIII, 230, 'Seigo Ju-ni Kai' Pt. I (Explanation of Twelve Western Words), where he says:

'We look at the whole history of the human race from the distant past right up to the present, we see that there has been an overall steady advance in 'civilization'. However, the advance of civilization has not always proceeded at the same rate. In one place it has stopped, making no progress at all, and has later perhaps even retreated; in another place it has simply marked time for a while in order later to make a sudden great leap. When we look at ancient history, for each period there has always been one country which is in the forefront (as Greece or Rome and then the Franks) and the level of civilization of this country has been directly connected with the general advance of civilization of the world as a whole. In this way there has always been a new country coming to the forefront, which at its prime has led the world, created the Zeitgeist and propelled the advance further, but with the passage of time its power has declined and it has gradually ceased to make progress. But once this country has ceased its progress, another arises elsewhere which takes over the lead and in its turn furthers the advance of civilization.'

Thus world progress is inevitable, although local progress is not. Nishimura thus neatly by-passes the determinist dilemma, and leaves some role for human will to play in determining which country leads the van of progress.

MBZ, XVIII, 16.

MBZ, XVIII, 191.

MBZ, XVIII, 192.

MBZ, XVIII, 204-5.
208
MBZ, XVII, 256.

209
MBZ, XVII, 256.

210
A good example of the first is his 'Kai no Do ni Yotte Kai-moji o Hassubeki no Ron' (On the Necessity for modifying the writing System in accordance with the Level of Civilization) in Metroku Zasshi, I; and of the second, his three articles of a projected series of twelve titled 'Seigo ju-ni Kai' (Explanations of Twelve Western Words) in Metroku Zasshi, XXXVI, XXXVII & XLII, written 'with the intention of giving a commentary on them so that people who cannot read Western languages may be [properly] informed.

211
MBX, XVII, 230 & 231.

212

213
One other example of this feedback was noted earlier in Chapter Two (p.81).

214
MKSS.

215

216
Sakatani constantly apologises in his articles for his lack of qualification to speak, owing to his ignorance of all Western languages.

217
CBFY passim, esp. Ch.4.

218
Ko-Sakatani Shishaku Kinen Jigyō Kai Ed.: Sakatani Yoshio Den, [Biography of Sakatani Yoshio] (henceforth: SYD) Tokyo, 1949, 5. Yoshio (also read 'Yoshiro') was Shiroshi's son, and a later Minister of Finance. The first part of his biography is devoted to Shiroshi and is here used as the main source for the latter.
The name Sakatani originates in a pun on the family business of sake-brewing. The traditional family name was Sakaya, although it had always been written 酒谷 and not 酒屋. The adoption of the alternative reading 'tani' instead of 'ya' was a later innovation.

Later famous as the idealist leader of the 1837 Osaka rice riots.

Kusaka Makoto, d.1854, student of Dutch medicine. Elder brother to Kusaka Genzū, a well-known Chōshū advocate of 順. Yamanari Tainen's daughter became Sakatani's wife in 1848. The Yamanaris were a family of local notables famous in both academic and business circles. Tainen had studied Dutch medicine at Nagasaki. The Sakatani was already related to this family through his mother who was born a Yamanari. SYD,8.

Sakatani refused offers from Tsuwano, Tsuyama, Okayama and Hiroshima (where he eventually did accept a job after the Restoration). (DNJ, I, 114).

SYD,9.

SYD,10.

SYD,10-11. The 軍道 (also known as the 軍道館) came to rank as one of the three great fief schools of Japan, together with the Chōshū Meirinkan and the Mito Kōdōkan. The name 軍道 (generosity encouraging hall) comes from a quotation out of the Ta Hsueh: 'The benevolence of one house promotes the benevolence of the whole country; and the generosity of one house promotes the generosity of the whole country.' SYD,11 & 14.

SYD,11; DNJ, I, 113

This was the oldest and the most famous of the so-called Four Great Schools of China, founded in T'ang. Chu Hsi taught there from about 1179. The precepts which he laid down were transcribed onto a board known to posterity as the 'tablet of the White Deer Grotto Academy' (Hakurokudō Sho'in Keishi) and were as follows:
Firstly, the five cardinal human relationships

Secondly, the essentials of learning are given as:

i. Wide Learning (hakugaku)

ii. Inquiry and Investigation (shimmon)

iii. Careful Reflection (shinshin)

iv. Clear Discrimination (meiben)

v. Conscientious Conduct (tokkō)

Thirdly, the essentials of morality are given as:

to be true and honest in word; and conscientious and reverent in deed (Gen Chushin; Kō Tokkei);
to discipline anger and curb desires; to transfer to the good and reform excesses (Chōfun Chitosyoku; Sensen Kaika);

Fourthly, the essentials of behaviour are given as:
to aim for the establishment of justice without the aim of personal profit or benefit, and to clarify the Way without counting on being rewarded;

Fifthly, the essentials in dealing with material things are given as:
to desire no thing for oneself but to give to others, and to seek always within oneself if actions do not meet with success.

This 'tablet' of injunctions remained popular with the Chu Hsi School in China right through Ch'ing, and was also popular in Korea, whence it came to Japan. Much was made of it at the Bakufu's official Confucian school, the Seido (Shōheikō) and also at many of the Han schools. KGJ, 1889-90.

228 The above is based on the discussion of Sakatani's ideas in SYD, 12-13.

229 'Seishin o Yashinau Issets' (On nourishing the Spirit), MBZ, XVIII, 249.

230 CBFY, 52.

231 Shibusawa Ei'ichi, 1840-1931. His early violent anti-foreignism by a trip to the Paris Exhibition in 1867-8. Earlier (from 1863) he was an able financial administrator for the Hitotsubashi family. He achieved fame after the Restoration as a banker, financier and industrial entrepreneur. He founded the Dai-ichi Bank and numerous other enterprises. DJL, III, 269; BJMC, 129, N.4.
232
Quoted in SYD,16.

233
Keiki became Shōgun after the death of iemochi in 1866, 7, 20.
Sakatani was born in the Hitotsubashi fief in Bitchū.

234
SYD,17. Sakatani was certainly already known to the Bakufu in another capacity - that of spy. Some time during Bunkyū (1861-3) he had been sent to investigate unrest in Kyūshū, and he had submitted a report entitled Chinsei Hakki (Exposure of feelings in Kyūshū). DNJJ,1,114. But Keiki need not necessarily have known of this, and Shibusawa's recommendation was very likely the first he heard of Sakatani.

235
Quoted in JJJ,1,389.

236
JJJ,1,389.

237
Sakatani worked at times in the several departments of the Army, Education and Justice. He retired partly in disillusion over the impossibility of realising his ideal of 'virtue' (toku) as a bureaucrat, but principally also because of a growing number of ailments brought on by old age. Wishing to revert to his old profession he set up a new private school called the Shungai Gakuen, but shortly after the building was completed he died of illness on 15 January 1881. DNJJ,1,114.

238
He had come to Tokyo in 1870 with his then lord the Daimyō of Hiroshima.

239
For further discussion of the Shibunkai in English see Warren W. Smith: Confucianism in Modern Japan, Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1959.

240
JJJ,1,390.

241
'Shitsugi Issoku' (A Tentative Suggestion), MBZ,XVIII,107.
'Shitsugi Issoku' (A Tentative Suggestion), Meioku Zassi, 10.

'Seishin o Yashinau Issetsu' (On nourishing the Spirit), Meioku Zasshi, XL & XLI.

'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ru ni wa mazu Settai o sadamubeshi no Gimon' (That we should decide on the form of the state before we set up an Assembly), MBZ, XVIII, 121.

'Sonnō-jōi Setsu' (On revering the Emperor and expelling the Barbarian), MBZ, XVIII, 264.

'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron' (On a modified form of Parliament), MBZ, XVIII, 189. The untranslateable play on the word 'Hensoku' in this title is discussed below.

'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ru ni wa...' (cf. supra:N.244.), 121.

'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ru ni wa...' (cf. supra:N.244.), 120-122.

'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', MBZ, XVIII, 189.

'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', MBZ, XVIII, 189.

Later, in part two of this article Sakatani makes the same point with regard to France in a most amusing fashion as an illustration of the importance of early developed habits. He says: '... look at France, where, although they wanted to set up a republic because they were so enlightened, they couldn't get out of the 'habit of having kings...'

'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', I, MBZ, XVIII, 186-8.

'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', II, MBZ, XVIII, 189-90.
254 eg. in 'Son'i Setsu'(On respecting Difference), Meiroku Zassh, XIX.

255 'Seikyo no Utagai Zoku' (Reflections [lit.: doubts] on Government and morality, Continued), Meiroku Zassh, XXV, MBZ, XVIII,176. (The first part of this article is in Meiroku Zassh, XXI).

256 'Seikyo no Utagai Zoku', MBZ, XVIII, 177.

257 'Seikyo no Utagai Zoku', MBZ, XVIII, 176.

258 MBZ, XVIII, 241.


260 Also less frequently known as Shundo.


262 Ten articles in thirteen contributions.

263 Tsukatani Akihiro: 'Sugi Koji no Gakumon to Shis: MeiJi no wasurareta Shis:oka-Zo' (The learning and Thought of Sugi Koji; Portrait of a forgotten Meiji Thinker) (henceforth: TSA) in: Shigaku Zassh, LXXVI,8,72-86.

264 Tanaka Taro: 'Sugi Koji-o Ryakuden oyobi Jiseki' (Short Life and Works of Sugi Koji), Tokugaku Zassh, CCCLXXVII, 357-361, p,357.

265 DJJ,III,445.

266 Sugi later expresses, for example the most categorically un-Confucian sentiment that 'government should not be confused with morality.' Sera Tai'ichi: Sugi Sensei Kansenj [The collected lectures of Sugi Sensei], 1902,312, as quoted in TSA,85.
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267
DJJ,III,445.

268
DJJ,III,445.

269
Sugita was a well-known scholar of Dutch learning, who also taught Kanda and Kato. cf. Appx. Nine.

270
Okudaira was the lord of Nakatsu, Fukuzawa's native han.

271
One other future member of the Meirokusha whom Sugl had met by this time was Mitsukuri Shūhei. TKS,3.

272
NYH,578.

273
TSA,81.

274
One Nimbushi was the amount of rice for one man's total expenditure (i.e. allowing for both food and conversion to cash for other needs) for one year. The amount varies from time to time and fief to fief, but averages roughly four koku.

275
DJJ,III,445.

276
DJJ,III,445.

277
TSA,73.

278
cf. supra: section one of this chapter.

279
Akamatsu Noriyoshi (more commonly known as Akamatsu Dalsaburō), 1841-1920. Baron and Vice-Admiral. Studies Dutch under the Bakufu court physician Tsuboi Shinryō, and later surveying and ship-building under a Dutchman in Nagasaki. Went on the Kanrin-Maru trip in 1860. 1862, went in the same group as Nishi and Tsuda to Holland to study ship-building and navigation. In 1867 he went from Holland to join Tokugawa Akitake's group at the Paris Exhibition, and left
France about July 1868 when all Bakufu retainers were recalled on account of the Restoration. After an abortive attempt at farming near Numazu, he became a teacher at the Numazu Military College. From 1870 he served in the Navy Department. Elected to the House of Peers in 1897. DJJ,1,25; DNJJ,17; NYH,640 & 642; Tokugawa Akitake Tai-o Kiroku [Record of Tokugawa Akitake's sojourn in Europe],1,509; Shibusawa E'ichi Taifutsu Nikki [Diary of Shibusawa Ei'ichi's Sojourn in France],408.

280

TSA,74. It has not been possible to trace biographical material for either Haushofer or Oettingen, but Tsukatani suggests that the books in question are almost certainly Die Moralstatistik u. die Christliche Sittenlehre by Oettingen, and Lehr- u. Handbuch der Statistik, (1872) by Max Haushofer. The former is not listed at all in BMGC. The latter is definitely that given amongst a number of others on trade, economics, geography etc. by Max Haushofer as: Lehr- und Handbuch der Statistik in ihrer neuesten, wissenschaftlichen Entwickelung, Vienna, 1872, rev. Ed. 1882. Since Akamatsu must have returned in late 1868 or early 1869, the dates of course do not tally. Tsukatani's authority for this being the work in question is Kono Iwasaburo: 'Ko-Sugi Koji-Shi to Hompo no Tokeigaku' (The late Mr. Sugi Koji and the science of Statistics in Japan, in:Kokka Gakkai Zasshi,XXXII,1,1918. The book itself seems likely enough and perhaps Sugi's own account is at fault.

281

TSA,73; DJJ,111,445.

282

TSA,73.

283

TSA,73.

284

TSA,81. Laws were in fact enacted permitting marriage between commoners and the nobility, and abolishing the eta and hinin classes in August-September 1872.

285

DJJ,111,445.

286

The Sei'in was set up as the chief organ of state with the reform of government structure on 13 September 1871, and was the representative of the former Daigokan by which name it also continued to be known. It was in charge of both the legislature and

287 TSA, 74.

288 TSA, 76.

289 TSA, 78.

290 TSA, 74 & 75.

291 Published in the *Seihyōka Shi*, The Statistics Section Bulletin. TSA, 75.

292 This is almost certainly a reference to the series of nine international statistical congresses, held at various European capitals from 1853-76, and first inaugurated in Bruxelles by Quêtelet. Sugī seems here to conceive of these meetings as being at government level, as if the various statistical institutes were government departments. But this was only the case for Holland (and that only until the late 1870s when the central bureau was abolished, and replaced (1884-92) by a private institution. These conferences were in fact very largely the meeting ground of more or less well-informed amateurs. ESS, XIV, 359. Earlier, he speaks more correctly of independant statistical institutes cf. *infra*.

293 Quoted in TSA, 75.


295 Quoted in TSA, 78.

296 The Tōkei'in was in fact a new name for the expanded Dajōkan Seihyōka. TSA, 78.
297
DjJ,111,445.

298
TSA,78.

299
Shimmi Sethy, cf., Appx. Four.

300
DjJ,111,445.

301
For further details see TSA,74.

302
Neither the Statistics Bureau nor the later Statistical Institute proved lasting organizations, and the first full national census was not taken until October 1920, three years after Sugii's death.

303
That on trade reform in Meiroku Zasshi, XXIV.

304
In Meiroku Zasshi, X, MBZ,XVIII,105.

305
In a comment on the dying instructions of Peter the Great, in Meiroku Zasshi, Ill, MBZ,XVIII,65.

306
cf. Meiroku Zasshi, XVIII, MBZ,XVIII,144.

307
cf. Meiroku Zasshi, XVIII, MBZ,XVIII,144.

308
As in the translation from the Duc de Sully in Meiroku Zasshi, IV, MBZ,XVIII,70.

309
Both are against the idea because it would involve Japan in financial loss, but Fukuzawa argued on the basis of the nature of the Japanese people, saying that they were stupid and would be easily hoodwinked, whereas Sugii bases his argument on economic facts.
The account of Kanda is based, except where otherwise stated on MKSS, 455-6. Also helpful, though more of anecdotal interest is the brief life of Kanda in the introduction to the biography of his son Naibu: Kanda Memorial Committee Ed.: Memorials of Naibu Kanda, Tokyo: Toko-Shoin, 1927 (henceforth: MNK).

Tezuka Ritsuzō, c. 1822-1878, scholar of Dutch and English, for both of which he compiled grammars. The English one was in collaboration with Nishi Amane, and Tezuka is said to have been the first teacher of English in Edo. He taught first at his own school, and after the Restoration at the Kaiseisho. He was also employed at the Foreign Department, and from 1875 was head of the permanent trade mission in Vladivostock. He is also known under the name of Sewaki Hisato, which he adopted as a shield against the attacks of xenophobic patriots.

It is possible that he was fearful of attack from the watchful shinri, anxious to maintain the pure heritage of Japan. Certainly, his third master, Tezuka, was so subject to attack from that quarter that he felt compelled during the Bakumatsu period to shelter under a new name. cf. supra: N.312.

Recorded in Seikel's Baiji Tōkō. cf. MKSS, 456.

NYH, 578.

MNK, 5.

Namely: Nishimura, Tsuda Sen, Nishi and Sugi.

cf. Appx. Four.

Quoted in NYH, 636.
321
ct. supra: Ch. 1.

322

323
Yanagawa Shunsan (also read Shunzo), 1832-1870, pioneer newspaper editor and compiler of various grammars and works on Western history. Employee of the Kaiseisho and briefly of the Meiji government. Chief translator and editor of the Chūgai Shimbun Shū, the first Japanese language newspaper, founded in May 1868; banned two months later; restarted April 1869 and continued till his death of consumption in March 1870. Yanagawa founded the Seiyō Zasshi, November 1867. It ceased in October 1869 with the sixth number. This was Japan's first real magazine, and aimed to give information about the West through both translations and articles which covered anything from a genealogy of the Dutch royal family or a biography of the famous 18th Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus, to a description of the Sugar Maple. The contributors were mainly the Dutch specialists of the Kaiseisho, but the major part seems to have been written by Yanagawa himself. The complete run (covering some 23 pages) is reprinted in MBZ, XVIII, MBZ, X VI, kaidai, 11; MJSZ, II, 16-7 & 24-5; JIM, 71

324

325
cf. supra: p.199

326
cf. Appx. Four.

327
MNK, 4.

328
'Minsen Gi'in no Toki imada itarazaru Ron' (The Time has not yet been reached for a popularly elected deliberative Assembly), Meiroku Zasshi, XI, MBZ, XVIII, 148.

329
MNK, 5-6.

330
331  David Abosch: Katō Hiroyuki and the Introduction of German Political Thought in Modern Japan, 1868-1883, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1964. This is at the same time the most comprehensive study in English of the contents of the Meiroku Zasshi.

332  For an opposite view cf. OKMA, I40. Suzuki Masashi, however, who argues for a complete volte-face is more convincing. Suzuki Masashi: 'Meiji Kanryō to Kindai Shisō: Mori Arinori o meguru Kōsatsu' (The Meiji Bureaucracy and modern Thought: A Study of Mori Arinori), Rekishi Hyoron, XC, November 1957, 2-20.

333  Katō went to Sakuma's in 1852 for about one year before returning home again. When he came back to Edo in 1854, Sakuma had been arrested as a result of the Yoshida Shōin Incident, so he had to find another teacher. Perry's arrival had at the same time aroused his interest in Western studies proper. Under Sakuma, the important thing was the military subject matter, and not the language. Katō worked there from translations. Katō Hiroyuki Sensei Hachi-jussai Shukuga Kai Ed.: Katō Hiroyuki Jiōden, 1915 (henceforth: KHJD), 13.

334  Ōki Chūeki, Bakumatsu-Meiji scholar of Dutch medicine. Son-in-law and senior pupil of Tsuboi Shindo, and thus later known as Tsuboi Hoshū, and again, Tsuboi Tameharu. From 1861 worked as a newspaper translator at the Kaiseisho. Also author of various medical translations. KHJD, 14; NYH, 578 & 622-905 (sporadic references)

335  KHJD, 15.

Tsuboi Shinya, eldest son of Shindo, Ōki Chūeki's brother-in-law. Ōtori Keisuke, 1832-1911, Western scholar and mid-Meiji Diplomat. The far better known of the two, principally as minister in Korea. 1852 studied under Ogata Koan before coming to Ōki in 1854. Later studied English under Nakahama Manjirō. From 1858 taught Dutch military science at the Egawa Juku and later employed at the Kaiseisho.

336  KHJD, 22.

337  For a discussion of the dating of Tonarigusa cf. infra: N.340.

338  As quoted in OKMH, 136.
339

KHJD, 24-6. Kato is justly remembered as the pioneer of German studies in Japan. But whilst attaining considerable proficiency at reading, Kato never went abroad and could not converse in German as well as, say, Shiba Ryōkai, 1839-79, compiler of the famous Wajo Doitsu Jiten [Japanese-German Dictionary] (kyūhan to Shiujimbutsu, 14). As Kato himself wistfully remarks in his autobiography with reference to his earlier Dutch studies, compared with modern students he started at a very late age (18) while the teaching was unsystematised, and there was no question of conversation.

340

The date of Tonarigusa is given as 1860 in KHJD, 193. This accords with Kato's own statement that he wrote it when he was 26 (Japanese style) (KHJD, 44), except that he also says he was at the time still at Ōki's school. If that was the case, he must have written it in the first three months (unless he continued at Ōki's while at the Kaiseisho). (He was appointed to the Kaiseisho in the intercalary third month.) Other sources commonly give 1862 (eg. NYH, 638(56); MBZ, IV, 614). However the date is not of great public significance since Tonarigusa remained an unpublished manuscript till 1899. The main interest of Tonarigusa is as the first written expression of Kato's early liberal views.

341

MBZ, VII, kaidai, iv.

342

Kato Hiroyuki: 'Mukashi no Rangaku no Hanashi' [A Talk on Dutch Studies in the Old Days] in Meiiji Ju-ni Ketsu [Twelve outstanding Men of the Meiji Period], 1899, as quoted in MBZ, VII, kaidai, ii.

343

KHJD, 45-6.

344

Further information on Kato's early works will be found in Appx. Four.

345

KHJD, 27-8.

346

OKMA, 27.

347

For a discussion of these two committees cf. supra: Ch.I.
348
For full titles and further information ct. Appx. Four.

349
This is attested by the quotation of Biedermann in his article in the *Nisshin Shinji Shi*, discussed below.

350

351

352
Miyakoshi op. cit. supra: N.351, 146.

353
NYH, 614(43).

354
NYH, 688(45) says Winter 1867, but the group returned in fact in 1867-6, cf. NYH, 683(18).

355
The Austrian concerned has not been traced. The name, spelled *ō-i-bu-ri-n-gu* in *kana*, could be Oberring. The 'three concerns' were:

i. Cross-breeding between plants;

ii. The laying of underground steam heating pipes; &

iii. Arboriculture.

356
ct. Appx. Three A. Tsuda, as already seen, knew Fukuzawa well. He will also most likely have known Mori personally, for his daughter Umeko was amongst the first group of Japanese girl students which went to America with the Iwakura Mission in 1871-11-3. NYH, 762(62). He had also, of course, been at the Kaiseisho.

357
*KNSS*, IV, 17; DJJ, IV, 307; NYH, 680(45) & 879(6).

358
cr. supra: N.356. This at the tender age of seven!

359
NYH, 879(6)
cf. supra: Nakamura. It may be mentioned in passing that Tsuda, with Nakamura, was a Christian, and a close friend of Niishima Jo. Tsuda was also later associated with Nakamura in the production of an English-Chinese-Japanese dictionary. This was a translation of N. Lobschied's English and Chinese Dictionary, which they published in 1877. NYH, 905(194)

OKMK, 46.

Kashiwabara only wrote on two separate themes, but one of his articles was in a serial of three parts.

DJJ, IV, 45. Unless otherwise noted, this is the source for all information on Kashiwabara.

Kashiwabara was already a direct Bakufu retainer by birth (The Daimyo of Takamatsu was a Matsudaira.

The more important of Kashiwabara's works were:

*Jika Teiko* (Pocket Textbook of Otology)

*Byōsha Suhi* (Essential Knowledge for Invalids)

*Gyūbyō Shinsetsu* (New Ideas on Cattle Sickness)

*Yōbyō Shinsetsu* (New Ideas on Sheep Sickness)

*Kakushi Mokyū* (Introduction to Physics)

*Ro-so Kagaku Shinsetsu* (Mr. Ro...'s New Chemistry)

*Chigaku Kimmō* (Introduction to Geology)

cf. Appx. Three A.

To Meiroku Zasshi, XXIV, XXX, XXXI, & XXXIII.

'Nichiyōbi no Setsu', MBZ, XVIII, 214-5, is a trivial piece of pedestrian moralising on the waste of time and immoral habits caused by the foreign concept of 'Suday'. Such a thing was, of course, all right for religious observance by religious people, but after all, 'There are at least 50 Sudays in a year. This makes 500 days in ten years, a thousand in twenty and 1,500 in thirty. This is the light of four days every single month, which, if devoted to study, would enable even a middling man to achieve something in life.'
Kashiwabara is listed as a Corresponding Member resident in Shizuoka in the May 1875 membership list. AYNT, 274.

For full bibliographical reference to these works see Ch. 1, N. 102.

The proper title of the Shibata Jisho was the Bi-Wa Ji'i. He published it in January 1873 from his own printing works, which he had set up in Yokohama with his friend Koyasu Takashi. Koyasu and Shibata both joined the Meirokusha at the same time on 16 December 1874 (cf. Appx. Three A). Prior to this they moved their press to Tokyo and since 2 November, had been publishing, in conjunction with others, the Yomihuri Shinbun Shi. NYH, 845(78).

The passages from Phillimore, though principally in English, also include long sections in Latin (Cicero and Grotius) and French (Martens and Saint Priest). Shibata's speciality was English, and it is not known how far, if at all, he was competent in Latin and French.

cf. Appx. Three A.

For Japanese text see MBZ, XVIII, 85-6.

Biographical details for Shōkichi are taken principally from DJJ, III, 256.

DJJ gives the Sonin rank of Gendai shokikan but this rank did not exist in the Gaimushō until 1877.

MJK, 273. This is the source of all information on Shimizu, unless otherwise stated.

Such an attitude on the part of Nishimura does not entirely tally with his early expressed sympathy for the idea of appointments on the basis of talent, and for the 'opening up of channels of expression' (Shively: CJATM, 204). The story has less the ring of truth than the savour of inference on the basis of a popular image of Nishimura as a dusty old Confucianist, compared with Mori and Fukuzawa as idealist innovators.
If Shimizu's membership was indeed first regarded askance, he was certainly accepted later, and after the Meirokusha had disappeared as a public body (cf. Ch.4), he continued to attend the monthly dinner parties until his death. (This according to his son Renro, MBZ, XVIII, kaidai, v.) Writing of Shimizu in his autobiography Fukuzawa said: 'He was certainly an unusual man for his rank in society.'

NYH, 569(53)

Admiral Putiatin's deputation which finally concluded a treaty on 7 February 1875. DJJ, IV, 318.

Mitsukuri Gempo, d.1863, Bakufu medical official and diplomatist. Author of many works and translations on medicine, gunnery, history etc. Adoptive father of both Shuhei and Rinsho. Also taught Tsuda Mamichi.

NYH, 652-3(2).

EKFY, 160. (Matsuki Koan is also commonly known as Terashima Munenori).

The full cloak-and-dagger story of Shimizu's involvement in this affair and its aftermath may be found in EKFY, 160-6.

NYH, 626(42). cf. also Appx. Four.

DJJ, III, 311. He in fact won a silver medal. NYH, 708(78)


Amongst the former were basic materials for cloisonné work, the techniques of which he was interested in improving, as well as such things as porcelain glazes and painting materials. He probably also
imported fireworks and certainly wrote a book on Western techniques in their production. On top of these multifarious interests, he was also fascinated by dentistry, on which he translated several books and articles, and he even published his own dentistry magazine, the *Shika Igaku Zasshi*. DJJ,111,311; NYH,708(78).

389 The evidence for Shimizu’s acquaintance has already been cited above. Fukuzawa too at least knew of Shimizu from mid-1864, when Matsuki Kōan told him about him. cf. EKFY,164-5.

390 The full significance of this debate is discussed below in Chapter Four.

391 Shimizu’s interest in the possibilities of substituting *kana* for *kanji* can be dated at least as early as the publication of *Engirishi Kotoba* in 1860. This interest was later to culminate in his active membership (together with Ōtsuki Fumihiko the poet, and Takasaki Masakaze) of the Kana Society (*Kana no Kai*). Founded in 1883, this was the first group of any size to crystallise a movement which had been slowly gathering strength for some years. In its time the Kana Society had as many as 30 provincial branches and a membership of about 5,000. It published simple kana texts and at least two magazines. But it cannot be said ever to have had a significant influence and petered out after about 10 years. NRDJ,IV,306.
CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

1 cf. Ch.1, N.71.

2 Nishimura says that Mori sought an interview with him 'in the Summer of 1873'. cf. Intr., 7.

3 cf. Ch.3.

4 OKMH, 132.

5 OKMH, 132.

6 This and the succeeding unfootnoted quotations are from the section of Nishimura's autobiography quoted in full in the Introduction.

7 MBZ, XVIII, 199. This is from Mori's speech as retiring President at the Meirokusha's first (and only) annual general meeting of 1 February 1875. It was printed in MZ, XXX, that same month, and is here translated in full as Appx. Two. This speech is an invaluable source for the history of the society and is referred to throughout this thesis as 'Mori's retiring speech'.

8 MBZ, XVIII, 51-8. MZ, I was not in fact published until April 1874 (see below, Section Three), but it is clear from internal evidence that it records matters discussed before 1 February 1874.

9 Nishimura's opening article is entitled: 'Yōji o motte Kokugo o Sho-suru no Ron' [On writing Japanese with Western letters]. Nishimura's concluding article is entitled: 'Kaika no Do ni votte Kai-moji o hassubeki no Ron' [On the Necessity for Orthography Reform to be carried out in Accordance with the Level of Enlightenment (of the people)]. Future references to the Meiroku Zasshi are made giving the author of the article first, followed by MZ and the volume number followed in turn by a page reference to MBZ, XVIII. (cf. infra N.10).

10 Nishimura, MZ, I, 57.
An interesting stipulation is that the whole thing is to be done at first in secret; a rather touching survival of feudal psychology in the enlightener.

We should take care not to make our pupilship too open but must do it with the greatest secrecy. For a basic characteristic of man is 'curiosity'. And if we provoke this curiosity by acting in secret, the thing is bound to go from strength to strength. In this way I think we would put the society on a firm footing and gather together men of spirit. (Nishi, MZ, I, 55)

For 'curiosity' Nishi here uses the English word in katakana transcription. This is a frequent practice of most of the 'Enlightenment' writers and particularly Nishi. Quite a number of words from Dutch, English, French, German, Greek and Latin are scattered throughout the MZ., sometimes in katakana as words in their own right, and sometimes as furigana in 'explanation' of newly coined character compounds. The result of this practice is not always immediately intelligible, and sometimes downright ludicrous. These neologisms are sometimes of assistance in introducing a new concept but are by no means restricted in use to filling a gap in the expressive capabilities of Japanese. At the worst there is sometimes the temptation to suspect the 'Enlightener' of willful mystification or at best of parading recondite knowledge. Where they occur in translations given in this thesis they are footnoted as simply katakana (or furigana) followed by an abbreviation for the language in question. Thus: Dch.: Dutch; Eng.: English; Fr.: French; Gn.: German; Gk.: Greek; Ltn.: Latin.

chapter four notes

18
Appx. One B, rule one.

19
cf. Appx. One A, rule five, and One B, rule five.

20
In fact no source plainly gives the date 1 February 1874 as that of the adoption of the rules. But it is a fair assumption that this was the date since in the rules themselves the 1 February annually is given as the date for election of new officers, for the financial report (actually every six months on 1 February and 1 August), for the debating of amendments to the rules,...in short as the date of the annual general meeting. The following account of the Meirokusha's organization is based, except where otherwise footnoted, on the Rules of the Meirokusha and the Amended Rules of the Meirokusha, translated in full in Appendices One A and One B.

20a
It appears, however, that Mitsukuri Shuhei, who was voted into the presidency on 1 February 1875, continued in that post until the break-up of the society later that year.

21
This point is taken up again in the final section of this chapter, on the break-up of the society.

22
Appx. Eight.

23
Appx. Two. For further discussion of Fukuzawa's comparative lack of interest and participation in the Meirokusha, see Chapter Two and section v of this chapter.

24
Mori's retiring speech, Appx. Two.

25
cf. supra p.

26
YHS, 286, 10 March 1874. The Yūbin Hōhō commenced publication 14 July 1872. It was under the direction of Maejima Hisoka, the then director of postal services. It was one of Japan's earliest regular newspapers along with the Nisshinshinji Shi and the Tokyo Nichininshi Shim bun, first published respectively on 16 and 29 March 1872. NTMSZ, 27-8. Quoted below p.31.
27 Hatakeyama Yoshinari, c.1823-76. Hatakeyama and Mori were closely acquainted. A Kagoshima man, Hatakeyama was, with Mori, amongst the group of Satsuma students dispatched to England in 1865 (OKMA, 12-3). After a year in England he went to America and studied at Rutgers College, New Brunswick, where he became a Christian, joining the Second Reformed Church. He joined the Iwakura Mission when this came to the States and returned with it to Japan in 1873. The following year he was appointed simultaneously to a high Sonin grade in the Education Department (Mombushō Shōjo) and head of the Kaiseishō (now the Kaisei Gakko). In the latter position he renewed his acquaintance with the missionary E.W. Clarke whom he had known at Rutgers and who speaks warmly of him as a Christian. He died in 1876 on his way to the Philadelphia Exhibition as a member of the official Japanese delegation under Tanaka Fujimaro.


28 William Elliot Griffis, 1843-1928, first came into contact with the Japanese at Rutgers College where he was teaching. From 1868 on he met, amongst others, Yoshida Kiyonari, Takagi Saburo, Tomita Tetsunosuke, Hatakeyama Yoshinari and Matsumura Junzo. (Takagi, Tomita and Hatakeyama all became members of the Meirokusha. cf. Appx. One A). He was invited to Echizen to set up a school for science and research and reached Japan on 29 December 1870. In the new year, he was called on by Mori who was just off to his new appointment in America. Then in February he reached Fukui where he spent one year organizing a school 'on scientific American principles' before being summoned back to Tokyo to teach at the Daigaku Nankō (the former Kaiseishō). In all Griffis spent just over three and a half years in Japan, returning to America on 25 July 1874. This was his only visit to the country, but he remained a tireless and enthusiastic propagandist for Japan (as well as Korea and China). One of his primary concerns became the return of the Satsuma Indemnity money paid to America in 1863. This was a matter with which Mori too was earlier closely concerned (cf. Ch.1). Griffis quotes Mori more than once in his most famous book, The Mikado's Empire, and obviously had a high regard for him. Of the many books and pamphlets on Japan by Griffis, those used for this thesis are listed in the bibliography. W.E. Griffis: The Mikado's Empire, II, New York: Harper, 11th Ed., 1906, viii, 100, 298, 399-404. A.W. Burks and J. Cooperman: 'The William Elliot Griffis Collection', Journal of Asian Studies, XX, 41, November 1960.
chapter four notes

29  
Appx. Three A.

30  
Appx. Two.

31  
e.g. Nishimura (cf. Introduction, 8) and in consequence those using him as a source.

32  
Appx. Three B.

33  
FYD, II, 281.

34  
Later, they also used the Mikawaya, another Western style restaurant, in Kanda, Mitoshiro Chō, but the principal meeting place seems always to have been the Seiyōken. The Mikawaya indeed is mentioned in none of the bulletins on the society in the Yubin Hoahi, from which we know that they were certainly using the Seiyōken as late as April 1875 (YHS, 632, 5 April 1875) and it seems likely that the Mikawaya came to be used only when the society ceased its public activities after February 1876. cf. infra (section v, p. ) the quotations from Shimizu Renroō.

35  
Mori's retiring speech, Appx. Two.

36  
We do know from Ueki Emori’s diary that there was a meeting on 17 September 1875, but this seems simply to have replaced the one which would normally have been held the day before, on the sixteenth.

37  
This practice became formalised in the Revised Rules. cf. Appx. One B, rule eight.

38  
Except once on 1 April 1875, when he went at 11 a.m. The only other occasion on which Ueki specifies the time more precisely than just 'p.m.' is at 1 p.m. for the first public meeting on 16 February 1875. He seems generally to have returned home about 6 p.m.

39  
cf. discussion of the magazine in section four below. The financial details in the ensuing paragraphs are from Mori's retiring speech. cf. Appx. Two.

40  
Mori was particularly anxious to ensure that the Meirokusha should not in any way be liable to the charge of being a political organization.
41 The information in this and the following paragraph is from Mori's retiring speech, Appx. Two. The comparison of currency values at this distance of time is as good as meaningless. The average exchange rate in 1875, however, for sight Yen drafts in London was 4/09d.: ¥1.00 (silver). Since the average daily wage of a carpenter in 1875 was just over 43 Sen, it can be seen that the earnings of the Meirokusha from the magazine were considerable in purchasing power. (Figures quoted are from Tokyo Keizai Shimbunsha Ed.: Meiji Taishō Kokusei Sōran [Survey of National Resources and Statistics of the Meiji-Taisho Eras], Tokyo: 1927, 160 & 567.)

42 YHS, 581, 6 February 1875.
43 cf. supra p. on the significance of the 'amended rules'.
44 cf. Introduction, 9-10.
47 cf. Appx. Two.
48 YHS, 339, 8 May 1875.
49 cf. Appx. Seven.
50 Discussed below in Section Six.
52 cf. Introduction, 7.
53 Koizumi Shinkichi, 1853-1894. Banker and economist. At that time at Keio, later to succeed Fukuzawa as president, in 1889.
1874 is only a tentative date. The exact date is unknown. FYZ, XXI, 536.

FYZ, II, 188-201.

For this and the preceding quotation cf. FYZ, I, 58-59.

cf. Appx. Three A.

cf. supra p.23, second quotation. In the original text, Fukuzawa lists those he can definitely remember being present as: Mitsukuri Shūhei, Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Shōsuke [Amane], Kato, Sugī and Mori. cf. FYZ, I, 59.

It is impossible to know the exact date, but since Fukuzawa talked about the Formosa expedition, it must have been after May 1874 when the punitive force was first despatched. One of Fukuzawa's three contributions to the Meiroku Zasshi was also an article on the Formosa expedition and may have been based on this speech. It was published in MZ, XXI, in December 1874, and it is thus possible that Fukuzawa is describing one of the October or November meetings.

OKMK, 46.

cf. supra p.19.

e.g. on 30 September, Ueki records in his diary going to get a ticket for the next day from Tsuda.

NTMZ, 23.

In YHS, 287, 299, 307 respectively. The first advertisement is translated below, p.31

There are certain discrepancies between the two sets of dates, the latter being frequently, though by no means always, a month later. According to the advertisements in the Yūbin Hōshi, the first six volumes appeared in April 1874. Then follow two 'regular' months of two volumes each, after which July has two possibly three, and August one or more probably two. September
has two, October one, November two and December at least two. In January 1875 there could have appeared anything from two to four, while the last fortnight of February saw the publication of three numbers. March too had three and April at least one. After No.34 (6 April), however, advertisements cease altogether.

The comparative dates are given in Appx. Seven.

66 NTMZ, 23. It is not clear on what Professor Nishida bases this assertion. The original copy of the magazine consulted at the Meiji Shimbun Zasshi Bunko in Tokyo University, does not carry a price, and for only three of the 27 numbers advertised in YHS is a price given. These were Nos. 10, 11 and 14 (YHS, 385, 389 and 417) and in each case the price is 4 Sen. This may have been a higher (or lower) price than the normal one, but in no case is there a significant difference in size. cf. Appx. Eight.


68 Nishimura was not present at the meeting of 1 September, but concurred in the motion when asked later. The same applies to Kato and Nakamura. See below, section five.

69 No editor is named for the magazine until the 40th Number which gives Mori. But it seems likely to have been Mori all the time. NTMZ, 24.

70 cf. Appx. Two.


72 The first installment of Nishi's article on religion, Kyōmon Ron, and Sugī's résumé of ideas of Sully (the 17th Century French Statesman) both from MZ, 4, were reprinted in YHS, 308, 4 April 1874; and Tsuda's article on the abolition of tariffs Hōgosei o ki to auru Sete, from MZ, 5, was reprinted a fortnight later in YHS, 320.
It was a special feature of YHS that it carried items of local news gathered through the post offices, so that it was popular in the provinces too. NTMSZ, 28-9.

TSMZ, 118.

cf. Ch.2, N.47 for Kurimoto Jōun.

MJSZ, 41. (It was from this time that commenced the fourteen year long connection of Keio Gijuku with the Yūbin Höshi. It was Kurimoto who first asked Fukuzawa for contributions from his pupils, and several Keio graduates later joined the Höshiha. MJSZ, 41-2).

e.g. the supplement (Furoku) to YHS, 33 carries a letter from Tomita Tetsunosuke (later a Meirokusha member) to the Foreign Department, as well as the translation of a letter to him by an American. YHS, 48, carries a translation of a letter from Charles Lanman, Mori’s secretary, to Kuroda.

cf. Ch.1, p.38.

cf. supra pp.9 & 11.


for original text see: MBZ, XVIII, 44.

cf. Introduction, 10.

Shimizu Yoshirō writing in Shinkyū Jidai, I, 10, as quoted in Kōjiro Tanesuke’s notes on the Meiroku Zasshi in MBZ, XVIII, Kaidai, v.

Unfortunately, for just this period Ueki Emori was ill so that his diary gives no clue about what speeches, if any, were held.
85  OKMK, 46. This is the principle source for the factual details concerning the break-up of the society.

86  cf. Appx. Seven-


89  Kato lectured the Emperor and Empress right through the Metrokusha period. He started these lectures (which were on general history, and Western political development and morals) on 24 January 1871. There were generally two or three lectures a week and sometimes he lectured every day. KHJD, 45-6.

90  Fukuzawa's speech is reproduced in full in MBZ, XVIII, kaidai, v-vii, from where the following translations are made.

91  cf. Appx. Two.

92  cf. what Sakatani has to say in his 'Shitsugi Issoku', Metrokusha Zasshi, X, MBZ, XVIII, 107: 'Since last year the idea of language and orthography reform has been bandied about the Ministry of Education and we have seen any number of letters written by all sorts of people to the newspapers. In this journal too articles have appeared on this subject...'

93  cf. supra: p. 271.


APPENDIX ONE A

RULES OF THE MEIROKUSHA

as given in: Sekai Rekishi Jiten [Dictionary of World History], v.22 Shiryō Hen, Nihon [Documents: Japan], Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1955, 499-450. (No date is given).

1. Main Intention

The main intention in setting up the Society is to form a group of interested men in order to further education in Japan and to discuss ways of doing this. It is also in order to assemble like-minded men for the purpose of exchanging views, broadening knowledge and illuminating consciousness.

2. The Society's Name

The Society shall be named the Meirokusha. (This is because it was established in the sixth year of Meiji).

3. The Society's Membership

The Society's membership shall be divided into four categories: Regular Members, Corresponding Members, Honorary Members, and Casual Members.

4. Regular Members

Regular Members are those who always attend the meetings and take part in the discussions.

5. Corresponding Members

People living in outlying districts who are deeply interested in education may be elected Corresponding Members by a majority of two thirds.

6. Honorary Members

People who have benefitted the public, or truly distinguished people of ordinary circumstances may be elected Honorary Members by an absolute majority.
7. **Casual Members**

Casual Members means people who join the Society having come to Tokyo from outside and who are resident there for some time. However, their manner of joining and their subscription are the same as for Regular Members.

8. **Joining the Society**

A person wishing to join the Society is to communicate his desire via the President. The President will then note his place of origin, true name, age and residence as well as the name of a sponsor, and submit them to a plenary session. And if there is a three fifths majority for his joining at the next meeting, he may be permitted to do so.

9. **Subscriptions**

Subscriptions shall be in accordance with [the Society's] expenses, and shall be paid by each Member on the 1st of the month. However, the Secretary and the Treasurer shall not indulge in excessive expenditure.

10. **Meeting Days**

Meetings of all Members shall be held on the 1st and 16th of the Month. The venue shall be determined at the preceding meeting, and at the meetings matters of importance shall be entrusted to the Society's Administrative Members to be put in order. If the President thinks it necessary he shall convene meetings outside the regular days. This may further likewise be brought about if five Members or more combine to ask the President.

11. **Administrative Members**

The Society's Administrative Members shall consist of one President, one Secretary and one Treasurer, being three in all.

12. **Election of Administrative Members**

On the 1st February annually the Members shall cast votes to elect the President, etc.

13. **Duties of the Administrative Members**

The President shall supervise the other two Administrative Members in regulating all matters. And at the election of a new
President on 1st February, the old President shall nominate his own choice, submitting his nomination to the vote of the whole Society.

The Secretary shall record the Society's discussions and see to their publication. In addition to which he shall manage the Society's correspondence.

The Treasurer shall see to the receipt and disbursement of the Society's funds, keeping a faithful record of all transactions which he shall submit to the Members generally at the meetings of 1st February and 1st August.

14. Resignation from the Society

Persons wishing to resign from the Society shall without fail inform the President of their intention.

15. Expulsion from the Society

If it is required to expel a Member this may be accomplished by a majority of three fifths.

16. Documents

The Society's documents have all been placed for safety in a place where they will be protected from Tokyo's dangerous fires and floods, etc. and are in the Secretary's charge.

17. Account Books

At the meetings of the 1st February and 1st August the President shall select two Members to investigate the account books of the preceding half year and they shall explain them thoroughly to the Members.

18. Absence of Administrative Officers

If any Administrative Member is absent through sickness or other cause, a replacement shall be elected by a simple majority at the meeting on the first of the month.

19. Amendments to the Rules

In order to amend the rules the matter must be debated at the meeting of 1st February and passed by a majority of two thirds.
APPENDIX ONE B

THE AMENDED RULES OF THE MEIROKUSA

as of: May 1875. in: Aso Yoshiteru's Kinsei Nihon Tetsugaku Shi [History of Modern Japanese Philosophy], 269-272.

1. **Main Intention**

The main intention in setting up the Society is to assemble like-minded men for the purpose of exchanging views, broadening knowledge and illuminating consciousness.

2. **The Society's Name**

[As before.]

3. **The Society's Membership**

[As before.]

4. **Regular Members**

Those who meet at the Society and discuss things shall be called Regular Members. Anyone wishing to join must submit his request to the Society's Committee via one of the Members. The Committee will then note his place of origin, true name, age and residence as well as the name of his sponsor and submit them to a plenary session. And if there is a two thirds majority for his joining at the next meeting, he may be permitted to do so.

5. **Corresponding Members**

People living in outlying districts who are deeply interested in cultural matters may be elected Corresponding Members by a majority of two thirds.

6. **Honorary Members**

[As before.]

7. **Casual Members**

Casual Members are those who join the Society having come to Tokyo from outside and who are resident there for some time. However, the procedure for their joining shall be the same as 'The Law for the Election of Regular Members'.
8. Meeting Days

The Society will meet on the first and the sixteenth of every month, the venue to be determined at the preceding meeting. However, on the day concerned there will be an assembly at 11 a.m. to discuss Society business, at midday the Society will dine and from one in the afternoon there will be speeches and discussions. If the Secretary thinks it necessary, or if five Members combine to ask the Secretary, meetings may be convened on days other than those stipulated.

9. Administrative Members

The Administrative Members shall consist of a Committee of six, one Secretary and one Treasurer, totalling eight in all.

10. Procedure for Electing Administrative Members

At the annual meeting for the 1st February, the Members shall vote to appoint the Committee, etc.

11. Duties of Administrative Members

The Committee shall consult with the Secretary and the Treasurer and together they shall keep the Society's affairs in order. They shall keep records of the matters in their charge for the duration of their office and shall submit these to the plenary meeting on 1st February.

The Secretary [as before. Rule 13.]

The Treasurer [as before. Rule 13.]

12. Resignation from the Society

Persons wishing to resign from the Society shall without fail inform the Committee of their intention.

13. Expulsion from the Society

If it is required to expel a Member this may be accomplished by a majority vote of two thirds.

14. Documents

[As before. Rule 16.]
15. **Account Books**

At the meetings of 1st February and 1st August two Members of the Society shall be elected to investigate the account books of the preceding half year and they shall explain them thoroughly to the Members.

16. **Absence of Administrative Officers**

[As before. Rule 18.]

17. **Monies Accruing**

Of monies accruing from sale of the Meiroku Zasshi one half shall be saved by the Society and the remaining half shall be divided between selected contributors.

18. **Amendments to the Rules**

In order to amend the rules the matter must be debated before a plenary session and passed by a two thirds majority.
APPENDIX TWO

MORI ARINORI

SPEECH AT THE ELECTION OF NEW FUNCTIONARIES AT THE
FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE MEIROKUSHA

Published in MZ, XXX, February 1878. Translated from the
reproduction of the text in MBZ, XVIII, 198-200.

Today is the 1 February 1895, the first anniversary of the
Meirokusha, and the time has come for the first election of new
officers. And so, firstly, I will give you all a brief résumé of
the Society's doings since its inauguration; and in celebrating
the Society's success, I thank you all at the same time for your
cordial kindness and large-hearted friendship. And now that I am
on the point of resigning the Presidency, I humbly beg of you
all the favour of giving voice to a few insignificant thoughts of
mine on the future activities of the Society.

When I returned from America in July 1873, I planned to form
a society and in response to the immediate approval of you all, we
held three or four discussion meetings in which we deliberated on
the rules to lay down for the society. Then after some delay in
the discussion, the rules were finally established in February 1874.
Prior to this we had elected Fukuzawa Yukichi to be President, a
request to which effect Nishimura Shigeki and I made to him on
behalf of the Society. When he declined and would not accept, the
Society appointed myself, and I, being so forward as not to refuse,
humbly gave my assent. The Society further appointed Shimizu
Usaburo as Treasurer and Sera Tai'ichi as Secretary. The diligence
with which both have carried out their duties has earned the deepest
recognition of us all, and when I now proffer to them both the thanks
of the Society, the pleasure is not mine alone, but I know that it
is done with the approval of you all.

The Society's founder members totalled ten in all, namely:
Nishimura Shigeki, Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane, Nakamura Masanao,
Kato Hiroyuki, Mitsukuri Shūhei, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Sugi Kōji,
Mitsukuri Rinshō and myself. But of these, Mitsukuri Rinshō
had to withdraw because of illness. Nevertheless, there is no
doubt that my wish, that he will shortly get better and return to
the Society, is likewise shared by you all.
Later the Society's foundation membership was increased by five; a further five were elected Corresponding Members, and we obtained ten Casual Members. We thus total in sum 30 members. In addition to this is an unspecified number of guests who attend particular meetings with the permission of the Society. However, recently, the increase at each monthly meeting has been huge, and we cannot gauge how many hundreds they will reach in another few months. This, of course, is sufficient to give a tremendous fillip to the Society's prestige, but on the other hand, we get overcrowded by these numbers, and because of the increase in the Society's expenses we shall have to take some action about this. In my opinion we should make a ruling that we sell entry tickets to guest members in order to recoup our expenses, and if we inscribe numbers on the tickets and determine seating arrangements in corresponding order, we shall be able to avoid being plagued by congestion. In this way guests will be able to buy tickets and come as they like and [still] have a good view, whilst the Society too would be able to improve the facilities of its activities and thus flourish better.

Publication of the Meiroku Zasshi was started in February last year at the rate of about twice a month; by November this was increased to three, and altogether last year we put out 25 numbers. The total number of copies printed was 105,984, of which we sold 80,127, or in other words an average of over 3,205 copies per issue. These details are based on tables drawn up by Sera.

Our finances throughout are clearly detailed in Shimizu's account books, the checking of which was entrusted to Sugi Koji and Tsuda Sen. By your leave, it will be unnecessary to demonstrate their accuracy as they have been investigated in detail by these two. By Shimizu's reckoning the money accruing to the Society from sales of the Meiroku Zasshi from the first to the nineteenth issues is: 632 Yen 82 Sen & 5 Rin. (According to Sera's calculation of the same: 641 Yen & 50 Sen. The discrepancy seems to arise from money lent to us by the Hochisha being subtracted before the rest was given to Shimizu.) Money raised within the Society totalled 81 Yen & 50 Sen, and interest on the above amounts came to 3 Yen 33 Sen & 2 Rin. (The interest is not added to the two figures quoted: see the account books.) In all, the above [profits] total 717 Yen 65 Sen & 7 Rin. Out of this, expenditure on food came to 214 Yen & 84 Sen; on miscellaneous items, 5 Yen 60 Sen & 8 Rin; for materials for the magazine and for binding and printing, 21 Yen 72 Sen & 8 Rin; on side payments for clerical work, done from December last year to January this year, 20 Yen. In all, 252 Yen 17 Sen & 6 Rin. Deduction of expenditure from income leaves 455 Yen 46 Sen & 6 Rin [sic], which thus represents
the present capital of the Society. Money not yet paid to the Society for copies sold of Magazine Nos. 20-25 is estimated at about 180 Yen, so that the amount gained by the Society from all issues of last year is over 810 Yen.

From November last year it was decided that half the money from the magazine sales should be saved by the Society and that the other half should be divided among the contributors to the Magazine. Nevertheless, it has not yet been decided to what use to put the money saved, and at the present rate this money is over 50 Yen a month (the money remaining after payment to contributors). Thus in one year we will have saved over 600 Yen. Of course, it is difficult to foresee how things will turn out in the future, but going by business conditions in the year we have passed up to now, we cannot say it is out of the question to hope that this will continue. Since, as I said before, it has not yet been decided how to make use of the 600 Yen we have saved, I have given this much thought, and nothing would be better than to put it towards the building of a hall for our Society, which would be both the easiest and the most beneficial use. I will just proceed to outline what I mean:

1. A hall with a floor-space of about 70 Tsubo [c.2,520 feet sq.], reckoning 50 Yen per Tsubo [c.36 feet sq.], would cost in all 3,500 Yen. As an estimate, interest on this at 10 per cent a year would be 350 Yen; the rent of 100 Tsubo for a year would be 60 Yen; the cost of a watchman and ushers, etc. might be 190 Yen. And altogether this would make 600 Yen. This is just what the Society has saved and is a sum we could manage.

2. We would promise to the people who put up the money for building the hall interest at about 10 Yen a month (10 per cent of the building costs). And should there come a time when we could not pay this, we could cover it by [selling] the copyright of the magazine.

3. We would undertake to give half of any profit made by the hall being used for other purposes than the meetings of the Meirokusha to our creditors.

4. We would raise the capital for building the hall through 100 Yen shares. There would be nothing to prevent the shareholders being either individuals or groups. Even the Meirokusha itself could likewise be a shareholder.
5. Should the money accruing to the Meirokusha from hiring the hall out to others be sufficient to cover the Society's share of the building costs (i.e. 50 Yen monthly), the whole proceeds of the magazine should be divided amongst the contributors.

Such, then, are the outlines of my plans for building a hall, and of course its purpose would be mainly as a meeting place for the Meirokusha. However, we only meet twice a month, or at the most four or five times, and on the remaining days it could well be used for other functions. In this way it would not only be financially profitable to us, but would also contribute to the public good. The hall could be used to their advantage by all sorts of societies; for example: musical and concert societies, educational societies, drawing societies, commercial societies, and lecture and debating societies.

Since the Meirokusha started giving speeches this winter, it has gradually taken on the form of a 'society' [Eng. katakana], but we have not yet reached the stage of critical debate on the speeches after having heard them. This, after all, is because they make use of a great many Kanji and the audience cannot understand properly, for the conventions of speech-making have not yet been adequately formalized. We shall have to devote considerable attention to obviating this difficulty, in order to increase the pleasure of our meetings and to advance the benefits of the society.

According to the first clause of the Society's rules, matters debated by us are for the most part to be restricted to things of an educational nature like literature, crafts, and the facts of natural law and so on, which enrich man's talents and advance his moral character; and moreover, the things we eagerly anticipate will only come to pass in later ages and we may well be affected for the present by things which we detest. These are things we cannot hope to prevent. Thus, the discussion of things connected with contemporary politics has never been something on which the meetings of our society have concentrated, and not only would it be ineffective if only political discussion flourished, but it could also cause inestimable damage to the Society. And so I give you this warning of my reflections on the future well-being of the Society and beg you all to accord it due appreciation.

Turning now to the election of a new President, it is the duty of the departing President to nominate the new candidate and put the matter to public election. It is indeed a great honour with which I am favoured. For the duration of my office I have received from you all great kindness and favour and above all faith, and having now reached the time when I must simply lay
these aside I know they will be a source of lasting joy to me, and I humbly proffer you my renewed thanks, which I beg you to accept.

Someone whom I now regard as a suitable President, being of a kindly disposition and who acts with sympathy in all things, is Mitsukuri Shuhei. And so it is he whom I propose to fill the post of President and I would be truly gratified if you would all cast your votes for him in the election.
## APPENDIX THREE A

### CHRONOLOGICAL MEMBERSHIP CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Joined</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f x Mori Arinori</td>
<td>c. Aug. 1873</td>
<td>society first mooted by Mori</td>
<td>HNSD, I, 370.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Nishimura Shigeki</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mori became first President.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Fukuzawa Yukichi</td>
<td></td>
<td>contacted by Nishimura and held first meetings at the Sēyōken, a Western style Restaurant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Nakamura Masanao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Katō Hiroyuki</td>
<td>c. Sept. 1873</td>
<td></td>
<td>HNSD, I, 370.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Tsuda Mamichi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Nishi Amane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Mitsukuri Shūhei</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shūhei became second (and last) President.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Mitsukuri Rinshō</td>
<td>presumably by 1 Feb.</td>
<td>These two are not listed by Nishimura, but are given as founder members in Mori's retiring speech.</td>
<td>cf. Appx.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f x Sugi Kōji</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Rinshō left fairly soon 'because of illness'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHRONOLOGICAL MEMBERSHIP CHART (CONT.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Joined</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x Shimizu Usaburo</td>
<td>presumably by, or shortly after 1 Feb. 1874</td>
<td>Shimizu was the Treasurer and is listed as a Regular Member in YHS, 286 for 10 Feb 74. Sera was Secretary and is first mentioned in YHS, 531 for 10 Dec 74. But he is never listed as a member proper like Shimizu was.</td>
<td>YHS, 531 &amp; Appx.2, TSMZ, 118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sera Tai'ichi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatakeyama Yoshinari</td>
<td></td>
<td>These four plus Shimizu Usaburo above made up the five later Regular Members referred to in Mori's retiring speech. Sugita later left the society.</td>
<td>YHS, 531 &amp; Appx.2, TSMZ, 118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Sakatani Shiroshi</td>
<td>by 10 Dec 74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Tsuda Sen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Kanda Kōhei</td>
<td></td>
<td>These were the five Corresponding Members referred to in Mori's retiring speech.</td>
<td>YHS, 531 &amp; Appx.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takagi Saburo</td>
<td>by 10 Dec 74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomita Tetsunosuke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.E. Griffis</td>
<td></td>
<td>Griffis left Japan in Jul 74.</td>
<td>WGME, 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x Kashiwabara Taka'aki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CHRONOLOGICAL MEMBERSHIP CHART (CONT.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Joined</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanaka Fujimaro</td>
<td></td>
<td>These are eight of the ten Casual Members referred to in Mori's retiring speech.</td>
<td>YHS, 531.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki Ryūichi</td>
<td>by 10 Dec 74, probably on 1 Dec</td>
<td>The remaining two have not been identified.</td>
<td>TSMZ, 118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furukawa Masao</td>
<td></td>
<td>Akiyama, Kuki, Furukawa &amp; Tanaka later became Regular Members.</td>
<td>AYKT, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akiyama Tsunetaro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagayo Sensai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maejima Hisoka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koyasu Takashi</td>
<td>16 Dec 74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x? Shibata Shōkichi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōtsuki Fumihiko</td>
<td></td>
<td>These men are given as Regular Members in the list attached to the revised rules of May 75.</td>
<td>AYKT, 273-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa'i Selbun</td>
<td>by May 1875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsuji Shinji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hida Shōsaku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f = Founder Member  
x = Contributor to MZ
APPENDIX THREE B

PEOPLE KNOWN TO HAVE ATTENDED THE MEIROKUSHA
ONCE OR MORE AS GUESTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fukuchi Gen'ichirō</td>
<td>TSMZ, 118.</td>
<td>Litérateur and politician.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamei Koremi</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Former Daimyō of Tsuwano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furusawa Shigeru</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Popular rights leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numa Morikazu</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Popular rights leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Munenari</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Former Daimyō of Uwajima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimaji Mokurai</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Famous Buddhist scholar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsuda Michiyuki</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Beaucrat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ueki Emori</td>
<td>UEN.</td>
<td>Popular rights journalist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown (An American)</td>
<td>UEN, 16 Jun 75.</td>
<td>Unidentified. Possibly the Baptist Minister, Nathan B., resident in Yokohama from 1873; or, more likely Samuel Robbins B., also a minister in Yokohama and author of Colloquial Japanese or Conversational Sentences &amp; Dialogues in English and Japanese 1862. (SJJ, 1212) S.R. Brown was certainly known to Griffis. (cf. WGME, 160 &amp; 263).</td>
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APPENDIX FOUR

CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 'ENLIGHTENMENT' WRITINGS AND TRANSLATIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE MEIROKUSHA PRODUCED OUTSIDE THE SOCIETY THROUGH 1875

(authors are arranged alphabetically within each year)

1859

NISHI:

Igiri[ou] Bunten [English Grammar Book]

A reprint with added comments of The Elementary Catechisms: English Grammar, London, 19??, a work brought back by Nakahama Manjiro in 1851. It was supervised by Nishi and Tezuka Ritsuzo. This was the first English grammar written in English to be used in Japan. Up till then they had relied on works in Dutch. 1859 is only an approximate date. NYH,617(65).
1860

FUKUZAWA:

Zōtei Ka'ei Tsugo [Revised and enlarged Chinese English Dictionary]

This was a special Japanese edition of the Chinese-English dictionary of words and phrases, the Hua-ying T'ung-yull, by Tzu Ching. Fukuzawa brought back a copy from his 1860 voyage to America, and added Japanese definitions and English pronunciations in kana. It is said to have been the first book to represent the English 'w' sound by the kana symbol for 'u' with a nigror. NYH,623(29). It is reproduced in full in FYZ,1.

Bankoku Seihyo [World Statistics]

Translation of a Dutch statistical survey of world resources by P(?)A. de Jong. One of the earliest statistical books in Japan, this was published in 1860. It was in fact only started by Fukuzawa, who handed it over to Furukawa Masao to finish when he went on the Kanrin-maru trip. MBZ,IX,kaidai,II.

SHIMIZU:

Engirishi Kotoba [English Words]

A word and phrase list giving the Japanese in hiragana and the English in katakana (cf. also Eibei Tsugo, 1884).
appendix four

1861

K A N D A :

Oranda Bisei Roku [Record of the fine government of Holland]

Published under the pseudonym of Kanda Rakuzan. A translation of two Dutch detective stories. The authors and original titles are not known.

Nōshōben [The relative importance of trade and agriculture]

Full title actually: Nōshō Kenkoku Ben [The relative importance of trade and agriculture in building the country]. Stresses the importance of trade. NYH, 636 (37). [Actually since the publication date was 1861.12, it was published in 1862 by the Western calendar.]

K A T Ō :

Tonarigusa [Neighbouring Growth (lit.: grass)]

Expresses admiration for constitutional government. Always quoted as Katō's first important writing of his early period, when as an 'enlightener' he advocated equality and constitutional government. Though of interest for Katō's personal development, it is not in fact of great historical importance, for it was only circulated in manuscript amongst a small circle of friends and was not actually published until 1899 when it appeared as part of a special edition of the magazine Taiyō (Meiji Jū-ni Ketsu: [Twelve Splendours of the Meiji era]) under the title of Mukashi no Rangaku no Hanashi. [An old Discussion in the Rangaku Yeln]. Cf. MBZ, VII, kaidai, ii. Katō's first published argument in favour of constitutionalism was Rikken Seitai Ryōka qv. infra 1868.
1861

TSUDA MANICHI:

Tengai Dokugo [Monologues]

Unpublished manuscript. Dated from internal evidence. Random notes, the main import of which was that the prosperity of Japan must be ensured by opening the country to foreign trade etc., and that it was the duty of the Western scholars to make people see the folly of Sakoku and Sōji. Advocates a Confucian style democracy (mimponshugi) not unlike Yoko Shōnan's and runs a strong fukoku kyōhei line. Advocates the adoption of Western style 'practical studies', (though stresses the continuing value of Chinese learning) and thus a clear forerunner of Tsuda's later materialism. Like Seiriron below, not an important 'enlightenment' work in its own right, but of considerable importance in tracing the development of Tsuda's ideas.

Seiriron [On the Nature of Things]

A manuscript fragment with a postscript by Nishi. Of similar interest to Tengai Dokugo above. Shows some fragmentary knowledge of Western philosophy, and the beginnings of a materialist world-view. Nishi's postscript contains the first known use of kītetsugaku (later shortened to tetsugaku) as a Japanese rendering of 'philosophy'. OTTM, I, 511-514.
1864

N I S H I M U R A:

Bōkai Yōron [Essentials of Coastal Defence]
防海要論

S H I M I Z U:

Eibeī Taūgo [Common Phrases in England and America]
英米通言

1865

FUKUZAWA:

Tōjin Ōrai [The Advent of Foreigners]

An unpublished manuscript circulated among friends. Originally written to convince Kanda Kōhei's maid that foreigners were human! CBFY,122 & 164. KNSS,IV,10 says it was drafted as early as Bunkyū (1861-3)

KATÔ:

Seiyō Kakkoku Saishū Kyōjaku Ichirampyo [The Relative Power of all Western Countries at a Glance]

A minor work of Kato's early 'liberal' period, setting out the natural resources and forms of government of the various European states, and illustrated by maps. Extols the benefits of parliamentary government and explains about Constitutional Monarchy and Republicanism. TSKH,73-4. *

Kōeki Mondō [Dialogue on Trade]

A small 'enlightenment' work arguing the benefits of foreign trade and dealing, in the form of a dialogue, with a number of the objections commonly raised. TSKH,4. Also contains a final section on Christianity. In 1872 it was translated into English by one O'Driscoll and published in Phoenix,XXII & XXV under the title 'Political Economy in Japan: Conversation on Commerce'. In 1881 the Japanese text was reprinted with an introduction by William Imbree, apparently as a Japanese reader for foreigners. MBZ,IX,kaidai,iii-v.

* Based on a German work by ?Prock: Die Machtstellung der Europäischen Staaten (The relative Might of the States of Europe.) MBZ,IX,519. NYK,692 gives the same title under Tsuda Mamichi, but this seems to be an error.
1865

Nishi:

Bankoku Kohō [International Law]

A kambun version of Wheaton’s Elements of International Law, based on the Chinese translation by W.A.P. Martin. Nishi did the kunten. NYH, 670(9). Distinguish from Nishi’s translation of the Vissering notes of the following year, and also from Mitsukuri Rinshō’s Bankoku Kohō of 1874.
1866

FUKUZAWA:

Seiyō Jijo [Conditions in the West]
西洋事情
Seiyō Jijo was published in ten volumes (satsu) between 1866 and 1869. In 1866 three were published, on Western government, economics and trade. MBZ, IX, 519.

Raijū Sōhō [How to operate a Rifle]
雷銃操治
EKFY, 375.

NISHI:

Bankoku Kōhō [International Law]
万國公法
A translation of Vissering's lectures on Volkenregt commenced on Bakufu orders in 1866.12. NYH, 675(26). Not in fact published until 1868, when two versions are supposed to have appeared, one for government and one for popular use, but no copy of the latter survives. Little more than a lecture outline with added comments and of interest mainly as one of the earliest Japanese works on international law. THNA, 46-7.
FUKUZAWA:

Seiyō Jijō  
Three more volumes (cf. supra:1866) on 'social and political economy'. The sections on social economy were translated from the textbook of that name put out in England by the Chambers brothers. The second half, on political economy, is said to have been abridged because it covered the same ground as Kanda's *Keizai Shōgaku* of the same year. qv. infra. *MBZ*, IX, 519.

Seiyō Tabi Annai [A Guide to Travel in the West]  
One of the earliest guidebooks for prospective travellers, explaining such unaccustomed things as foreign exchange, latitude and longitude, different climates, ship-building *etc.* CBFY, 8.

Seiyō Ishokuju [Daily Life in the West]  
A straightforward description with illustrations of Western foods, clothing, furniture *etc.* CBFY, 8.

Joyaku Jū-ikkoku Ki [Points about the eleven Treaty Countries]  
EKFY, 375.
1867

K A N D A :

*Keizai Shōgaku* [Elementary Economics]

Translated from the Dutch version of W. Ellis: *Outlines of Social Economy*, 1846. This was the first work to use the word *keizai* in its modern sense of 'economics'. Previously it had a looser application with something of the sense of 'governing the country and helping the people'. Reprinted with no alterations in 1868 as *Seiyo Keizai Shōgaku* [Elementary Western Economics]. A very simple work and used as an elementary school textbook, but important as the earliest introduction of capitalist theory. Ellis was a pupil of Bentham and a friend of Mill. NYH,678(47); MBZ,IX,kaidai,ii.

N I S H I M U R A :

*Hyakudai Tōran* [A General Survey History]

A composite translation from various Western sources covering world history from ancient times to the present day. Commenced in 1862 and completed in 1867.7, it survives in eight manuscript satsu but was never actually published. NYH,692.
1868

FUKUZAWA:

Kumomō Kyūri Zukai [Illustrated Explanations of Scientific Principles]

Three volumes (kan). More generally known as Kyūri Zukai.

Heishi Kaishū Benran [Handbook for Soldiers]

EKFY, 375.

KANDA:

Oranda Seiten [The Dutch Constitution]

A translation of the 1848 reformed Dutch Constitution. Usually said to have been published in 1868, but 1869 is actually more likely. The first full translation of the text of a constitution. MBZ, IV, 614 & VII, 552.

Sugaku Kyōiku Hon [Mathematics Instruction Book]

ISNB, 946.

Seiyō Keizai Shōgaku

cf. supra: Keizai Shōgaku, 1867.
1868

K ATÔ:

Rikken Seitai Ryaku [Outline of Constitutionalism]

A small pamphlet of 26 pages. The first Japanese work positively to advocate constitutional government. In effect an expansion of Tonari-gusa qv. supra: 1861. Argues for popular government and individual rights. (Yoshino Sakuzo suggests that in fact this, like several other works by Katô, shows signs of considerable assistance from Yanagawa Shunsan.

T S U D A M A M I C H I:

Taisei Kokuhô Ron [Western National Law]

Tsuda's most important 'enlightenment' work. Based on the translation he did for the Bakufu in 1866 of Vissering's lectures on Staatsrecht (National Law). Includes a separate introduction by Tsuda entitled Taisei Hôgaku Yôyô, which is a short descriptive essay on Western law, and the first original Japanese work on this subject. Ōkubo ranks Taisei Kokuhô Ron with Nishi's Bankoku Kôhô, Pukuzawa's Seiyô Jijô, Kanda's Sethôryaku and Katô's Rikken Seitai Ryaku, as one of the most important early 'enlightenment' works. Where Nishi's work dealt with International law, Taisei Kokuhô Ron covered all aspects of internal state law (such as constitutional law, criminal law, civil procedure etc.) In this work Tsuda coined many new legal terms for the Japanese language which are still in use, including Mimpô for 'Civil Law'. It was published in 1868.9 by the Kaiseisha, and was of great influence both in legal circles and even on the political system (specifically, on the provision for the separation of powers in the Seitaisho.) OTTM,III,47-9.
1869

FUKUZAWA:

Setyō Sijō


Sekai Kunizuki Shi [Enumeration of the Countries of the World]

Description for Children of various countries in 7-5 metre. CBFY,8 ; KBKS,IV,67.

Eikoku Giji'in Dan [Tales of the English Parliament]

Said to be a translation of the section on 'parliament' in William Thomas Brande's *Dictionary of Science and Art*. NYH,726(84). MBZ,IV,614, in addition to Brande, mentions as sources Blackstone and Beal(?).

Shin-Ei Kosai Shimatsu [Relations between Ch'ing China and England]

NYH,726(85).

Shōhū Bankoku Ichiran [A Pocket View of the World]

KBKS,V,67.
1869

FU KU ZAWA cd.:

Yōhei Meikan: [Clear Lessons from the Western Military]
洋兵明鑑
NYH,726(85). (KNSS,IV,13 gives 1868)

Keimo Tenari no Pumi: [Elementary Book of Penmanship and Reading]
啓蒙手習之之
EKFY,376.

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Keizai Genron: [Basic Economics]
経済原論
A translation of Arthur Latham Perry: Elements of Political Economy, 1865. Rinshō did this translation in conjunction with Ogata Gō'ichi and Yanagawa Shunsan.
1870

K ATÔ:

Shinsei Tai'i [The great Principles of True Government]

In a similar vein to Tonarigusa and Rikken Seitai Ryaku (qv, supra: 1861 & 1868), Argues that constitutional government is the ideal form and sets out to elucidate how it functions. NYH, 744(102). But even in this early work Katô shows some reluctance to accept the idea of establishing a parliament immediately, thus pressaging his later more explicit shōsōron. This was also the first Japanese work to introduce the concepts of Socialism and Communism. TSKH, 78-9. (KJWD gives the date as 1869)

N ISHI:

Hyakugaku Renkan [The Universal Interconnections of Learning (Lit.: Links of the Hundred Sciences)]

A series of lectures given by Nishi at his Ikueisha from 1870. Never in fact published in Nishi’s lifetime (first pubd. 1945), nevertheless a major work of Meiji intellectual history. An attempt to show the inter-relatedness of all branches of learning. Sub-titled “Encyclopedia” by Nishi, it was a classification of disciplines greatly influenced by Comte, but with important modifications. Also has a section on Mill’s logic. THCM, 219-221.

Kotoba no Ishizue [The Foundation of Words]
1870

NISHIMURA:

Yoohi Shiryaku [Outline World Geography]

A completion of the famous work left unfinished by Uchida Masao. Published in parts between 1870 and 1875. NNYH,744(103). Ranked by Nishimura himself as one of the three most Important enlightenment works. (The others being Fukuzawa's Shokyō Jijō (qv. 1869) and Nakamura's Saikoku Risshi Hen [qv. 1871])

Bankoku Shiryaku [Short History of the World]

Translation of this work is said to have been completed as early as Spring 1868, but because of the Restoration disturbances was not published until 1870 in Kyoto. A revised edition was published in 1872.

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Furansu Hōritsu Sho: Kēto [The French Legal Codes: the Criminal Code]

This was the first part of Rinshō's complete translation of the French legal codes, on which he was occupied for much of the next twenty years. (Rinshō's method was the customary one of dictating the translation to a secretary). After the Criminal Code came: 1871, the Civil Code (Mimpō); 1873, International Law (Kokuaithō, also called Bankoku Kōhō); 1874, Civil Procedure (Litigation) (Soshō), Criminal Procedure (Chisaihō), and Commercial Law (Shōhō); and 1876, Constitutional Law (Kempō). NNYH,749(153), 771(158), 827(147), 853(156, 157 & 163), and 898(117).
1870

TSUDA MAMICHI:

Shinritsu Kōryō [Summary of New Laws]
新律綱領

The result of Tsuda's work for the Justice Department (Keibushō). MKSS, 453.
1871

KANDA:

Sethōryaku [Outline of Natural Law]

A translation of Nishi's notes on the lectures given by Vissering at Leyden on *Naturalis*. Kanda is said to have taken a complete copy of the notes and to have worked from that. NYH,770(133). Nishi himself had done a translation but both the manuscript and the original notes were destroyed at the Battle of Tobafushimi in Kyoto in 1868. NAI,11,699. Sethōryaku was also used as a primary school text-book. CBFY,149.

Seigaku Zusetsu narabi Zu [Astronomical Charts and Diagrams]

The originals of this and of Seigaku Zusetsu are said to have been the works of an American scholar Schmidt (?) (kana: Su-mi-tsu-do). NYH,770(133).

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Bankoku Shinshi [A new History of the World]

This is an adapted translation in 30 volumes (satsu) from an untraced original. It was published by Rinshō in three parts between 1871 and 1881. NYH,768(101). It deals with history since the French Revolution.

Furansu Hōritsu Sho: Mimpō [French Legal Codes: Civil Code]

cf. supra: 1870. Published by the Daiyaku Kankō (Kaiseisho) in sixteen volumes (satsu).
1871

MITSUKURI RINSHÔ cd.:

Taisei Kansaen Kōmō [Western Moral Instruction]

This work on ethics was used as a textbook in primary schools from 1872. It was published in three parts, each being based principally on one foreign text, but including selections from other works too, thus:

Pt. 1: Published 1871, based on L. Ch. Bonne: 

Ce que c'est que le Devoir: Ires. et 2es. Lectures.

Legons de Morale pour les Enfants, Paris, 1869.

Pt. 2: Published 1873, based on Hubbard Winslow: 

Elements of Moral Philosophy, New York, 1856.

Pt. 3: Published 1874, based on Laurens Perseus Hickock: A System of Moral Science, New York, 1868 (first published Schenectady, 1853). NKTK,1,596 & III,507. An abridged and emended version, thought more suitable for Japanese conditions, was brought out in 1873 under the title of Dōmō Oshie no Michisuji

[Essentials of moral Knowledge for Children]. NKTK,111,509; CGLF; BMGC.

MORI:

Life and Resources in America

Compiled by Mori's American Secretary, Charles Lanman, with an introduction by Mori, and printed in Washington. See further text p.39.
NAKAMURA:

Saikoku Risshi Hen [Tales of Success in the West]

A translation of Samuel Smiles: *Self Help*. First published in full in 13 parts (sub-divided into a total of 324 sections) by the Dōjōsha in July 1871. This, together with Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō* and Uchida Masao's *Yōki Shiryaku* (qv. supra: 1870, under Nishimura), is known as one of the three most influential books of the Meiji period. In its various editions it is said to have sold over a million copies. (Though never actually prescribed as such by the Mombushō, it was widely used in schools as a reader and as a sort of ethics text-book, and thus played a very important part in spreading the 'enlightenment' spirit. (Though always referred to simply as translations, Nakamura's 'translations', like those of many other 'enlightenment' men, were part literal translation, part paraphrase, and (occasionally) part commentary.)

NISHIMURA:

Seishi Nempyo [Chronology of Western History]

Translated from an untraced original by a Scotsman named Frazer(?) (kana: fu-ra-za-ru ta-i-to-ra-ru) NYH,771(144).

SUGI:

Shimmi Seihyo [Statistical Tables for 1871]

This was the first of Sugi's annual statistical reports. (Not entered for subsequent years in this table.)
1872

FUKUZAWA:

Gakumon no Susume [The Advancement of Learning]
学問の進歩
The first of a series of seventeen essays under this general title, published between February 1872 and November 1876. One of the most popular and influential of all kōmon works, by 1880 the total of individual numbers sold had reached c.700,000 (of which 240,000 were of Pt. I). Argues forcefully for a rational and sceptical attitude towards life and for the equality of all men (and hence of countries too).

Dōmō Oshiegusa [Moral Instruction for Children]
重蒙教草
Apparently a translation from one of the books put out by the Chambers brothers (KNSS,IV,15), this book sought to introduce the norms of Western morality via illustrative tales about Western countries. EKPY,376. It was also used as a primary school textbook. CBFY,149.

Katawa Musume [The disfigured lady]
力たれ娘
A satire on current Japanese ideals of beauty which enjoined such practices as shaving the eyebrows and blackening the teeth. EKPY,376.

KANDA:

Oranda Shūhō [Dutch Provincial Law]
和蘭州法

1872

K ANDA cd.:

Oranda Yūhō Dutch Rural Law

This and the preceding entry are both translations of Dutch legal codes. NYH,795(1171.

Oranda Shihōshoku Sethō [Dutch Legal Procedure]

KATŌ:

Kokuho Hanron [Outline of State Law]

A partial translation of Johann Caspar Bluntschli: Allgemeine Staatsrecht Geschichtlich Begründet (General State Law on Historical Foundations), 1852. Published by the Mombushō. The first of Kato's major translations from German which influenced him in taking a more statist line and to renounce his earlier faith in natural rights. Probably Kato's most Influential single work. TSKH,84-5. Published in eleven parts (kan) between 1872 & 1874. NYH,798(160). (Allgemeine Staatsrecht... was the first part only of Bluntschli's Lehrre vom modernen Staat (Theory of the modern State), 1875, which comprised an expanded version of the former plus a volume entitled Politik (Politics). [cf. the authorised English translation from the sixth German Edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901 (3rd. Ed.), vi, N.1] The work was not fully translated into Japanese until 1888 by Hirata Tōsuke. MBZ,17,553.

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Taiset Shikan [Mirror History of the West]

1873

FUKUZAWA:
帳合之法
Chōai no hō [The Rules of Bookkeeping]

A translation of H.B. Bryan and H.D. Stratton: Common School Bookkeeping: Embracing Single and Double Entry, 1871. (MBZ,IX,521; BMGC) Chōai was a neologism coined by Fukuzawa to translate 'bookkeeping' for which no generally accepted equivalent existed. In Shibata's dictionary, published in the same year (cf. infra), it was translated as shōbogaku. The word finally adopted was boki, as used in the Ginkō Boki Seihō [Detailed Rules of Banking and Bookkeeping], put out in 1873 by the Ōkawashō (being a translation of an untraced English work by one A.A. Shand). NYH,824(107).

Kairekiben [Understanding the New Calander]
改暦論
From 1 January 1873, Japan adopted the Western solar calendar. But the government had simply given the order to change without really explaining the reasons or advantages. Many ordinary people were confused and Fukuzawa set out to explain how the new calendar worked and what were the reasons for adopting it. EKFY,376.

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Domōkyō no Nichisei [The Essence of Education for Children]
童蒙教の道須知
Explains Western ideas on morals and ethics. NYH,826(125). This was a revised version of Taisei Kanzen Kummō (qv. supra: 1871).
1872

NAKAMURA:

Jiyū no Ri [The Principle of Freedom]

自由之理

A translation of the 1870 edition of John Stuart Mill: On Liberty. Another very popular work by Nakamura and almost as famous as his Saikoku Risshi Hen (qv. supra: 1871). Contains supplementary sections by Nakamura himself advocating free trade and freedom of religion. The draft was completed in 1871 while he was at Shizuoka, but it was not published until late 1872. Despite Nakamura's careful disclaimer in his preface of any intention to do more than elucidate, for those interested, the political style of European countries ('Of course this "Principle of Liberty" which is discussed in this book, is not applicable to Imperial Japan...'), the work had its effect on the popular rights movement. TMNM, 102-6. A revised edition was published in 1878. NYH, 767(94).

NISHIMURA:

Kōsei Bankoku Shiryaku [A revised and enlarged Short History of the World]

校正万国史略

cf. supra: Bankoku Shiryaku, 1870.
1873

MITSUBUSHI RINSHÔ cd.:

Fukkoku Seiten [On the Government of France]

This, like the following translation on International Law, was done largely by Kentaro, but revised by Rinshô. It was published by the Department of Justice (Shihôshô). (NYH, 827(145). It seems likely to have been a translation of E. Delacourte: *Éléments de Législation Usuelle*, Paris, 1867, a secondary school text-book on Civil Law. cf. CGLP, V, 371.

Furansu Horitsu *Shi* : Kokusaiho [French Legal Codes: International Law]

Also known under the title of Bankoku Kôhô (cf. supra: 1870). Not to be confused with another work by Rinshô titled Bankoku Kôhô, written in 1874, qv.

Kyôdo Satsu [On Education]

Translated from Chambers Encyclopaedia of 1859-68. MSKSK, 220. Later incorporated as one of the volumes of the Ministry of Education's Encyclopedia, Hyakka Zensho, started in 1876. NYH, 904(193).

Taisei Kanzen Kumô

Pt. 2. cf. supra: 1871.

MORI:

*Education in Japan: A Series of Letters addressed by Prominent Americans to Arinori Mori*, New York: D. Appleton & Co. (see further text p.43ff.)
1873

N A K A M U R A :

Kyōwa Seiji [Republican Government]

共和政治

A Translation from an American work by Ransome Gillette(?). Stresses religion as the necessary fundamental basis of government. TMNM,109.

Saikoku Dōji Kan [ A Child's Mirror of the West]

西國童子鑑

Translated biographies of Western poets, historians, essayists etc. NYH,828(172). Possibly from Harper's Cyclopedia of British and American Poetry. (NYH loc.cit. gives the American 'author' as Harper).

N I S H I M U R A :

Kachū Keimai [Home Economics]

家中経済

Translated from an untraced original by Hartshorne(?). NYH,825(169).

S H I B A T A :

Bi-Wa Ji'z [English-Japanese Lexicon]

英和字彙

More popularly known as the Shibata Jisho, a widely used dictionary of the early Meiji period. Shibata had worked on it since early 1870 and published it at his own press in January 1873. NYH,845(78). He appears to have been assisted in the compilation by Yanagiya Kentarō and Hayashi Michisaburō. DJJ,III,256.
1874

FUKUZAWA:

Kai giben [Speaking before an Audience]

Based principally upon an American pamphlet on the rules of debating.

KATÔ:

Kokutai Shinron [A New Theory of the State]

The final work of Katô's 'liberal' period, and something of a transition piece. Maintains the theory of natural rights but shows indications of a more pragmatic, statist approach. TSKH,82-3.

IMITSUKU RINSHÔ:

Bankoku Köhô [International Law]

Distinguish from his kokuaihô of the previous year which also goes under this name. (cf. also Nishi, 1865 & 1866.) Never in fact published but used by the government which had commissioned it as a result of unease over its unfamiliarity with the demands and rights of international law. It was a translation of Kent’s Commentary on International Law (being Vol. I, Pt. 1 of James Kent: Commentaries on American Law, IV, (fp. 1826-30), a piece which was twice published separately, in 1866 and 1878). NYH,857(29); BMGC; DAB.

Fukkoku Minsen Gî'in Senkô Ho [The Election Laws for the French National Assembly]

Rinshô’s revision of Ôi Kentarô’s translation. NYH,853(160).
1874

MITSUKURI RINSHÔ cd.:  

Furansu Hōritsu Sho: Chisaihō, Shōhō & Soshōhō [The French Legal Codes: Criminal Procedure, Civil Procedure and Commercial Law]

校範西法律書治罪法商法訴訟法

cf. supra: 1870.

Gakkō Tsūron [All About Schools]

学校通論


Taisei Shizen Shinkō [Natural Religion in the West]

泰西自然神教

NYH, 855(194). A later similar volume on 'Natural Religion and Morality' (Shizen Shinkō oyobi Dōkokugaku) was published in 1880 as part of the Ministry of Education's Encyclopedia (Hyakka Zenshū) published between 1876 and 1883.

Tokeigaku [Statistics]

統計学

Also known under the title of Kokuze Ryakuron [Outline of National Resources]. A translation of Morreau de Jonnes: Élements de Statistique, Paris, 1847. Published in ten volumes from 1874 to 1877. NYH, 853(154).

Taisei Kanzen Kumin

泰西勤善剪書

Pt. 3. cf. supra: 1871.
NAKAMURA:

Seihai Zaesan [A Miscellany of Western Tales]

西海雑纂
A kambun reader of translations of selected anecdotes and didactic stories, published by the Dōjōsha.

NYH,856(200)

NISHI:

Hyaku-ichi Shinron [A New Theory of the Hundred and One]

百一新論
The first sustained application of the inductive method in a study of the (Confucian) classics. THCM,221.

Chiishi Keimō [Logic and Enlightenment]

知智啓蒙
Based on Nishi's lectures devoted to a detailed analysis of Mill's System of Logic, portions of which are translated whole. THCM,221 & 224.

NISHIMURA:

Keisai Yoshi [Essential Economics]

経済要旨
Published by the Mombushō.

Kyūsho Kisai Kōgi [Lectures on Moral Training]

求諸己齊講義
A translation, completed in October, of Laurens P. Hickock: A System of Moral Science, Schenectady 1853. YKNS,60; CJATM,207.
Hyōki Teikō [Outline of Statistics]

The last to be published of the three principle works based on the Vissering notes made by Nishi and Tsuda. (The only subject treated by Vissering which did not get translated was economics.) Hyōki Teikō (also known as Sēkyō Gakuron [Treatise on Statistics]) deals in particular with the accounting of state finances. It has an important place in the history of statistics in Japan and was the second of Tsuda's major 'enlightenment' works. (There also survives a manuscript translation of the same notes by Sugī Kōji entitled Keisei Gakuron. Tsuda and Sugī had been friends from early days and Tsuda very probably gave his statistics notes to Sugī very soon after he got back from Holland. OTTM, III, 78, N.11) Mitsukuri Rinshō's Tōkeigaku had appeared earlier this year. OTTM, III, 60-61; NYH, 853(152); MBZ, IX, kaidai xix.

Waga Kan ga Kaku no Gotoshi [Such are my Views]

A similar work to the unpublished Tengai Dokugo (qv. supra: 1861), being a collection of short essays and random notes on a variety of topics including, ethnology, human rights, freedom etc. Written in 1874, it was actually published in January 1875 by Shimizu Usaburo, who recounts in his introduction to the work how it was the result of a request made by him to Tsuda. OTTM, I, 490 & III, 70.

TSUDA SEN:

Nōgyō Sanjī [Three Agricultural Matters]

An adaptation of a work by an Austrian Oberring (?) (kana: ō-i-bu-mi-n-gu) under whom Tsuda studied in 1873 when he went to attend the Vienna International Exhibition. The three topics treated are: i. Cross-breeding of plants. ii. Laying underground steam heating pipes. & iii. Arboriculture. NYH, 852(136).
1875

FUKUZAWA:

Bummeiron no Gairyaku [Outline of Civilization]
文明論之概論
An essay in six parts on modern civilization, its goal, structure and meaning for Japan. This work put forward similar arguments to Gakumon no Susume (cf. supra: 1872), but at a less popular level.

KATO:

Seiyō Kakkoku Ritken Seitai Kiritsu Shi [A History of the Establishment of Constitutional Government in Western Countries]
西洋各國立憲政體記立史

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Bankoku Seitai Ron [Political Systems of the World]
万國政體論
NYH, 873(23). MBZ, VIII, 590 gives the author of the original as Caspar Hopkins. It thus seems most likely that the work in question is, Caspar Thomas Hopkins: A Manual of American Ideas. Designed 1st for the use of Schools, 2nd for the use of foreigners seeking Naturalisation, 3rd for the use of Voters, San Francisco, 1872. LCFC, LXX, 1943.

* (The development of the State in Germany, England and France: A Contribution to Comparative State- and Constitutional Law)
1875

**Mitsu Kuri Rinshō** cd.:

Furansu Yūhō [French Rural Law]

仏蘭西邑法

Rinshō's revision of a translation from a French original by Ōi Kentarō. NYH, 874(126).

**Nishimura**:

Kyōiku Shi [History of Education]

教育史

Translated from an unidentified English work of 1869, titled The History and Progress of Education (?) by Hirobrias(?); (kana: hi-ro-bu-ri-a-su). NYH, 875(142); MSKSK, 221.

Taisei Shikan [History of the West]

泰西史鑑

Translated as early as 1872 (YKNS, 60), but publication was not started until November 1875, and was continued over thirty sections until 1881. MKSS, 460.

Said to have been translated from a German original given him by Kande Köhel in 1867. YKNS, 16.
APPENDIX SIX

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BAKUFU'S SCHOOL OF WESTERN STUDIES, THE KAISEISHO, UNTIL ITS AMALGAMATION INTO TOKYO UNIVERSITY

1855 The Bakufu sets up as a separate institution called the Yōgakusho [Department of Western Studies] what was previously an office for the translation of foreign books under the jurisdiction of the Temmondai [Bureau of Astronomy].

1856 The Yōgakusho is renamed the Bansho[tori]shirabesho [Bureau for examining foreign (barbarian) books], and its duties are established as not only the translation of all foreign books held and the examination of newly acquired ones but also the giving of language instruction (in Dutch). Students may only come from the ranks of direct Bakufu retainers. Only those with a thorough knowledge of Chinese studies are allowed entry.

1860 English replaces Dutch as the principle language offered. Provision is also made for French, German and Russian. The translation of foreign newspapers is commenced.

1862 Banshoshirabesho moved to a new site near Hitotsubashi and renamed Yoshoshirabesho [Bureau for examining Western Books]. Entry is made open to anyone of samurai rank.

1863 Yoshoshirabesho is renamed Kaiseisho [Enlightenment Centre].

1864 Provision is made for instruction in mathematics as part of new rules making the Kaiseisho a fully fledged school of Western studies.

1865 Physics and Chemistry are added to the curriculum.

1867 The Kaiseisho is placed under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (Gaikoku Bugyo).

1868 Briefly closed down during the Restoration.
The Kaiseisho is reopened under the new name Kaisei Gakkō [School of Enlightenment]. Entry is made open to any qualified person regardless of rank. In 1869.6.15 it was amalgamated as one administrative unit with the Igakusho [Medical School] and the main Tokugawa centre of Chinese studies, the Shōhei Gakkō. The Shōhei Gakkō was the main institution and the whole together was named the Ichidai Gakkō [No. One Main School]. Six months later under the new education system the Ichidai Gakkō was renamed Daigaku [University] and the three component institutions, the Kaisei Gakkō, the Igakusho and the Shōhei Gakkō became known respectively as Daigaku Nanko, Toko and Honkō or the Southern, Eastern and Main Schools of the University. The first two were so named after their geographical location with respect to the Honkō.

Daigaku formally established as Tokyo University [Tōkyō Daigaku].
## APPENDIX SEVEN

### THE PUBLICATION DATES OF THE MEIROKU ZASSHI

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APPENDIX EIGHT

THE AGES OF MEMBERS AT THE FOUNDATION OF THE MEIROKUSA AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MAGAZINE

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Appendix eight
**APPENDIX NINE**

SPEECHES KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BUT NOT PUBLISHED IN THE MAGAZINE

(These speeches are given under the date cited in: *Ueki Emori Nikki*)

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<td>Tsuda Sen</td>
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<td>on the likelihood of a federated Asia.</td>
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<td>1 Nov</td>
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<td>on an English book on 'general education'.</td>
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<td>(date unknown. cited in THNA, 224,N.50)</td>
<td>Tsuda Sen</td>
<td>on agriculture.</td>
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<td>Nishi</td>
<td>on foreign tariffs.</td>
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APPENDIX TEN

HORACE MANN AND THE CASE FOR HIS INFLUENCE ON MORI ARINORI

Horace Mann, 1796-1859, social reformer and 'the father of American public schools', is probably best remembered for his twelve annual reports from 1837 to 1848 as the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Born in poverty and with little formal education, he still succeeded in entering Brown University, where he graduated head of his class, and embarked on a law career of great promise, serving also in both houses of the Massachusetts legislature. All this he abandoned on the foundation in 1837 of the Massachusetts Board of Education, which he joined as Secretary. In 1848 he 'was elected to John Quincey Adams' old seat in the United States House of Representatives where he won renown for his passionate and cogent denunciation of slavery. From 1852 until his death, he acted as the first President of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, a demanding post in the then backwoods of Ohio. There he set a precedent by opening his college to both sexes and all races. The puritanism which sustained Mann in an arduous lifelong battle against prejudice and vested interests, had its comic side for the modern in his violent opposition to ballet, but also, more seriously, blinded him in his hatred of drink, for example, to the fact that the evils of the social system were father to the vice as much as the other way round. He rested his appeal to the monied classes for support in his work basically on the argument that educated workers were better workers, who at the same time as improving their own lot would increase profits. Nevertheless, Mann was inspired by genuine humanitarian ideals. If he had too great a faith in phrenology, he was in the company of many of the greatest thinkers of the day; and if his complete acceptance of the potentially unlimited improvability of 'the race' seems a little too naive to a more cynical age, Mann's life was still marked by very real achievement. He founded the first normal school in America at Lexington, Mass. in 1839, and it was also through his efforts that the first asylum for the insane was established at Worcester, Mass. During his secretaryship a minimum school year of six months was legally enacted by the state parliament (1839); public schoolmasters' salaries were increased 62 per cent; over 50 new high-schools were set up, and so on. The most famous of his writings are the twelve annual reports (cf.Bibl.) on the importance of and ways of bettering education.
appendix ten

For ten years he also edited the 'Common School Journal' which he founded in 1838 to popularise his ideas on education. Other writings include: Lectures on Education, 1845; Powers and Duties of Women, 1853; and various textbooks on arithmetic, physiology, hygiene etc. (Apart from the normal biographical sources, I have relied for the above on a good short assessment of Mann in, Merle Curti: The Social Ideas of American Educators, Totona: Littlefield and Adams, 1966.)

Whilst Mori's ideas may have been influenced as much by the general tone of the age as by any particular author, there is a number of striking parallels of thought on educational matters between Mori and Mann. The amount of direct influence by Mann is of course impossible to assess. Mori's citation of him in Religious Freedom..., however, together with the fact that Mann almost certainly provided Mori with the model for his Education in Japan... indicates familiarity with him over an extended period. The two were certainly men of kindred spirit and the appeal which Mann would have had to Mori is clear from the similarity of their views outlined below.

Mann believed first and foremost in the potentially unlimited capacity of mankind for improvement; in short, he had faith in progress. Secondly he felt that the supreme tool for engineering this progress was education. Possible quotations from his writings are legion, but the following amply illustrates both these principle aspects of his thought:

...in universal education, every "follower of God and friend of human kind" will find the only sure means of carrying forward that particular reform to which he is devoted. In whatever department of philanthropy he may be engaged, he will find that development to be only a segment of the great circle of beneficence, of which Universal Education is centre and circumference; and that it is only when these segments are fully joined together, that the wheel of progress can move harmoniously and restlessly onward.

As it was to be seen as the most important item in 'the grand inventory of a nation's resources', Mann desired education for all, regardless of class, sex or race. And the type of education he wanted was practical learning such as would be immediately applicable to the general improvement of the human lot, in both the moral and the material spheres. But he concentrates on the latter. In the twelfth report he certainly claims that 'moral education is a primal necessity of social existence', and argues at length for the beneficial influence in this respect of religious
education. But the particular stress of the main corpus of his work is on the beneficial effect of education on material improvement in health and wealth. He himself drew up practical textbooks in arithmetic, physiology and so on, and had a particular interest in all types of apparatus used in schools.

Mann was also, as might be expected, a firm believer in the power of individual action, and in the sacred rights of the individual within society. His whole life is illustrative of the former and the latter comes out particularly in his steady insistence on the right of the individual to religious self-determination. An absolute believer in Christianity himself, he was all for, and did insist on, bible instruction in schools. But the idea of any particular sectarian influence or bias was anathema to him. And he spoke out resolutely against any form of interference by the state in religious matters, invoking the great principle that government should do all that it can to facilitate the acquisition of religious truth; but shall leave decision of the question, what religious truth is, to the arbitrament, without human appeal, of each man's reason and conscience.

he continues later:

...the relation of man to his maker never changes. Its object and its obligations are immutable. The jurisdiction which God exercises over the obligations which his rational and accountable offspring owe to him, excludes human jurisdiction. And, hence it is that religious rights are inalienable rights.

For any government, then, to attempt to coerce and predetermine the religious opinions of children, by law, and contrary to the will of their parents, is unspeakably more criminal than the usurpation of such control over the opinions of men.

A further very particular item of Mann's creed was a deep faith in the virtues of personal hygiene and physical health, or rather, with the part that education could play in promoting these. The major part of his sixth report is devoted to the relationship of ignorance to ill-health; and the first section of his eleventh report under the title of 'Physical Education' again lays great stress on the inculcation of knowledge about elementary sanitary precautions and rules of health - as he calls them himself, 'the rules of Health and Life'.

To sum up then, for Mann, education for all was the finest and indispensable vehicle for advancing along 'the radiant pathway of improvement'. By this he meant essentially improvement of material and physical conditions. But moral improvement was also to be gained through religious education, with the proviso that each man was to be his own final arbiter of faith.

Almost his final words at the end of his twelfth and last report, summing up twelve years of arduous labour for education, record his faith that education 'among the Useful Arts, is the most useful and, among the Fine Arts is the most elegant'. In this case Mann is careful to make the essential distinction between 'useful' and 'fine' arts. Elsewhere his usage is not so precise. This is an important point, since Mori, like Mann, makes frequent use of the phrase 'science and art' or 'science and arts'. It is important to know what Mori in particular meant by the term 'arts', since he later, as recorded by Nishi Amane, gave the introduction of arts as one of the main aims he had in founding the Meirokusha. Mann generally uses arts to mean what we should now call techniques, and what he in moments of greater precision would call useful arts. And the clue to this is given when he talks of those 'great works of art - the steam engine, the printing press, the power loom, the mill, the iron foundry, the ship, the telescope & c.'

Mori likewise when he talks of science and arts has no intention of signifying fine arts, but uses the two as an almost inseparable compound to designate the whole complex of practical, scientific and organisational techniques of modern material civilization. This is proved conclusively by Nishi's using the word jutsu as a synonym for what he elsewhere, quoting Mori, refers to in kana rendering as atsu. But this is only a minor aspect of the overall parallelism of thought between Mori and Mann which is by now evident. Mori too had an unquestioning faith in progress, in the dignity of the individual, his inalienable right to religious freedom, and his intrinsic ability to affect fate by his own actions. Particularly, he too believed absolutely in the efficacy and essentiality of education to assist progress. The type of education he too wanted, whilst he also stressed the moral factor, was essentially practical education and education for everyone. Finally Mann's obsession with hygiene will undoubtedly have struck a responsive chord in the rather spartan Mori with his concern for sexual purity.

There are reproduced now for the purpose of comparison the two circular letters, by Mori in Education in Japan... and by Mann
in his fifth report. In his commentary afterwards, Mann claims to have demonstrated the benefits and necessity of education; Mori starts off his introduction with these things assumed. Also, where Mann's questions are specific, Mori's are more general. But in each case both the aim (to stimulate consciousness of the role of education) and the methods are the same. And the great disparity in their relative length does nothing to vitiate the fundamental identity of both means and end. This identity, then, together with Mori's known admiration of Mann, is taken as sufficient proof of the influence of the thought of Horace Mann on Mori Arinori.

(i) Circular letter from Horace Mann requesting information on the effects of education. Taken from his fifth report of 1841 to the Massachusetts Board of Education:

Dear Sir,- My best and only apology for taking the liberty to address you, will be found in the object I have in view, which, therefore, I proceed to state without further preface.

In fulfilling the duties with which I have been entrusted by the Board of Education, I am led into frequent conversation and correspondence, not only with persons in every part of the State, but more or less with every class and description of persons in the whole community.

I regret to say, that among these, I occasionally meet with individuals, who, although very differently circumstanced in life, cordially agree in their indifference towards the cause of common education; and some of whom even profess to be alarmed at possible mischiefs that may come in its train, and therefore stand in its path and obstruct its advancement.

The individuals who thus maintain an attitude of neutrality, or assume one of active opposition, are either persons who, in their worldly circumstances, are deemed the favorites of fortune; or, they are persons who are alike strangers to mental cultivation, and to all the outward and ordinary signs of temporal prosperity. In a word, they are found, in regard to their worldly condition, at the two extremes of the social scale. I would, by no means, be understood to say, that any considerable proportion of the men of wealth amongst us, look with an unfriendly eye, on the general diffusion of the means of knowledge. On the contrary,
some of the best friends of education are to be found amongst this class, who uniting abundance of means with benevolence of disposition, are truly efficient in advancing the work. Nor, on this subject, are the lines of demarcation between parties, broadly drawn, but they shade off by imperceptible degrees, from friends to opponents.

But this I do mean to say, that there are men of wealth and leisure, too numerous to be overlooked in a calculation of friendly and of adverse agencies, who profess to fear that a more thorough and comprehensive education for the whole people, will destroy contentment, loosen habits of industry, engender a false ambition, and prompt to an incursion into their own favored sphere, by which great loss will accrue to themselves, without any corresponding benefit to the invaders.

The other class are those who, suffering from a neglected or a perverted education in themselves, seem incapable of appreciating, either the temporal and material well-being, or suffering the mental elevation and enjoyment, which it is the prerogative of a good education to confer. These two parties, though alien from each other, in all other respects, are allies here; and, although with the exception of a very few towns in the Commonwealth, they are not numerically strong, yet by adroitly implicating other questions with that of the Public Schools, they are able in many cases to baffle all efforts at reform and improvement.

The views of these parties I believe to be radically wrong, anti-social, anti-Republican, anti-Christian; - and I believe that all action in pursuance of them will impair the best interests of society, and originate a train of calamities, in which not only their advocates, but all portions of the community will be involved. Convinced that such is the inevitable and accelerating tendency of such views, it seems to me to be the duty of the friends of mankind to meet them, with fairness and a conciliatory spirit, indeed, but with earnestness and energy; and to confute them by the production of evidence and the exposition of principles.

It is for this reason that I address you, and solicit a reply founded upon your personal knowledge, to the following questions.

First, - Have you had large numbers of persons in your employment or under your superintendence? If so, will you
please to state how many? Within what period of time? In what department of business? Whether at different places? Whether natives or foreigners?

Second, - Have you observed differences among the persons you have employed, growing out of differences in their education, and independent of their natural abilities; that is, whether as a class, those who from early life, have been accustomed to exercise their minds by reading and studying, have greater docility and quickness in applying themselves to work; and, after the simplest details are mastered, have they greater aptitude, dexterity or ingenuity in comprehending ordinary processes, or in originating new ones? Do they more readily or frequently devise new modes by which the same amount of work can be better done, or by which more work can be done in the same time, or by which raw material or motive-power can be economized? In short, do you obtain more work and better work with less waste, from those who have received what, in Massachusetts, we call a good Common School education, or from those who have grown up in neglect and ignorance? Is there any difference in the earnings of these two classes, and consequently in their wages?

Third, - What, within your knowledge, has been the effect of higher degrees of mental application and culture upon the domestic and social habits of persons in your employment? Is this class more cleanly in their persons, their dress and their households; and do they enjoy a greater immunity from those diseases which originate in a want of personal neatness and purity? Are they more exemplary in their deportment and conversation, devoting more time to intellectual pursuits or to the refining art of music, and spending their evenings and leisure hours more with their families, and less at places of resort for idle and dissipated men? Is a smaller portion of them addicted to intemperance? Are their houses kept in a superior condition? Does a more economical and judicious mode of living purchase greater comforts at the same expense, or equal comforts with less means? Are their families better brought up, more respectably dressed, more regularly attendant upon the school and the church; and do their children when arrived at years of maturity, enter upon the active scenes of life with better prospects of success.

Fourth, - In regard to standing and respectability among co-laborers, neighbors, and fellow-citizens generally, how do
those who have enjoyed and improved the privilege of good
Common Schools, compare with the neglected and the illiterate?
Do the former exercise greater influence among their associates?
Are they more often applied to for advice and counsel in cases
of difficulty; or selected as umpires or arbitrators for the
decision of minor controversies? Are higher and more intelligent
circles for acquaintance open to them, from conversation and
intercourse with which, their own minds can be constantly
improved? Are they more likely to rise from grade to grade
in the scale of labor, until they enter departments where greater
skill, judgment, and responsibility are required, and which
therefore command a larger remuneration? Are they more likely
to rise from the condition of employees and to establish
themselves in business on their own account?

Fifth, - Have you observed any difference in the classes
above named, (I speak of them as classes, for there will of
course be individual exceptions,) in regard to punctuality
and fidelity in the performance of duties? Which class is
most regardful of the rights of others, and most intelligent
and successful in securing their own? You will of course
perceive that this question involves a more general one, viz.,
from which of the above described classes, have those who
possess property, and who hope to transmit it to their children,
most to fear from secret aggression, or from such public
degeneracy as will loosen the bands of society, corrupt the
testimony of witnesses, violate the sanctity of the juror's
oath and substitute as a rule of right, the power of a
numerical majority, for the unvarying principles of justice?

Sixth, - Finally, in regard to those who possess the
largest shares in the stock of worldly goods, could there, in
your opinion, be any police so vigilant and effective, for the
protection of all the rights of person, property and character,
as such a sound and comprehensive education and training, as
our system of Common Schools could be made to impart; and
would not the payment of a sufficient tax to make such education
and training universal, be the cheapest means of self-protection
and insurance? And in regard to that class which, from the
accident of birth and parentage, are subjected to the privations
and the temptations of poverty, would not such an education open
to them new resources in habits of industry and economy, in
increased skill, and the awakening of inventive power, which
would yield returns a thousand fold greater than can ever be
hoped for, from the most successful clandestine depredations,
or open invasion of the property of others?
I am aware, my Dear Sir, that to every intelligent and reflecting man, these inquiries will seem superfluous and nugatory; and your first impulse may be, to put some such interrogatory to me in reply, as whether the sun has any influence on vegetable growth, or whether it is expedient to have windows in our houses for the admission of light. I acknowledge the close analogy of the cases in point of self-evidence; but my reply is, that while we have influential persons, who dwell with us in the same common mansion of society, and who, having secured for themselves a few well lighted apartments, now insist that total darkness is better for a portion of the occupants born and dwelling under the same roof; - and while, unfortunately, a portion of these benighted occupants from never having seen more than the feeblest glimmerings of the light of day, insist that it is better for them and their children, to remain blind; - while these opinions continue to exist I hold that it is necessary to adduce facts and arguments, and to present motives, which shall prove both to the blinded and those who would keep them so, the value and beauty of light.

HORACE MANN,
Secretary of the Board of Education.

(ii) Letter of 3 February 1872 from Mori Arinori to prominent American educationists. Taken from his Education in Japan...

Dear Sir:

Having been especially commissioned, as a part of my duty in this country, to look after the educational affairs of Japan, and feeling personally a great interest in the progress of that empire, I desire to obtain from you a letter of advice and information upon this subject, to assist my countrymen in their efforts to become instrumental in advancing civilization in the East. In a general way, I wish to have your views in reference to the elevation of the condition of Japan, intellectually, morally, and physically, but the particular points to which I invite your attention are as follows:

The effects of education -

1. upon the material prosperity of the country;
2. upon its commerce;
appendix ten

3. upon its agricultural and industrial interests;
4. upon the social, moral, and physical condition of the people; and -
5. its influences upon the laws and government.

Information on any one, if not all, of these points, will be gratefully received and appreciated by me, and the same will soon be published, both in the English and Japanese languages, for the information of the Japanese Government and people.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ARINORI MORI
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佐橋富三郎
Sato
佐渡
Sado Jimmyō Jisho 佐渡人名辞書
Seidōhōsakkyoku 制度調査局
Saikoku Risshiki Hen 制度局
Saishōron 制度史
Kōtsundo 西語十二解
Sakakihara 近谷素 (朗廬)
Seihō Gakuran 性法略
Sakatani Shiroshi (Rōro) 佐藤長平
Seihyō Gakuron 性表學論
Sakoku 佐渡
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Sakuma Shōzan 佐多尚徴
Sekihō 製表課誌
Sakura 欅
Seittateho 政体所
Sakuradō 世船
Sei'in 正院
Sannō Sanetomi 三條宣盛
Seikanron 征韓論
Sanō 佐野
Seikō 成功
Sato Tōten 佐藤一齋
Seiron 積論
Satō Issai 佐藤一齋
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Satsua 佐藤
Seiyō Igakuho 西洋医学所
Satsuyama 塩山
Seido 聖堂
Samejima Hisanobu 西島信信
Seiran 西園
Satsuka 佐藤
Seisaku (gaku) 政策 (学)
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| Shibata Hōan  | Shibuanaa Ei'ichi |
| 柴田方庵     | 洪澤榮一       |
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| 柴田昌吉     | Shōheiko Denshusho |
| Shibunawa Ei'ichi | Shōbemushi |

| Shimabara | Shōbogaku |
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| Shimaji Mokurai | Shōhei Gakkō |
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| Shimane    | Shōhei Gakkō |
| 島地默雷 | Shōhei Gakkō |
| 島根     | Shōhei Gakkō |
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障子

Shōsanji
小参事

Shōsōron
尚早論

Shūgi'in
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修身学社

Shūtokan
種痘館

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尊王

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杉圭二(純道)

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杉田茂白

Sugita Gentan
杉田元々

Sugita Hakugen (1) (1785-1833)
杉田伯元

Sugita Hakugen (2) (1802-1874)
杉田白元

Sugita Renkei
杉田廉卿

Sugita Rikkei
杉田立卿

Sugita Seikei
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Sumpu
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宗

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駿河

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Tem monkata
天文方

Tem monkatatei sōda i
天文方手伝

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Tsubo 坪
Tsuboi Shindo 坪井信道
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Tsuda Mamichī 津田真道
Tsuda Sen 津田貞
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Uraga

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Yakuin

Yamagata Aritomo

Yamauchi Yasaemon

Yamamoto Seikai

Yamato

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Yanagawa Shunsan (Shunsö)

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Uchida Masao

Uchida Gun

Udagawa

Udagawa Genshin

Ueki Emori

Ueki Emori Nikki

Ueno

Ueno Kagenori

Umada Naganari

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横浜毎日新聞

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横井小楠

Yokoyama Mago’ichirō
横山孫一郎

Yoshida Kensuke
吉田賢輔

Yoshida Kiyonari
吉田清成

Yoshida Shōin
吉田松陰

Yoshino Sakusō
吉野作造

Yōshoshirabesho
洋書調所

Yōyōsha Dan
洋々社談

Yūbin Hochi Shimbun
郵便報知新聞

Yuibutsuron
唯物論

Zen
禅

Zōshikan
造士館

Zuihitsu
随筆