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THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE MEIROKUSHA

A Reassessment

by

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This Thesis is submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE MEIROKUSHA:
A REASSESSMENT.

S Y N O P S I S .

This thesis is an attempt to reassess the nature and rôle of the society of bureaucrat-intellectuals known as the *Meiokusha*.

It will be suggested that in itself the *Meiokusha* did not make such a significant contribution to the 'Civilization and Enlightenment (*Bummei Kaika*) Movement' of the 1870s as is generally assumed, more especially in Western works. Further, it will be claimed that too conscious and well-defined an aim, too unified and communally purposive a nature have been attributed to the society.

The *Meiokusha* has attracted a great deal of attention from both Japanese and Western scholars, and is generally regarded as having made a vital contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. This thesis therefore begins with an introductory review of assessments of the *Meiokusha* that have been made by some leading Japanese and Western scholars, and which seeks to show in what way these assessments need to be modified.

The first chapter is then devoted to Mori Arinori, the principal founder of the *Meiropusha*. His early life and thought up to the foundation of the *Meiropusha* are examined in detail in order to ascertain and illuminate what were his principle motives in founding the society.

Chapters two, three and four demonstrate in the first place why Mori's aims in particular were unattainable, and in the second place why the current reputation of the *Meiropusha* cannot justifiably be accepted. These themes are respectively the 'nature' and 'rôle' of the *Meiropusha* alluded to in the title.

Chapter two is devoted to a detailed examination of Fukuzawa Yukichi, who, as the leading 'Enlightenment' figure, is of particular importance in any discussion of the *Meiropusha's* rôle. It will be seen that not only was Fukuzawa's dominant position the result of activities totally outside the scope of the *Meiropusha*, but that furthermore, he played a completely minor rôle within the society - except at its disbandment, of which he was the effective prime mover.

Chapter three is a less detailed discussion of the life histories and personal relations of the remaining members who contributed to the society's magazine, the *Meiropu Zasshi*. This chapter seeks to isolate what these men had in common which led them to join together in the first place, but also emphasises their essentially heterogeneous nature, which was undoubtedly a contributory factor in their subsequent inability to stay together. At the same time, it is seen that what

they did have in common was basically their already prominent position as leaders of the 'Enlightenment', a rôle which they again continued individually, after the break-up of the society. Thus it is seen that it was not the *Meiokusha* as such which led the 'Enlightenment', but the *Meiokusha* men individually and separately.

The final chapter comprises a history of the organization and activities of the *Meiokusha* and demonstrates the haphazard nature of its development. The important point is made that what must be inferred as Mori Arinori's aims in founding the *Meiokusha* were essentially incompatible with the human material he had at his disposal. And the highlighting of the continuing lack of agreement among the members on the central purpose of the society provides important justification of this view.

In the conclusion, a tentative redefinition of the nature and rôle of the *Meiokusha* is attempted.

This Thesis is the Result of original Research carried out by Me while a Research Scholar of the Australian National University from 1965 to 1969.

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I owe finally a particular Debt of Gratitude to Ishizuki Minoru, now of Kyoritsu University, for prolonged and indispensable Assistance in reading the Meiroku Zasshi.

Melbourne,
New Year's Day, 1970.

VOLUME ONE

MAIN TEXT

A.E. Housman:

Accuracy is a duty,
not a virtue.

Rilke:

Die Dinge sind alle
nicht so fassbar und sagbar
als man uns meistens
glauben machen möchte.

After having read English and Japanese survey histories of the Restoration period in which the more enlightened statements of the future oligarchs are seized upon, magnified and interpreted as the basic theme of the period, it is a sobering experience to delve into the... [Restoration History of Chōshū] in which such statements are but rare flecks of froth in a torrent of Confucian rhetoric.

Albert Craig.

The old bland confident general statements about whole groups of men, or classes, or nations ought to disappear from history; or if something of their sort must remain, and it is difficult to say anything about history, or politics or society without making use of general statements, they must remain under suspicion, as expedients which are convenient, possibly necessary, for use at the moment, but are not the best we shall be able to do in the way of truth.

G. Kitson Clarke.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

Abbreviations: Appx. = Appendix
Ch. = Chapter
Ed. = Edited by, Edition or Editor(s)
fp. = First published
N. = Footnote

Other abbreviations used are standard.

Citation: *Ibid.*, *Loc. Cit.* & *Op. Cit.* have not been used; a full citation is given for each note.
p. & pp. are omitted unless essential; the last number in a citation is the page reference.
Titles of books and magazines are in *Italics*;
Magazine articles and sections of books are in Roman, enclosed in single quotes.
A large Roman numeral immediately after a title indicates the number of volumes in a work (or series).
Works cited more than once are given a code title of capital letters, given at the first citation.
The code titles are listed on p.457 together with number references to the bibliography.

Dating: Dates before 1 January 1873 are given by the Western year number, followed by the Japanese style number for the month and day (in that order).
Dates after and including 1 January 1873 are given in the normal manner. (Thus: 1 September 1875, but 1870.5.3)

Japanese Words: Japanese words, phrases, terms and institutions are given in *Italics* throughout (except the bibliography), but not names of people and places, which are in Roman.

Macrons: Macrons to indicate long vowels in Japanese are given in all cases except Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka; and the latter are also given macrons when cited in a Japanese context.

Names: Japanese personal name order is followed throughout. *Kaiseisho* is used throughout the main text to indicate the school of Western studies, originally set up by the *Bakufu*, and other wise known variously as: *Bansho(tori)shirabesho*, *Kaisei Gakkō*, *Daigaku Nankō* etc. *Nihon* is generally used rather than *Nippon*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOLUME ONE (MAIN TEXT)

Introduction:	A Survey of Historical Assessments of the Meirokusha by Japanese and Western Historians: The Need for Reassessment.....	1
Chapter One:	Mori Arinori: The Founder of the Meirokusha.....	15
Chapter Two:	Fukuzawa Yukichi: The Founder of Keio University.....	54
Chapter Three:	The Remaining Contributing Members of the Meirokusha: Their Role in the Enlightenment as Meirokusha Men and as Individuals.....	93
Chapter Four:	The Organization and History of the Meirokusha.....	230
Conclusion	278

TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOLUME TWO (APPARATUS AND APPENDICES)

Notes to the	Introduction.....	284
Notes to Chapter	One.....	288
Notes to Chapter	Two.....	305
Notes to Chapter	Three.....	313
Notes to Chapter	Four.....	353
Appendix One A:	The Rules of the Meirokusha.....	363
Appendix One B:	The Ammended Rules of the Meirokusha.....	366
Appendix Two:	Mori Arinori: Speech at the Election of new Functionaries on the first Anniversary of the Meirokusha.....	369
Appendix Three A:	Chronological Membership Chart.....	374
Appendix Three B:	People known to have attended the Meirokusha once or more as Guests.....	377
Appendix Four:	Chronological Bibliography of Enlightenment Writings and Translations by Members of the Meirokusha produced outside the Society through 1875.....	378
Appendix Five:	Intellectual Genealogy of the Members of the Meirokusha.....	411
Appendix Six:	The Evolution of the Bakufu's School of Western Studies, the Kaiseisho, until its Amalgamation into Tokyo University.....	412

continued

contents of volume two continued

Appendix Seven:	The Publication Dates of the Meiroku Zasshi.....	414
Appendix Eight:	The ages of Members at the Foundation of the Meirokusha, and the Distribution of their contributions to the Magazine.....	416
Appendix Nine:	Speeches known to have been given but not published in the Magazine.....	419
Appendix Ten:	Horace Mann and the case for his Influence on Mori Arinori.....	420
Bibliography of Works cited.....		430
Alphabetical List of Abbreviated Titles with Number References to the Bibliography.....		457
Glossary of Characters.....		458

INTRODUCTION

A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE MEIROKUSHA BY JAPANESE AND WESTERN SCHOLARS: THE NEED FOR REASSESSMENT

Almost any history dealing with the early *Meiji* period makes more than a passing reference to the *Meirokekusha*. Hence it comes as no surprise to find Professor Ōkubo Toshiaki, who has devoted a considerable amount of writing to both the Japanese Enlightenment Movement in general and the *Meirokekusha* in particular,¹ saying that 'the place in Meiji culture filled by the *Meirokekusha* needs no renewed stress'.² And in a more recent work, he gives the following poetic evocation of the society's importance:

The *Meirokekusha*, its destiny linked with the new wave of *Bummei Kaika* thought, arose out of nothing like a summer wind, and like a comet was as suddenly extinguished. Its short life lasted barely two years, but in the manner of a comet it spread its tail over the history Meiji thought and exerted great influence.³

Thus we learn that the *Meirokekusha*, though short-lived, had an important and influential place in *Meiji* intellectual history as a protagonist of the Civilization and Enlightenment (*Bummei Kaika*) Movement. And Professor Ōkubo states even more specifically that:

it was the pioneer cultural society of modern Japan, and, as it contained the new intellectuals of the time, it was the focal point of the so-called Enlightenment Movement of the early Meiji Period.⁴

A similar view of the pivotal importance of *Meiōkusha* is given by another outstanding Japanese historian, Kōsaka Masaki, when he says that 'to analyse the nature of the *Meiōkusha* is to know the intellectual class of early Meiji years, and, in one sense, of the first half of the era'.⁵ He is on identical ground with Professor Ōkubo when he characterises the *Meiōkusha* as follows:

In July 1873 a group of intellectuals - the first really self-conscious *intelligentsia* in Japan - formed a club whose activities were to be of crucial importance in guiding Japanese thought....The period from 1873-1877 has usually been designated by Japanese cultural historians as the age of civilization and enlightenment....The *Meiōkusha* was in the vanguard of the civilization and enlightenment movement.⁶

The *Meiōkusha*, then, is accorded in Japanese sources a most important position in this period of momentous change in Japanese history. It is credited with the leadership of this great movement which transformed the Japanese intellectual world of the 1870s.

Western scholars have followed the Japanese lead, and the most recent example of a continuing concurrence in this view by them can be seen in Joseph Pittau's book on *Meiji* political thought, where he writes:

The *Meiōkusha*...was the nucleus of the movement for civilization and enlightenment. Many of the most influential and progressive thinkers and leading students of the West were members of the *Meiōkusha*.... All were concerned with the problem of modernization and progress in social, political and educational fields. They discussed and disseminated their views through the organ of the society's journal, the *Meiōku Zasshi*.⁷

These quotations clearly depict the *Meirokusha* as a group of new intellectuals who were of preëminent importance in the transformation of the general outlook of the Japanese. In the early *Meiji* period, this outlook escaped from the confines of a self-contained, feudal framework of thought to a fuller world awareness and willing receptivity to external stimuli. The intellectuals partly responsible for this change are seen as modernizers on all fronts, concerned particularly to educate the general run of their countrymen in whatever was necessary for Japan to achieve 'civilization' and 'enlightenment' (*Bummei Kaika, Keimō*). And these new intellectuals are equated with the *Meirokusha*.

Elsewhere, Professor Shively, in an article on Nishimura Shigeki, one of the most important founder members, has this to say of the society:

There was nowhere more talk of "Civilization and Enlightenment" than in the *Meirokusha*, [formed] by the leading students of the West and the most progressive thinkers of the day to discuss problems involved in the modernization of Japan.

[It was] the society which assumed the leadership in the movement for enlightenment and intellectual advance.⁸

Thus far the image of the *Meirokusha* presented by both Japanese and Western authorities is deceptively definite. Whilst these quotations emphasize the importance of the society in the Civilization and Enlightenment Movement, however, they do little to clarify what the movement itself was. It is necessary to go

briefly into the nature of this movement, as a prior step to investigating precisely what the *Meirokusha* is said to have done within it, and how it is said to have done it.

The *Bummei Kaika* Movement, is a term which is used generally to cover the first wave of enthusiasm for things Western which swept Japan for over a decade after the Restoration. But it manifested itself in two quite distinct ways, both on a popular and on a more intellectual level. The former was symbolised by the adoption of things from the West, ...whether high-collars, fob-watches and foreign words, or the telegraph and the railway. The intellectual side of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, however, was concerned with the far more intangible issue of the transformation of attitudes. It is, of course, with this latter aspect that the new intellectuals of the early *Meiji* period are associated. These men were naturally most disdainful of what may be termed 'material' *Bummei Kaika*. They would hardly in fact allow that this hallowed slogan could have any meaning when applied to such a mere incidental as the material side of civilization.⁹

So the early *Meiji* intellectuals worked for a transformation of attitudes, or, as they more frequently put it themselves, for a reformation of the 'spirit' of the Japanese people. However, the following two quotations will illustrate how this transformation is ascribed not to the early *Meiji* intellectuals as such, but

specifically to the *Meirokeisha*. Professor Albert Craig says in his most illuminating essay on science and Confucianism:

The acceptance of Western science as *Ri* was...the beginning of a process by which basic concepts of the Tokugawa world-view were reinterpreted and in turn subverted, by having read into them a Western content. But it was only after the Restoration, in the writings¹⁰ of the *Meirokeisha*..., that this process was completed.

And Dr. Carmen Blacker, in her pioneering work on Fukuzawa and the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, puts the case even more succinctly:

This anxiety to reform the morale or spirit of the Japanese people became the basis of the movement during the early eighteen-seventies, known as *keimo*, or Enlightenment. The nucleus of the movement was the group of 'Western' scholars who formed themselves into the society known as the *Meirokeisha* in 1873, and who disseminated their views through the organ of the society's journal, the *Meirokei Zasshi*.¹¹

It is the *Meirokeisha*, then, that is regularly quoted as being the principal factor in the spiritual reformation which took place in Japan in the 1870s. And the means by which this was effected are summed up in *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, the most authoritative general textbook on modern East Asian history, which says that the *Meirokeisha* 'through lectures and the publication of a magazine popularized many Western ideas'.¹² A fuller description of these means, from Professor Shively again, runs as follows:

Their monthly discussion meetings and lectures, open to the public and attended by many government officials, were for several years perhaps the most important channel for the introduction of information and ideas from the West; and the activities of the group became even more important with the launching of their journal, *Meirokei Zasshi*, in 1874.¹³

Still, however, there remains a misleading sense of definiteness about the society. From the picture so far built up, few would quarrel with Sir George Sansom's characterization of the *Meiropusha* as 'a literary society for the encouragement of Western studies',¹⁴ but it is still not clear what aspect of Western studies. Though the implication is clear enough that the *Meiropusha* set out to, and did, introduce progressive ideas from the West, it is never stated specifically what these ideas were. The general idea of what the *Meiropusha* was, is typified in Father Piovesana's statement that:

Under the motto "Civilization and Enlightenment"
 ...this group of "Illuminists" (*Keimōshugisha*)
 take [sic] the lead in diffusing Western
 progressive ideas and customs throughout Japan.¹⁵

But it is perhaps the same author who comes closest to a precise definition of what these ideas were, when he later talks of:

...the leading role played by this group of
 "Illuminists" in spreading *liberal* and
utilitarian ideas in early Meiji times...¹⁶

The prevalent picture of the *Meiropusha* is now clear. It is of a group of intellectuals, knowledgeable about the West, who were worried about Japan's inferior position in the face of the West. For this reason, they formed a society to educate the public in the 'liberal' and 'utilitarian' ideas on which they saw that the power of the West was based. And as means to spread these ideas, they first held public lecture and discussion meetings, and later published a journal. This the society did with such success that

it may be characterised as the leader of the Enlightenment Movement of the seventies. The name *Meiropusha* becomes almost a synonym for *Bunmei Kaika*.¹⁷

A reference back to Professor Ōkubo, however, introduces a note of discord. The society whose activities 'were for several years perhaps the most important channel for the introduction of information and ideas from the West', 'lasted barely two years'.¹⁸ In fact, as a public influence, it lasted for twenty months, from April 1874 until November 1875. This is the period covered by publication of the magazine. For investigation reveals that only the magazine can have had an extended influence upon the public. Not only was the *Meiropu Zasshi* started as the record of a private group and before there was any idea of public meetings, but this idea of opening their doors to the general public was not mooted until the society had been meeting for a whole year, and was then tried as a brief experiment for two months between March and May 1875.¹⁹

These few simple facts of chronology clearly indicate that the overall influence of the *Meiropusha* could not have been as extensive as is generally assumed. Furthermore, the general assumption that this influence was exerted as much, if not more, through its public meetings as through its magazine is clearly untrue.

It may be fairly stated that the origin of these misconceptions is undoubtedly the brief account of the *Meiropusha* written by Nishimura Shigeki, who, after Mori Arinori, was the society's principal founder. Nishimura's description of the foundation and activities of the *Meiropusha*, in his autobiography 'A Record of Things Passed' (*Ōjiroku*), is the only first-hand account of the society's activities, and is thus frequently quoted as a source of information. *Ōjiroku*, however, was not written until many years after the *Meiropusha* had ceased, and allowance has to be made for the inevitable weaknesses of memory. The pardonable exaggeration of an old man reflecting with pride on a life of achievement must perhaps also not be discounted. Even so, the relevant passage is very misleading if not balanced by the facts. To quote the account in full:

In the summer of 1873, the Satsuma man, Mori Arinori, who had returned from America, where he was Consul [*Benrikoshi*], sought an interview with me through the introduction of Yokoyama Mago'ichiro [?]. Mori recounted how in America scholars set up learned societies, each for their particular subject, where they both study communally and benefit the public by giving lectures. Whereas our scholars, he maintained, were individually isolated and never came together, for which reason they were of remarkably little benefit to the world. It was his wish that our scholars too, just like those of America, should convene together in learned societies, conducting their investigations in groups. Moreover, he thought the morals of our people had of late declined and that there was no knowing the depths to which they might sink. Nor was there anyone else who could remedy this than men of scholarship and wisdom. For these reasons, he said, he would like immediately to set up a society, in the first place to promote the

advance of learning and in the second place to establish a pattern of morality. I gave my assent to this and after some discussion between us, promised to talk it over with certain [other] well-known people in the capital. So I put the matter to Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura Masanao, Kato Hiroyuki, Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane and Mitsukuri Shuhei. They all came out in favour and so we met together for the first time, talked it over, and commenced monthly meetings of a speakers' club in the upper story of the Seiyoken, with the intention of getting the public to hear talks on politics, arts, science and so on. This was the first speakers' club in Japan. We called it the Meirokusha because it was founded in the sixth year of Meiji. Up till that time, Japanese scholars based all their learning on either Japanese or Chinese sources and knew nothing about the West. The things we talked about at the Meirokusha included many new Western theories, and the number of both government officials and scholars who came to hear was very great. Later, we brought out a magazine, calling it the Meiroku Zasshi, and this was Japan's first magazine. It continued for forty-two issues and then the [revised] Newspaper Code and Libel Laws were promulgated by the government. These restricted what we could discuss in the magazine, and very strictly too. So the members debated the matter together, and we stopped publication of the magazine. After this the Meirokusha actually increased its membership and continued to function altogether for about seven or eight years. But with the establishment of the Tokyo Academy [*Tokyo Gakushi Kai'in*], it broke up of its own accord.²⁰

This account by Nishimura is not so much essentially false as misleading in its emphasis.²¹ It is misleading, however, to a considerable degree and in broadly three ways:

It unduly extends by implication the period of the society's influence on the public;

It lends a false air of unity and determination to both the society's aim and its means of attaining that aim;

And it overstresses the originality and uniqueness of the society.

Nishimura is most obviously misleading about the temporal extent of the *Meiropusha's* influence. The society lasted altogether, he says, about seven or eight years. In fact, the *Meiropusha* was not formally constituted until February 1874, when the rules were finally established, and its first confrontation with the general public was not until the following April when the magazine commenced publication. Furthermore, there is no surviving record of any public meeting after 1 February 1876, and even this was not open to the general public. Meanwhile, the last volume of the magazine, number forty-three, had been brought out as early as the preceding November. The society's life as an active public influence extends, then, on the most generous estimate for two years, from 1 February 1874 until the same date in 1876. Restricted solely to the lifespan of the *Meiropu Zasshi*, as is more accurate, it lasted only one year and eight months, from April 1874 until November 1875.

Nishimura further states that the society was founded 'with the intention of getting the public to hear talks on politics, arts, science and so on'. Actually it was through the magazine that the society made its first impact on the public. As the fame of the society spread with the popularity of the magazine, however, more and more people desired to attend the actual meetings. On Mori's suggestion it was then decided to extend the existing practice of inviting friends of members as guests, by offering a

small number of tickets for sale to the general public. This was after the society had already met privately for one year, and the experiment lasted for two months.²² As for Nishimura's description of the topics for discussion, it was certainly never Mori's intention that the *Meiropusha* should deal with politics; nor does the society's first rule, defining its aim, make any mention of politics. In this respect, Nishimura is describing the actuality as it developed and not any initially and clearly conceived plan. Mori did have in mind 'arts and sciences'²³ as topics of discussion - yet the *Meiropu Zasshi* contains scarcely a mention of any 'art' or 'science' outside the writings of the minor members Tsuda Sen (an agriculturalist) and Shimizu Usaburō (a merchant and amateur chemist). It will be established below from an examination of the first number of the *Meiropu Zasshi* that beyond a vaguely educational aim the society never did settle upon a specific goal.

Finally, the alleged originality and uniqueness of the *Meiropusha* as being 'the first speakers' club in Japan' which also brought out 'Japan's first magazine' entirely fails to fit the facts. The custom of making formal speeches before the other members was introduced in the winter of 1874, on the initiative of Fukuzawa, who had earlier that year established a proper debating society on the campus at Keiō University. And he himself relates with what opposition this idea was at first met by the

other members of the *Meiropusha*, particularly Mori. As regards the *Meiropu Zasshi*, this was neither the first magazine in Japan, nor even the first to introduce information about the West. The *Seiyō Zasshi* or Western Magazine, to give but one example, had attempted ten years earlier to perform a similar rôle. Thus for the last decade at least scholars had been actively concerned to propagate knowledge about the West. It is therefore an obvious overstatement for Nishimura to say that 'at that time Japanese scholars...knew nothing of the West'.

It is thus clear that the relationship of the *Meiropusha* to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement requires reëvaluation.

The first three chapters of this thesis are devoted to the early biography of the members of the *Meiropusha*, up to their participation in the society.²⁴ Here it is attempted to establish firstly, the motives which led to the founding of the society and the aims with which it was conducted; and secondly, why it was this particular group of people that should have joined together, and what their general attitude to the society was. As an essential part of the latter, it is shown that their membership and work in the *Meiropusha* was very far from being the major part of their contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement.

The final chapter is an examination of the actual organization and history of the *Meiropusha*. And similar themes are followed here, where it is shown that the assertion of the great importance

of the *Meiropusha* must again be revised in the light of two significant facts: firstly, that it was never the *Meiropusha's* consistent intention actively to propagandize the public; and secondly, that, in so far as it did in effect propagandize the public, this was only through the magazine and not through public meetings.

The membership of the *Meiropusha* divides readily into two major groupings. The first, and more united, is called in this thesis the 'core group', and comprises all those connected with the *Bakufu's* school of Western learning, the *Kaiseisho*.²⁵ These were:

Kanda Kōhei,	Nishi Amane,
Katō Hiroyuki,	Sugi Kōji,
Mitsukuri Rinshō,	Tsuda Mamichi, and
Mitsukuri Shūhei,	Tsuda Sen.

The second and more disparate grouping comprises the remainder, whose knowledge of the West was of different provenance and who are classifiable under no single neat heading. In contradistinction to the 'core group', these are called the 'outsiders'. They were:

Fukuzawa Yukichi,	Nishimura Shigeki,
Kashiwabara Taka'aki,	Sakatani Shiroshi,
Mori Arinori,	Shimizu Usaburō, and
Nakamura Masanao,	Shibata Shōkichi.

It is symbolic of the essentially heterogeneous nature of the *Meiropusha* (a major factor in the short life of the society) that the two persons who require the closest attention in assessing the true nature and rôle of the society, are both 'outsiders'. These are Mori Arinori, the main founder of the *Meiropusha*, and Fukuzawa Yukichi, undoubtedly the greatest of the Enlightenment (*Keimō*) scholars.

These two men had certain important similarities to one another: they were both concerned about Japan's position *vis-à-vis* the West; they were both practical minded in their attempts to better that position; and they were both heedless of convention in their pursuit of this goal. But their respective importance in a study of the *Meiropusha* is fundamentally different. A study of Mori reveals what were the original ideas behind the *Meiropusha*; a study of Fukuzawa shows how these ideas did not, and probably could not, materialise. If Mori was the founder, Fukuzawa could almost be regarded as the destroyer of the *Meiropusha*. These two men are the subjects respectively of the first and second Chapters.

CHAPTER IMORI ARINORI, THE FOUNDER OF THE MEIROKUSHA(i) Introductory

Mori Arinori (1847-1889)¹ was an outsider to the *Meirokeisha* in social background, in training and personal experience, in character and intellectual orientation, and even in age.

Mori came from Satsuma and was the only member who had not been a retainer of the *Bakufu*. He had studied English rather than Dutch, and at a provincial *han* school rather than the metropolitan centre of the *Bakufu*. As a result of this, his 'Western studies' were from the start directed at practical scientific application, rather than being for the purpose of diplomacy or other translation work, as was generally the case at the *Kaiseisho*. While being almost the youngest member of the society, he was also the one with by far the greatest first-hand experience of the West: during two absences he had spent over six years away from Japan.²

Finally he had no special love of learning as something in its own right. Mori was essentially a practical man and a man of action, and could on occasion be brusque to the point of rudeness. He was throughout something of a rebel, extremely receptive to new

ideas and energetic in their pursuit. Somewhat precipitate in his conclusions and actions, he was always ready to flout accepted opinion and official procedures. His enthusiastic response to ideals was not always matched by a full realisation of their logical consequences when applied to the Japanese context. It is perhaps this flaw which explains the apparent irreconcilability of his avowed liberal principles with his later actions as Minister of education. He would be a tragic figure if he had given any signs of consciousness of this duality, but Mori was not a philosopher: he was a pragmatist, an incurable optimist, and seems never to have doubted the superiority of action over reflection. Above all he was an enthusiast, given to the formulation of grand schemes, ...schemes which were not all necessarily doomed to failure, but which nevertheless needed a greater degree of foresight and preparation in order to forestall difficulties than Mori possessed.

Possibly the best single word to describe Mori is 'unconventional'. He forms a stark contrast to the majority of other members, who, despite the novelty of their studies, were trained bureaucrats and were hence somewhat conventional. Mori thus had a rather different attitude towards the society he founded from that of his fellow members.

Two main concerns dominate Mori's thinking during his early life and both were influential in the establishment of the *Meiropusha*.

These concerns were education and morality, specifically sexual morality. Mori envisaged an 'academic' society that would introduce into Japan practical knowledge of how truly civilized societies worked, principally on the material but also on the moral level.

Up to the *Meirokusha* years of 1873-5, Mori's life was spent in five alternate periods of residence abroad and in Japan, during which his ideas on education and morality developed from purely personal to social oriented concerns. The *Meirokusha* was the most important among several schemes, to which these social concerns gave rise.

(ii) Introduction to the West; 1847-68: Education at second-hand, and first-hand Experience

Mori was born in 1847 the youngest of five children in a comparatively poor *samurai* family of Kagoshima, the castle-town of the Satsuma *han*. Though poor, his parents seem to have been determined to give their children the best possible education. In the words of an early biographer of Mori, they 'put their family patrimony in jeopardy, exhausting their resources in educating their five sons'.³ Mori thus early acquired a sense of the importance of education.

No details are known of the contents of his earliest education, and although he also attended a small local school, his first twelve years seem to have been spent largely under the

supervision of his parents. Both of them took great personal care and interest in their children's education. The father, though 'lenient and inclined to be permissive [was] diligent in supervision and worked hard to encourage a fine character....The position of the Mori family being what it was, he might naturally have made his boys into clerks,...but he refused to do so on the grounds that it would interfere with their studies.'⁴ The really dominant influence, however, was the mother, who was 'strict and put all her effort into it.'⁵ She was a strong and independent-minded woman, and Mori, very much like Fukuzawa, appears to have been greatly influenced in his 'originality' by his mother.⁶

The next stage in his schooling was at the Satsuma *han* school, the *Zōshikan*, which he entered when he was about twelve or thirteen. His studies comprised no more than the normal education in the Confucian classics and the elementary training natural to a *samurai*, but it was while here that he was first awakened to a positive interest in the West. It has been suggested that Godai Tomo'atsu⁷ was influential in this, but more certain evidence of his new interest is his reading of a work on coastal defence - a much discussed topic at that period of growing foreign intrusion.⁸ This was in 1861, and whatever the immediate causes of Mori's interest, he had developed sufficient resolution by the following year to obtain his father's permission to study English. He is supposed to have commenced these studies under Ueno Kagenori,⁹ but it is

doubtful how much he really learned from Ueno, who was frequently away in Nagasaki.¹⁰

Mori's first and very short period of formal training in English, was not until he entered the Satsuma *Kaiseisho*.¹¹ And even this can have served him as but the barest introduction to his real 'western studies' which must be said to have started only with his arrival in England.

Mori attended the Satsuma *Kaiseisho* for just over half a year. He entered shortly after the school was first founded in 1864.6, and in 1865.1.18, he was selected by his *han* as one of a group of fifteen to pursue studies in England, in defiance of the Tokugawa ban against leaving the country.¹² He was undoubtedly chosen as being one of the bare ten *per cent* of students taking English rather than the more customary Dutch.¹³ Why his interest was from the start so clearly directed towards English is not clear, but a gradual swing away from Dutch had been underway since mid-century.¹⁴ Nor is it known which other subjects he took. The Satsuma *Kaiseisho*, however, was designed to give instruction in modern military and naval sciences, and accordingly offered courses in gunnery, tactics, astronomy, geography, mathematics, surveying, ship-building and medicine, in addition to language instruction in Dutch and English.¹⁵ Mori's original intention was to join the navy,¹⁶ and it is not unreasonable to assume that the subjects he later took in England (history, chemistry, physics and mathematics)¹⁷

were principally a continuation of his studies at the Satsuma *Kaiseisho*.¹⁸

In the event, these scientific studies were not put to the practical use he intended. The real significance of Mori's first trip abroad was in the first-hand introduction it gave him to Western civilization in general and in the solid grounding it gave him in the English language in particular. The latter especially was of great help to him in his later rôle as a diplomat in both England and America. The problem of foreign language study as an educational key to the door of modernization in fact ranked high among Mori's preoccupations throughout the formative years of his life. He was even to advocate the adoption of English as the national language of Japan. This was a later development, and formed but one facet of his interest in education. The beginnings of this interest in education, as also of his concern with morality, can be clearly traced during Mori's first trip abroad.

This trip divides into two quite distinct parts: first, he was a student in England from 1865.5.28 until 1867.7.¹⁹ Then, a completely new departure, he spent some ten months in America as an acolyte of the Brotherhood of the New Life, a communistic community established at Brocton, New York State, by the sexual mystic, Thomas Lake Harris.²⁰

From England Mori wrote a number of letters to his elder brother Yasutake, and these, together with the diary he kept on a short trip to Russia, survive to record the evolution of his ideas during the first two years.²¹ Conspicuous in these early writings is Mori's conviction that Western civilization was generally superior to that of Japan and that education was the all-important means of catching up. Also noteworthy is the attention he gives to sexual morality as one important aspect of civilization.

Mori based his admiration for Western civilization on its commitment to the rule of equalitarian law and to democratic government. But this admiration was not simply the expression of a cultural inferiority complex. As in the case of all the *keimō* men, it was strongly tempered by a very real fear of imperialistic aggression. 'In my opinion,' he wrote to Yasutake early in 1866, 'conditions in Japan have come to a terrible pass, and our Imperial land is already about to slip down the gullet of the foreign barbarians.'²² Even his admired America and England were suspect, but most of all to be feared was Russia.

Russia was Mori's consistent *bête noire*, both as the antithesis of all he thought best in the West and as the epitome of all that was worst - the potential aggression. Mori conjures up a magnificent mixed-metaphorical monster in describing the potential aggressor:

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...[Russia] harbours now in secret the cunning of a cat, and while she conceals her eagle's talons and maintains an outward air of docility, within she harbours the heart of a wolf and is merely lying in wait for a gap in our defences.²³

And he outlines the type of cunning manoeuvre she is likely to adopt:

What Russia needs now is a Hong Kong. If intimate relations are contracted between her and Japan, she will certainly say that since France and England as well as America are perpetually on the lookout to swallow up Japan, we in Japan should avert this by pooling our strength with her. With this as bait, she will say: 'What we would like is to fit out one of your strategic harbours as a base and to station battleships in it. For then you would be protected by that place.' But I do not need to waste words explaining how by that time we would be safely inside *her* belly.²⁴

In criticising Russia's internal organization, Mori heaps scorn on her backwardness. And in so doing, he already shows a concern for the basic freedoms which were so clearly a prerequisite of 'civilized' government. At a later period he was to argue passionately for the freedom of religious belief; in this case his concern is for the freedom of speech:

...[Russia's] lack of both government and laws is dreadful and also unusual. You can hardly talk of England or America in the same breath. When I first entered the country, I asked what were its strictest prohibitions, and I was told that it was absolutely forbidden to discuss politics.²⁵

He has some hard things to say about the tyranny of the Czarist régime, and after citing a few of the 'countless acts of injustice and illegality' perpetrated by Russia on other countries, he continues:

What is more, there is no question of public participation in the internal government of Russia, which is entirely in the hands of the Czar. Consequently there are frequent cases of unjust administration.²⁶

Russia, for Mori, could really do no right and was at best but a poor imitation of the real West. Her navy was copied from England, her army from France, her medicine from Germany. Even an inclement climate is cited in final condemnation.²⁷

What Mori clearly admired most as the basis of Western civilization was the rule of law, founded on humane and rational principles. But if Russia was barbaric in this respect, so too was his own Japan. In 1866.7.26 he wrote to Yasutake both of his conviction of the importance of such law and of his mortification at his country's shortcomings:

What branch of learning, as distinct from the various technical fields, forms the basis of the state? As you know yourself, law is the fundamental prop of the state, and if the law is unclear it is as good as impossible to have a peaceful country and a law-abiding citizenry. Now, although we do happen to have a traditional [code of] law in Japan, it is for the most part harsh and inhuman, so that it would be just as well if we did not have it. Of course, the same is said of the foreigners' laws, and yet of all the English laws which have come to my notice in the year which has already passed since I arrived here, not one is unreasonable. Comparing our laws in Japan on the other hand, we have scarcely anything but unreasonable and inhuman ones, and the humiliation I feel is truly unbearable.²⁸

It was not long before Mori came to see, in America, the finest development of Western civilization. For her he had the greatest possible admiration, and his heart was clearly drawn there

even before he went in person. What fired the imagination of the young Mori in the young nation across the Atlantic, was just what he reproached Russia with lacking: her democratic form of government, the logical extension of the rational, equalitarian law he so much admired in England. The letter he wrote to Yasutake shortly before leaving England for America both outlines his admiration of the idealised American system, and speaks prophetically of the rise of America and her future importance for Japan:

It is now barely two hundred years since America was first opened up, and the nation's government is planned by all the people, whether great or small. They administrate fairly and justly....All the Westerners say that America is the place which will rise to power in the future. Even Englishmen, who particularly dislike Americans, concur in this.... After private reflection, it is my opinion that America will be the place to help [Japan] if only we strike up intimate relations there.²⁹

Mori, then, feared, but even more strongly admired, the obvious power of the Western nations, which he saw already as based on the rule of law, equality and freedom. He was eager for Japan to take her place alongside these great nations and speculated as to how this might be brought about.

Mori's letters further show how he gradually develops a clearer picture of education as the key. The fundamental necessity, of course, was to 'strengthen the nation' *vis-à-vis* the foreigner. On the home front, Mori seems to have advocated the overthrow of

the *Bakufu* and the restoration of imperial power.³⁰ From his own experience abroad, he was convinced that the Japanese had also to educate themselves in the ways of the rest of the world. At this stage, this meant individual Japanese undertaking special studies in order to bring about particular changes.

In one of his earliest letters Mori writes:

...The evil of the present order beggars description, and even in the West the reputation of the Bakufu is very low. Truly it is a most shameful matter, not only that such a state of affairs should exist in the Empire at all, but also that it should be assessed by foreign envoys. Ah! When will we be able to restore our fallen fortunes?...In my humble opinion it is exceedingly difficult for anyone who has not at some time travelled in the world to succeed in great undertakings. Although my own ideas are not yet entirely settled, my soul has been much transformed since I crossed the seas,...so much so that I am myself astounded. For myself, I believe that the principle object of learning is the study of man himself, and so I consistently do the utmost to cleanse my sullied spirit.³¹

Some three months later, in January 1866, his ideas are a bit more precise about the immediate means of increasing the nation's power which are open to him personally:

How are we to obtain that power? I believe that the most important thing in fact is to travel round the world, observing countries' political organization of course - but also the spirit and ways of the people. In addition to this I shall myself take care to study and acquire two or three skills; to strive to carry through the intentions of our father and mother; to treasure the memory of our two dead brothers; and finally to avoid sullying my name in the annals of history.³²

Mori is thus starting to lay stress on his own education. And though he speaks only of himself it is clear that he would subscribe to this as a pattern for others too.

In a later letter, his concern for his own education in fact extends to that of Yasutake as well. In suitably deferential terms, he advises his brother to study both English language and Japanese law, with the intention of devising a modern system of law for Japan, based on national needs and traditions, but at the same time equal in scope and intent to Western practice:

If you react to my ideas now and study the various political systems of other states, and, by compounding these with our own traditional law, build up a new and just system, everyone in the Empire will receive benefit throughout all ages....Although there are now more and more Japanese who study foreign ways,...they are all content to run after mere techniques and do not understand the principles behind them. On the off chance that you might agree with my interpretation, and will act accordingly, I am appending a couple of suggestions for your perusal:

- (1) Start learning English as soon as possible.
- (2) Become conversant with our Japanese legal system....

If we do not quickly get to understand our native system, we will find it hard to make comparisons with other countries. On the other hand, if law is not established according to the conditions prevailing in the country concerned, great harm must result. So could we not, through a knowledge of both our own and foreign systems, combine the best of both in such a way as to conform to local conditions, and thus establish a completely equitable system?³³

Thus Mori is convinced that education is the key to the modernization of Japan - education in both the techniques and the spirit of Western civilization.

Sexual morality was of course a very important aspect of this Western civilization. At this stage in his life, however, Mori was more preoccupied with sex as a personal problem than as an object of social legislation. This is not a subject he brings up

in his letters to Yasutake, but he is prompted to reflection in the privacy of his diary, *Kōro Kikō*. As 'two most unspeakable evils' which he finds in Russia, Mori cites quarrels over the inheritance of property, and the large numbers of illegitimate children, and he continues:

It is a most difficult thing to deal with those factors which disrupt basic human morality. Nevertheless, they must be dealt with. Puzzling over this I have lost much sleep in my distress. It has always been difficult for men to deny themselves their desires and sexual pleasures, and although the priests of the Zen and Shin sects, for example, are supposed by their title to abstain from lust, I have not heard of one who was able to keep to this throughout his whole life, let alone the case of lay men and women. The latter are all unlearned and without an educated conscience, and there may well be reason not to censure or punish them too harshly. However, to make some distinction between man and wife would certainly be far from treating basic human morality lightly. I feel it a great misfortune that although I am already twenty, I have still been unable to find the perfect solution.³⁴

No written evidence survives for the development of Mori's ideas during his time in America, but it is clear that his ten months' stay at Brocton will greatly have strengthened the preoccupation with sexual purity which was already evident in England. Great emphasis was laid by the Harris community upon the spiritualization of what were regarded as the baser sexual drives.³⁵ Professor Hayashi Takeji regards this time spent with the Brotherhood of the New Life as fundamental to an understanding of Mori's commitment to the West.³⁶ Whilst this may be so, it was probably not so influential in convincing Mori of the validity of

the particular theoretical concepts which he accepted as the fundamental bases of Western civilization. What was really important, as has been pointed out by Ivan Hall, was the sheer intensity of Mori's experience as an eager and impressionable young man at the Harris community.³⁷ Certainly the sexual attitudes of the community conformed largely to Mori's own natural puritanism, and seem to have left a lasting impression on him.

Thus we have seen how from the earliest days the importance of education was impressed upon Mori by his parents. This early education was essentially practical, and once in England Mori's full realization of the superiority of the West confirmed his conviction that he must educate himself in order to assist personally in the transformation of Japan from a backward to a modern nation. We have also traced the first expression of his concern with sexual morality. When Mori returned to Japan he seemed to have the chance to try and implement some of the conceptions he had developed from his first contact with the West.

(iii) Western Experience applied without Success, and a new Approach to Education, 1868-70

In mid 1868 Mori returned to Japan for two years and during this time was prominent as an organiser and member of the *Kōgisho*, Japan's first attempt at a national parliamentary body. He was,

however, completely unsuccessful in his attempts to provoke changes towards Western ways through this body, and even suffered temporary disgrace; but his failure led him to a new approach towards the problem of Japan's modernization and the rôle which education had to play.

From almost the moment of his return, until July 1869, Mori held a variety of government posts,³⁸ but most important was his work on two of the special committees set up within the *Seidokyoku* (Systems Bureau) to investigate, the one, school systems, and the other, parliamentary procedures.³⁹

Mori's membership of the [School] Systems Investigation Committee (*Seido Chōsakyoku*) is the earliest instance of any official connection with educational affairs. But it was also on this committee that Mori made close acquaintance with three other future members of the *Meirokeisha*: Kanda Kōhei, Katō Hiroyuki and Mitsukuri Rinshō.⁴⁰

Far more important as providing evidence of the development of Mori's ideas, however, was his membership of the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee (*Giji Teisai Torishirabekyoku*). This body was set up in 1868.9.18 to draw up proposals for the establishment of a parliamentary body.⁴¹ Katō and Kanda again joined Mori on this committee as did yet another future member of the *Meirokeisha*, Tsuda Mamichi.⁴² But Mori appears to have been the most important and vocal member, insisting, among other things,

that the parliament should have legislative and not simply advisory powers. This stipulation was in fact incorporated in the first article of the draft rules they eventually drew up and published under the title of *Kōgisho Hōsoku An* (Proposed Regulations for a Deliberative Assembly).⁴³ As a result of the committee's proposals, the *Kōgisho* was duly established in 1869.3.7,⁴⁴ and for the next four months the deputies (*Kōgisho Gi'in* or *Kōginin*) from the various *han* submitted opinions on a wide range of topics.⁴⁵ In effect, the presidency was held, throughout the brief existence of the *Kōgisho*, first by Mori and then Kanda.⁴⁶

Not surprisingly, the general tone of the *Kōgisho* was often reactionary. Nevertheless, all the future *keimō* men who were members seemed eager to make use of this public forum for the discussion of their ideas, and tabled progressive motions, aimed at modernizing various aspects of their society.⁴⁷

Mori in particular saw the *Kōgisho* as providing a chance to introduce much needed reform, and tabled a number of motions, revealing a quite revolutionary attitude towards established social values and traditional modes of government.

He tried to establish the principle of government responsibility to parliament in fiscal matters by proposing that tax increases and new taxes be necessarily passed by the *Kōgisho*.⁴⁸ He urged the speedy establishment of truly centralized government with land divisions based on a system of *ken* and *gun* to replace the old *han*.⁴⁹

He advocated the principle of individual responsibility in crime instead of the traditional concept of collective responsibility.⁵⁰ He spoke out for the 'democratization' of names, calling for the abolition of aliases (*tsūshō*) and special names deriving from titles, so that all people would be called by their 'ordinary names' (*jitsumyō*).⁵¹ And finally came his proposal to restrict the obligatory wearing of swords.⁵²

This last bill, given its first reading in 1869.5.27, is generally referred to as Mori's 'argument for the abolition of swords' (*haitōron*), but this is something of a misnomer. Whilst Mori undoubtedly regarded the wearing of swords as uncivilized and certainly looked forward to their total abandonment, what he actually proposed was:

- (1) That people other than officials and soldiers be permitted, if they wish, to discard their swords; and
- (2) That it should be open even to officials not to wear the short sword.⁵³

This, Mori hastened to add, was 'not in any way intended as a slight to the military'.⁵⁴ However, the atmosphere prevailing in the *Kōgisho*, which had already rejected his idea on *gun* and *ken*, can be judged from the rejection also of an earlier bill to outlaw the *samurai* right of *kirisute*. This bill had been defeated 200 to 3.⁵⁵ It was hardly likely that the same house would permit any interference with the implement of *kirisute*. As one opponent put it:

The wearing of the two swords is a natural expression of the martial spirit of our empire....How could anyone with even the slightest trace of Yamato spirit put aside his sword?⁵⁶

Another complained that without swords it would be impossible to distinguish between *samurai* and tradesman.⁵⁷ Mori's bill was not only rejected outright but caused such uproar and offence as positively to endanger his own life,⁵⁸ and it led directly to his dismissal from all government posts in 1869.6.20.⁵⁹

Not only did Mori fail to get his modernizing motions through the *Kōgisho*, but the idea of the *Kōgisho* itself as a parliamentary, legislative organ of the state proved abortive.⁶⁰ Thus Mori's personal frontal assault on society met with no success. In particular the drastic result of his bill on swords must have brought it home to him that change was necessary at a far deeper level. As he wrote in a letter to Ōkubo Toshimichi, requesting the continuance of his patronage:

I have subsequently thought very carefully about what you said to me yesterday on the matter of wearing swords; and just as you so clearly pointed out, I did not understand contemporary feeling and spoke recklessly....⁶¹

In the same letter Mori denounces his own 'failing of persisting to the bitter end in my obstinacy'. But whilst he apologises, it is clear that he has had no change of heart. All that he will change is his tactics.

After his dismissal, Mori retired to Kagoshima where he had ten months of comparative leisure in which to do some hard

re-thinking. Earlier in England, Mori had shown an awareness of that distinction between the outer form and the inner spirit of civilization which was the hallmark of the *keimō* men.⁶² This had led him to stress the importance of education.

However, Mori's main concern at that time was the education of particular individuals - specifically himself and his brother. His encouragement to Yasutake to study law was clearly based on the idea that modernization could be achieved by legislation from above. The enactment of this legislation would be the work of the few enlightened individuals who had superior knowledge of the West. The complete failure of Mori's own individual attempts to introduce the West through the *Kōgisho*, however, had made it clear that it would not be possible for the few enlightened individuals to impose the necessary changes from above. It was obviously essential first to induce a more receptive attitude among the whole people. This would involve education at a more general level, and it was probably not by purely arbitrary choice that Mori set up as a teacher during his enforced retirement.

All the previous year in Tokyo, Mori had been finding time to give English lessons to students he had lodging with him at his frugal establishment in Kanda.⁶³ And when he arrived back at Kagoshima he set up a proper school for instruction in English at a local temple, the *Kōkokuji*.⁶⁴

Some idea of the importance he had come to attach to language study is given in a petition to the *han* government which he drafted in 1870.5.22, and which starts:

The principle element of Western studies must be language work, and language work comprises first and foremost the study of sounds, from which one advances to letters, and is then by degrees trained in calligraphy, and grammar, and then mathematics and all the hundred and one other branches of learning.⁶⁵

He goes on to urge that native speakers be employed in order to obtain the best results. Obviously his own experience in the West convinced him of the importance of language as the introduction to all the further studies on which Japan's advance in civilization must be based.

This petition and his founding of a school demonstrate a new approach to the problem of education as a key factor in modernization. Up to 1869, Mori saw the problem largely in terms of educating particular people for individual action; from 1870 he saw it increasingly in terms of educating the mass of Japanese so that they should be ready to accept modernization.

It may be noted in passing that Mori's continuing concern with sexual purity also found expression at this time in the form of a campaign against paederasty, a vice said to be 'peculiarly strong in Satsuma'!⁶⁶ This can in fact be regarded as simply one aspect of Mori's broader concern for general education in the ways of the West.

The significance of Mori's having set himself up as a teacher should perhaps not be over-stressed. Dismissed from government employ, he will have had to support himself, and all his former experience made the teaching of English an obvious choice, even if we discount his obvious enthusiasm for the task, and his sense of its importance, as witnessed by his petition. The great significance, outlined above, which the *Haitōron* and Mori's subsequent rustication must have had for the development of his ideas, is largely inferred with the aid of hindsight. It was during the subsequent period of Mori's life, as Japan's first representative in America, that his concern for general education became fully developed. And this was the crucial period for the chrystalization of those ideas which led directly to the foundation of the *Meirokeisha*.

(iv) Renewed contact with the West and Chrystalization of an educational Philosophy, 1870-3

In 1870.9.25, Mori was suddenly ordered by his *han* to proceed with all speed to Tokyo, where he was appointed one of Japan's first two representatives resident abroad, and posted to the United States with the rank of Junior Commissioner (*Shōbemmushi*).⁶⁷

Mori reached San Francisco in 1870.12.27,⁶⁸ and was soon installed at the legation in Washington which was to be his home for about the next two and a quarter years. During this time his diplomatic duties appear to have been fairly light - little more in fact than managing arrangements for the Iwakura Embassy while it

was in America, and negotiating a postal treaty.⁶⁹ He was free for the most part to devote himself to another commission entrusted to him, and one much dearer to his heart. This concerned educational matters.

In a letter dated 3 February 1872, circulated to a number of American educationists, Mori wrote:

Having been especially commissioned as 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 bearing upon this subject....⁷⁰

From this it is clear that Mori's interest in education was both an official and intensely personal one. Mori's personal interest in education proved to be the decisive influence over his actions during this second period in America, and his enthusiasm developed to such a pitch that in February 1872, he attempted to resign his diplomatic post with the apparent intention of entering the Education Department.⁷¹

The group which accompanied Mori to America in 1870 comprised both staff for the new legation and a number of students who were to be in his charge.⁷² Eventually, the number of government students in America answerable to Mori totalled some two hundred.⁷³ But this is the most that can be said with certainty about the educational duties entrusted to Mori by his government. Later in 1873, he was to submit a report to the Education Department on the American schooling system.⁷⁴ But this need not have been an

official duty. It would have been fully in keeping with Mori's character to submit such a report on his own initiative.

Meanwhile, Mori seems to have taken a fatherly interest in his students well beyond the call of duty. This one would expect in the case of Kanda Naibu, the adopted son of his friend Kōhei, and who had shared his cabin on the voyage to America, sleeping 'on the upper berth [from where he] could look down on Mr Mori ...taking his cold bath every morning'.⁷⁵ Mori, however, seems to have felt personally concerned for all his protégés, and his American secretary at the legation, Charles Lanman, records how:

Looking upon Mr Mori as their protector in this country, the more advanced students have naturally fallen into the habit of sending to him some of the results of their school education....

and Mori had regular reports on the students sent to him in Washington.⁷⁶

That Mori's interest was not confined to the officially sponsored students is clear from his strong interest in Niishima Jō, a non-government student, and future founder of Dōshisha Christian University. And even more significant is the fact that he was developing private plans of his own to further education in Japan, as is clear from Niishima's letters. Mori met Niishima for the first time in Boston in mid-March 1871, and then again two months later at Amherst.⁷⁷ The latter occasion was at Mori's invitation and expense, and as Niishima wrote:

The main idea of his inviting me is that he was then intending to establish schools at home after the American system, and desired me to take charge of it [sic].⁷⁸

And these were plans which bore fruit on his return home with the establishment of the *Shōhōkōshūsho*, or Short Course Training Centre for Commerce, although Niishima eventually had no connection with the scheme.⁷⁹

Niishima was also amongst thirteen Japanese students whom Mori introduced to Tanaka Fujimaro in order to assist him in educational investigations.⁸⁰ Tanaka was attached to the Iwakura Embassy as Commissioner of Education, and he had instructions to study American and European educational systems with a view to finding a basis for the Japanese system. Mori may or may not have been charged specifically with doing preparatory work for him, but through his personal interest in educational matters he was certainly able to be of assistance to Tanaka. As often as a busy social round would allow, Mori was in the habit of touring round schools asking questions of teachers (particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut).⁸¹ Also, as was seen from the circular letter quoted at the start of this section, Mori was already in touch with leading men of the educational world before the arrival of the Embassy. He was thus able to arrange a number of important introductions for Tanaka.⁸²

The answers to Mori's circular of 1872 were combined to form the bulk of a work which Mori published on 1 January 1873 under the title of *Education in Japan; A Series of letters addressed by*

Prominent Americans to Arinori Mori. This was the last of three publications made by Mori during his term in America, all written in English, all the outcome of Mori's private enthusiasm, and all revealing as to his ideas on education. The other two were: *Life and Resources in America*, September 1871, and *Religious Freedom in Japan: A Memorial and Draft of Charter*, November 1872. These three works will now be examined in chronological order.

The interest of *Life and Resources in America* for the development of Mori's educational ideas is clear from his own very short preface to what was in effect a compilation by Lanman:

It is often the case that enmity and bloodshed are the consequence of storing up prejudices, resulting from the want of mutual knowledge of the parties engaged. The object of this publication is not only to aid in removing those prejudices, but also to invite all the lovers of their race, to join in the noble march of progress and human happiness.⁸³

The original pamphlet was a straight and simple description of all practical aspects of American life, covering over 200 pages, and was 'intended for exclusive publication in Japan, where it [was] to be translated into the language of that country'.⁸⁴

Clearly then, Mori wished to awaken the Japanese to the realities of American greatness in order to inspire a spirit of emulation. And seeing that *Life and Resources* ... was produced within nine months of his arrival in Washington, it seems clear that Mori must have come already very clear in his own mind about both the matter and means of educating his countrymen.⁸⁵

Religious Freedom in Japan... is a far more important document for the assessment of Mori's attitude towards education. This work was never actually translated into Japanese,⁸⁶ and seems by its advocacy, in the first half, of the freedom of religious belief and specifically of Christianity, to have aimed solely at reassuring the Americans, who had quite plainly shown the Iwakura Embassy how deeply they resented the still official ban on Christianity. It was, however, addressed to Prime Minister Sanjō, and by its equal emphasis, in the second half, on education, was clearly intended to be read by members of the government - whether in English or in some projected translation.

In fact, *Religious Freedom in Japan...* is so divided between its two distinct aims and topics that the title tells only half the story. Education, indeed, emerges as the really important topic.⁸⁷

The underlying theme of the whole is the means of achieving progress in civilization - that 'noble march of progress and human happiness' to which Mori refers in *Life and Resources...*. As Mori puts it himself in the opening paragraph, the whole point of advocating liberty of conscience is that in all enlightened nations it

is sacredly regarded as not only an inherent right of man, but also as a most fundamental element to advance all human interests.⁸⁸

Mori states just over half way through that the means of achieving progress in civilization are two, namely, law and education:

The best and most practical precautions for progress are as follows: The establishment of proper laws by which all the proper rights of man shall be recognized and protected from violence; and the organization of an educational system by which the whole condition of our people shall be so elevated that their moral strength will sufficiently protect their rights, even without the additional dry and unsatisfactory shield of the written law of the state.⁸⁹

With regard to law, Mori then describes the way in which 'the established laws should secure a complete liberty of conscience' and goes on to stress 'that indifference to such a vital and important human interest, is, in fact, to silently sanction the perpetuation of a practice of violence upon the sacred rights of man'.⁹⁰ He continues, however:

I venture now to indicate what I consider as the other but more important element of the precautions for progress, namely, an educational organization by which we shall secure all our rights. While the laws are the best protection for our liberty, its greatest security depends wholly upon the character and potency of our popular education. The value and urgency of an interest in education is at once manifest. Every one of us must be profoundly convinced that our present position is one of awful responsibility. We are charged with the task of moulding the destiny of our nation.⁹¹

From these quotations it can be seen how the ostensibly main topic of religious freedom is not in fact Mori's main preoccupation at all. Religious freedom emerges in a new perspective as one among the several 'proper' or 'sacred rights of man', which are all to be protected from violence by the law. Even law, however, once revered by Mori as the cornerstone of the state, now yields

pride of place to education as the *sine qua non* of the modern nation. As the earlier quotation shows, law itself is to perform a Marxian 'withering away' once education is sufficiently advanced.

The last quotation is an extremely important statement by Mori, for it sums up his whole attitude to education, both as the absolutely fundamental basis for progress and as the medium within which he has himself a rôle to play.

As for the nature and scope of the education which he envisages, Mori is quite explicit. It is to consist of:

the diffusion of a knowledge of facts in science and art [to] all classes and kinds of persons without distinction and with perfect impartiality... everyone, whether male or female...shall be its recipients.⁹²

Mori does claim, as befits his title, that the 'principal characteristic' should be 'an entire absence of any particular religious influence'.⁹³ But it is clear that what really interests him is the educational organization as a whole rather than this single aspect of it. He sees education as so important that it is a matter for supervision by the state; and all the resources of the state are to be mobilized 'to advance all kinds of useful knowledge'.⁹⁴

In support of his claim for the paramount importance of education, Mori quotes with approval the words of the great Massachusetts educationist, Horace Mann:⁹⁵

As an apple is not in any proper sense an apple until it is ripe, so a human being is not in any sense a proper human being until he is educated.

and again:

Education is our only political safety; outside of this ark all is deluge.⁹⁶

Of necessity, the question of a particular writer's influence on another man is always a vexed one, but Mann almost certainly had a considerable influence on Mori. Whilst it is claimed that Mori read, amongst others, Spencer and Mill, while he was at the Washington legation, no precise details on the titles are known.⁹⁷ There is also reason to believe that he became familiar at this time with Vattel's classic treatise on international law.⁹⁸ But the only Western author whom he quotes by name is Mann, from whom he may be said with some certainty to have culled a number of ideas on education, or at least to have received confirmation of ideas he already held. Moreover it seems highly likely that he got the basic idea for his last published English work, *Education in Japan...* from Mann.⁹⁹

Education in Japan... is interesting as a whole for its further illustration of both Mori's sense of the importance of education and the type of education he envisaged. Mori's introduction is also of further limited interest as regards his ideas on language as well as his more general concern with practical education.

The circular letter of February 1872 which Mori sent to various prominent American educationists was quoted above.¹⁰⁰ *Education in Japan...* consists principally of a reprint of both this letter and the replies it received, together with a lengthy introduction by Mori, and it was published in early 1873. Its production thus covered the whole period of Mori's freelance activity in America.¹⁰¹

Mori's letter solicits information on the effects education would have in reference to 'the elevation of the condition of Japan intellectually, morally and physically' and he explains in his introduction how 'education has become imperative', and how, on this 'vital question', it had become necessary to obtain 'wise advice from abroad'.¹⁰² Mori clearly states his aim in the opening paragraph:

This work has been compiled solely for the purpose of rendering assistance to our race and nation in their path of progress.¹⁰³

And part of this work at least was translated into Japanese, though never published.¹⁰⁴

No more need here be said about the work in general since the answers to Mori's letter simply confirm many of the ideas about education expressed by Mori in his own words in *Religious Freedom in Japan...*, already examined above. But a few more words may be said about the introduction.

This introduction is largely a propagandist piece for Japan to an American audience, consisting mainly of a brief history of Japan, with emphasis on the modern period, designed to underline the progressive intentions of the Japanese. (These intentions are symbolised by the adoption of the Western calendar from the very day with which the introduction is dated - 1 January 1873). And the concluding lines are an assurance to the reader that:

Japan as a nation has no aspiration but that of the highest, and no intention but that of the best in her relations with her foreign friends.¹⁰⁶

As in *Religious Freedom in Japan...*, however, Mori's immediate personal interests break through at the end, where he singles out 'Religion and language [as] two subjects in which our people are generally interested.'¹⁰⁷ It is debatable that these were general but they were certainly personal interests of Mori's. And his comments on them reveal the still practical bent of his mind.

The three religions of Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism, claims Mori:

are now suffering a decline and ebbing away before the new lights of science and art, which are being introduced from Europe and America.¹⁰⁸

These 'new lights of science and art' are, of course, the very things about which Mori wishes to extend sound practical instruction. But it is his ideas on language which demonstrate the extremes to which he could go in his desire for practical education.

As the culmination of his long sustained sense of the importance of English, he suggests its adoption as the national language of Japan - though in a simplified form with a regularized grammar and spelling. This he had proposed in a separate letter, written some time before the end of June 1872, to Professor Whitney of Yale. Whitney's sympathetic but dissuasive answer is incorporated as one of the additional papers in *Education in Japan...*, though Mori does not reproduce his own letter. In his introduction, however, Mori argues that 'the absolute necessity of mastering the English language is...forced upon us' basically because

the commercial power of the English speaking race
which now rules the world drives our people into
some knowledge of their ways and habits

and because English is the key to 'the precious treasury of Western science and art and religion'.¹⁰⁹

This idea of taking English as the new national language, however, is simply a subsidiary line in his main thesis of the necessity for practical, universal education as a prerequisite for progress in both moral and material civilization (- a belief which exactly parallels that of Horace Mann).

By early 1873, then, Mori had evolved very definite ideas about education and had given some expression to them in writing. He had also engaged actively in preparation for his own future role of educational innovator. He had made contact with prominent

men on the American educational scene; he had toured schools; he had read widely, including educational theorists among his authors; and he had formulated definite schemes for the foundation of educational institutions.

Mori remained in America until at least late February 1873, and he finally returned to Japan on the 23 July of that year. Some time during the intervening period, he had spent at least a month in England. Here he made his first contact with Herbert Spencer, whom he went specifically to question 'about the reorganization of Japanese institutions'.¹¹⁰ Whether the 'institutions' Mori wished to discuss were educational or political is unclear. It is quite possible that both figured in their discussion. But certainly Mori returned to Japan with a number of schemes in mind for the betterment of education.

(v) Education for Progress: the Meirokusha Years

Back in Japan, Mori continued to serve in the *Gaimushō*, where, for the next six years until his appointment as Ambassador to England on 6 November 1869, he held a succession of high posts, serving on two brief missions as Ambassador to China. These were also the years of the full flowering of the Enlightenment Movement and of the growth of the Popular Rights Movement. Particularly in the early years of the period, Mori was extremely active outside his work as a civil servant and continued to engage energetically

in his personal schemes for the advancement of his country. These schemes included plans for a library and for a school for women, a commercial school and finally the *Meiropkusha*.

Already in America Mori had had the idea of establishing a good reference library of authoritative Western works in Tokyo. There was talk at the time of returning to Japan that part of the Shimonoseki indemnity taken by America, a sum of \$US750,000.¹¹¹ Mori, on hearing of this possibility from the then American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, proposed that this money be devoted to his library project. In the event, the money was not returned until much later. But Mori still made a sizeable private collection of books which he brought back to Japan. This collection was in fact never established as a public institution, but sold in order to furnish funds for another scheme.

This scheme was for a school for women, and although it too was unrealised, it is interesting as an attempt by Mori to put into practice his ideas about universal education and the equality of women. The reason why Mori's school for women did not materialize seems to have been that the government itself established one before him. And so Mori decided to divert his energies and the funds from the library to another crying need, a school for training in commerce. This was the Short Course Training Centre for Commerce (*Shōhōkōshūsho*),¹¹² already mentioned above,¹¹³ and which was a clear reflection of Mori's concern that

Japan should seek to obtain the same commercial expertise and power as Britain.¹¹⁴ Instruction at the *Shōhōkōshūsho* was given in English, and Mori persuaded an American specialist in commercial law called Whitney to head the venture. But the school was not in fact opened until August 1875.¹¹⁵

The *Shōhōkōshūsho* eventually developed into modern Hitotsubashi University,¹¹⁶ but for the period under discussion, it was undoubtedly Mori's earliest venture, the *Meiropusha*, which was the most important. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that Mori's participation in the Enlightenment Movement was altogether the most important aspect of his career in this period.¹¹⁷ His own significance, however, was less as a theorist than as a catalyst in the reaction which brought the men of the Enlightenment briefly together in the *Meiropusha*.

Mori set about fulfilling his personal mission almost from the moment he arrived back in Japan. Nishimura Shigeki states that Mori engineered an interview with him immediately that summer,¹¹⁸ and by the end of the year the eight founder members of the *Meiropusha* had already held several preliminary meetings. The full history of the *Meiropusha* is dealt with in Chapter Four, but at this juncture, Mori's motives, aims and inspiration in founding the *Meiropusha* can conveniently be reviewed.

The foregoing discussion has traced the development of two principle concerns of Mori's, education and morality, throughout the early years of his life.

In a sense, morality came to figure simply as one of the objects of his attention in Mori's concern with education. It has been seen how Mori's natural puritan orientation was reinforced by prolonged contact with the Christian societies of England and America. As one result of this he developed a growing sense of the correctness of monogamy and a belief in the equal rights of women. His hatred of paederasty has been noted as well as his general propensity to favour the simple and pure life. These ideas became a part of what he wished to communicate to the Japanese as necessary instruction in how to modernize.

Regarding education, it has been seen how Mori started out on a quest for knowledge as an individual. He then graduated through respect and awe for the general material achievement of the West, to an urgent sense of the necessity to educate his countrymen in the basically simple, practical ideals and scientific techniques on which the might of the West was based. He was also influenced by the spiritual, as reflected in the social ideals of the West, and was anxious for the Japanese to accept individual responsibilities and rights, and to recognize in consequence the necessity for freedom of speech and belief, and for the universal right of education.

Mori's foundation of the *Meirokusha* must be seen as an attempt to realise these ideals of moral uprightness and universal practical education. This society was founded, as we know from Nishimura, in order

to promote the advance of learning, and...
to establish a pattern of morality.¹¹⁹

For quite how wide an audience Mori intended or expected his society to cater is not clear, but the educational aim is obvious. Mori's own principle contribution to the magazine was on the side of morality. This was his polemic 'On Wives and Concubines' (*Saishōron*), a series of five articles spread over the first year of the *Meirokekusha's* existence, which argued for the establishment of a marriage law permitting only monogamy and expressly forbidding concubinage, and for the abolition of the adoption system.¹²⁰ However, some indication of the type of knowledge Mori also hoped to disseminate is given by Nishi Amane in the first volume of the *Meirokekusha Zasshi*.¹²¹ He talks of Mori's insistence on the need to introduce 'arts and science' - 'arts', of course, meaning what would now be called 'techniques'.

There seems, finally, some reason to believe that Mori may have been inspired in founding the *Meirokekusha* by the ideals, and even perhaps by the organization, of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Nishimura tells us how Mori was disturbed by the fact that Japanese scholars were 'individually isolated and never came together, for which reason they [were] of remarkably little benefit to the world'. And he made, says Nishimura, the specific comparison with America where 'scholars set up learned societies,

...where they both study communally and benefit the public by giving lectures'.¹²²

James Smithson had made his original bequest in order 'to found...an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men', which can readily be seen as an identical aim to that of the *Meiropusha* as conceived by Mori. Furthermore, one of the men whose advice Mori sought on the problems of education was Joseph Henry, whose answer was one of the ones published in *Education in Japan*....Joseph Henry, as first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, did more than anyone else to set the future course of that body, and his threefold interpretation of Smithson's brief was that they should strive

to assist men of science in making original researches, to publish them in a series of volumes, and to give a copy of them to every first class library on the face of the earth.¹²³

The *Meiropusha* may well have been intended by Mori to perform a somewhat similar function within Japan. It is also highly likely that Mori's plan for a library was intended as a basis for a research institution similar in some respects to the Smithsonian. Certainly there was a remarkable accord between the advice given by Henry in his letter, and what we know to have been Mori's aims in founding the *Meiropusha*. Henry particularly emphasized the value of scientific knowledge and also specifically stressed the equal importance of both education and morality.¹²⁴ It even seems probable that it was in response to Henry's

suggestion that Mori first seriously considered replacing Japanese by English as the national language.¹²⁵

Even though Henry was far from being the only influence on Mori, he seems certainly to have been a strong one. It may be concluded that Mori's aim in founding the *Meirokusha* was to establish in Japan a centre where Japanese scholars with any knowledge of the 'arts and science' of the West could both share and amplify their knowledge. More important still, they were also to communicate this knowledge to the rest of Japan, whose only hope in a competitive materialist world was to modernize as swiftly as possible. The *Meirokusha* was clearly intended by Mori to be an essentially scientific body to disseminate practical knowledge.

This being so, it is small wonder to find amongst those first invited to join, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWOFUKUZAWA YUKICHI, THE FOUNDER OF KEIŌ UNIVERSITY(i) Introductory

If any one person embodies the essence of the early Meiji Enlightenment period, it is Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901). Of the theorists of *Bummei Kaika* he did more than all others to destroy the old feudal morality and introduce the new Western morality at the popular level. It was his aim to replace the static Confucian world view with the teleological concept of progress; 'empty' Confucian learning, unrelated to reality, with practical studies, verifiable by and applicable to the physical universe; and hereditary privilege with equality of opportunity.

It comes as no surprise at all to find such a man, one so clearly inspired by the same ideals of popularising practical learning as Mori, commonly listed as one of the principal members of the *Meirokeisha*. Nor is there any *prima facie* error in this, since Fukuzawa was indeed a member. What is surprising, however, is to find how little energy and interest Fukuzawa actually devoted to the society's activities. He refused the first presidentship when it was offered him; he contributed only three articles to the *Meirokei Zasshi*; and it was largely on his urging that the magazine was withdrawn altogether in 1875.

Since, as will be seen in Chapter Four, the magazine was the society's principal public activity, Fukuzawa may almost be regarded as the destroyer of the *Meiokusha*.

Fukuzawa's principal interest during the *Meiokusha* years was in his school, *Keiō Gijuku*, and in his writings. The activities of the *Meiokusha* do not appear to have concerned him greatly at all. Thus it will be seen that whilst it is technically correct to describe Fukuzawa as a '*Meiokusha* man', as is commonly done, this practice in fact only adds unwarranted significance to the name of the *Meiokusha*. It is thus seen to be false to ascribe to the *Meiokusha*, the undoubted importance which Fukuzawa had and the influence which he exerted through other means than the society. Once this is established, it will detract considerably from the *Meiokusha*'s reputation for being, as a group, of major significance in the *Bummei Kaika* Movement.

Sections one and two below comprise an account of Fukuzawa's life and activities up to the 1870s and trace the development of his interests and the way in which he gave them expression. Section three shows that the two principal bases on which his fame as an enlightener rests are respectively his school, *Keiō Gijuku*, and his writings. It will be seen that not a single one of his major or most influential works was published under the auspices of the *Meiokusha*. In the final section, specifically on his relationship with the *Meiokusha*, it is suggested that

Fukuzawa was even overtly hostile to the society, or that he was at least far from enthusiastic about it. It is demonstrated that he played a very minor rôle within the society, and it is consequently argued that the loose identification of his name with the *Meiropusha* has contributed in no small degree to the general over-valuation of the society's significance.

(II) Introduction to the West, 1835-1860: Education at Second Hand.

Unlike Mori, Fukuzawa's first introduction to Western learning does not appear to have been so clearly motivated. He drifted into Western studies in a far more haphazard fashion, and it was some time before he was able to define his goals. In effect, they were decided for him, first by his *han* which started him off in his lifelong rôle as a teacher, and secondly by the *Bakufu* government, in whose employ he was to gain his most important foreign experience, which in turn gave him both the urge and necessary knowledge to propagandise Western civilization in Japan. Once he had made up his mind, however, he was more successful than Mori in his early career, in giving his ideas effective practical form. Where the *Meiropusha* soon collapsed, nor ever really fulfilled Mori's aims, *Keiō Gijuku* thrived and Fukuzawa's books achieved spectacular and lasting popularity.

Until a young man of nineteen, Fukuzawa lived in his native *han* of Nakatsu,¹ and not before his fifteenth year does he appear to have had any formal education. (Thus he had ample time in his

early years to exercise the practical bent which remained a lifelong characteristic of his.²⁾ These earliest studies were in the Chinese classics and under a variety of teachers. Fukuzawa claims to have made remarkable progress. Despite his obvious academic ability however, he was made to feel his inferior social position, and it was largely from this experience that he dates the start of his hatred of the feudal régime.³⁾

Determined to get away, Fukuzawa seized on an opportunity offered him by his brother, to go to Nagasaki in 1854. Here he made his first tentative incursion into Western Studies, starting to learn Dutch. This was as a preliminary to studying Western style gunnery in which, Fukuzawa implies, the arrival of Perry only a few months earlier had sparked off within his breast the same interest as in so many others. The entry of Katō Hiroyuki and Nishimura Shigeki into Western studies at about this time was for similar military reasons.

It was not, however, with any special desire to learn Dutch that Fukuzawa went to Nagasaki. His brother had said to him: 'There are some translations [on gunnery] in Japanese, but if one wishes to study this Western science seriously, he must do so in the original language.' And to the ensuing question as to whether he was willing to tackle the task, Fukuzawa replied: 'I will study Dutch or any other language.' In fact, as he wrote

himself, 'the true reason why I went [to Nagasaki] was nothing more than to get away from Nakatsu!'.⁴

Nor were Fukuzawa's Dutch studies at Nagasaki more than the most elementary and fragmentary. He was there for hardly a year, and boarded with a gunnery instructor for whom, in order to earn his keep, he copied out gunnery texts for sale. At the same time he sought out on his own initiative other people who might give him instruction in the Dutch language. 'In Nagasaki', he writes,

my manner of studying [was] necessarily
... irregular. I studied under many
teachers - indeed I studied under anyone who was
kind enough to help me. One of them was an
interpreter named Hayashi; another a doctor of the
same name. I also went to an affluent physician
named Ishikawa Ōsho but he...would not grant any
time...to a humble student like myself.⁵

His very first teacher was one Matsuzaki Teihō, himself a student from Satsuma, and whose ability did not greatly impress his pupil. In fact Fukuzawa later had the gratifying experience of in turn teaching Matsuzaki when the latter came to Ogata Kōan's school in Osaka.⁶

Fukuzawa's attendance at Ogata's school, the *Tekijuku*,⁷ came about in quite as fortuitous a manner as his original commencement of Dutch studies. It was, however, the indirect result of his disgust with the feudal, hierarchical system by which he felt increasingly constrained.

Through the intrigues of Okudaira Iki, son of the Nakatsu Han Chancellor who was also studying gunnery and Dutch

in Nagasaki, and who had become jealous of his superior progress, Fukuzawa was advised that he should return home. This was on the specious grounds that his mother was ill, but Fukuzawa was informed of the deception and resolved to pass straight through Nakatsu and go on to try his fortune in Tokyo. Having reached Osaka, however, he was detained by his brother, who would not permit him to go further and insisted that he find a teacher there in Osaka.⁸

Fukuzawa soon heard of Ogata as a famous teacher of Dutch, and in March 1855, commenced studies under him.⁹ It was here, over the next three years,¹⁰ that he made his first real progress in Dutch studies, and he eventually became the head student (*Jukuchō*).¹¹ But even now it was with no special view to the future that Fukuzawa carried on his studies. And it was not until he had been abroad himself that he started consciously introducing the West to Japan. As he wrote of his time at Ogata's:

Though we often had discussions on many subjects, we seldom touched upon political subjects as most of us were students of medicine. Of course, we were all for free intercourse with Western countries, but there were few among us who took really serious interest in that problem. The only subject that bore our constant attack was Chinese medicine...

There was a noted doctor of Chinese medicine...in our neighbourhood. The students in his academy appeared to be all very well-to-do....We often met each other on the streets, but we never exchanged greetings.... After we had gotten out of the range of their hearing, we would break out in our usual execrations....

"Isn't it sad that these 'doctors' are going to begin killing people pretty soon? Wait till the time comes; our medicine will put an end to their practice..."

So we often indulged ourselves in this kind of happy boasting, but none of us had any definite idea about how the future was to be brought about. To conclude, most of us were then actually putting all our energy into our studies without any definite assurance of the future.¹²

As to the matter and manner of instruction, Ogata was first and foremost a practising doctor, and seems to have left his students very much to themselves. In language particularly, he gave no more than the most elementary instruction. The description may be left again to Fukuzawa:

In the beginning, each new student, who usually knew nothing of Dutch, was given two books of grammar. These were texts that had been printed in Yedo: one called the Grammatica and the other Syntaxis. The student began with this Grammatica, and was taught to read it aloud by the help of some explanatory lectures. When the new fellow had studied this through, he was likewise given the Syntaxis. And that was the end of his instruction in Ogata's academy. Whatever in addition to this he might accomplish was through his own independent study.¹³

Fukuzawa goes on to describe the reading competitions the students arranged among themselves from the few texts in Dutch available at the school. These were a random selection of about ten volumes on the medical and physical sciences.

There was certainly no question of learning to speak Dutch at Ogata's academy but Fukuzawa did gain considerable facility in reading. At the same time his interest in practical matters was further stimulated by the few scientific works above mentioned:

Learning something of the theories of chemistry and machinery in our books, we...gave much effort in trying out what we had learned, or trying to make a thing that was illustrated in the books.¹⁴

And Fukuzawa gives amusing anecdotes of some of the many anatomical and chemical experiments he and his fellow students carried out - some more successfully than others.¹⁵

If Fukuzawa had little idea of what he was going to do in the future with his Dutch studies, the *han* authorities fairly soon made up his mind for him, in 1858. With the death of his brother in 1856, Fukuzawa had become head of his family, and by the same token, liable to closer control by the *han*. After his brother's funeral it had taken him quite a while to get permission to return to Osaka to continue his studies.¹⁶ This was eventually granted, but now his knowledge was to be put to the service of the *han*, and he was ordered to Edo, where Ōkami Hikozō, another Nakatsu man and an 'ardent advocate of Dutch culture' had already realised the beginnings of a small school of Dutch studies. One teacher he had engaged for his small group of students was the mathematician, Sugi Kōji, who had also studied briefly under Ogata, and was later to become a member of the *Meirokusha*.¹⁷ Ōkami had heard of Fukuzawa, and thinking that it would be even better to have a native Nakatsu man, got him summoned to Edo. Fukuzawa was lodged at the *han*'s 'second estate' (*nakayashiki*) at Teppōzu and here he was soon teaching Dutch to a few Nakatsu students. Later, men from other *han* came as well.

In this way, Fukuzawa was first set on his life course as a teacher, an occupation which he held in common with most of his

later colleagues in the *Meirokusha*. Of these men Fukuzawa came to know quite a number from this time on. One of his best friends was Mitsukuri Shūhei, who had also studied under Ogata, though earlier than Fukuzawa; others were Kanda Kōhei and Katō Hiroyuki, while Sugi has already been mentioned above. These were all well established scholars of Western learning and were all either already in or soon to join the *Bakufu's Kaiseisho*. Thus Fukuzawa too joined the *Rangaku* circle which centred round this school and before long he too was to accept a government, that is *Bakufu*, post as a translator.

Meantime, however, it was not long before he experienced a rude shock in finding that Dutch was not the universal passport to contact with foreigners that was generally imagined. He tells the story of his great disillusion on a visit to Yokohama in 1859, at being able neither to make himself understood to the foreigners nor even to read their shop signs.¹⁸ Of course, he already had some idea of the widespread use of English; nor was he alone in this, for when he rather later broached the idea to his friend Kanda that they set about learning English together, Kanda replied:

Yes, I have thought of what you say for a long time. And I really tried to learn English by myself, but it was beyond me...for the present I haven't the courage.¹⁹

Fukuzawa, however, swallowing his great disappointment at his 'wasted' labours in Dutch, immediately set about acquiring

English. It was no easy task. From the fateful trip to Yokohama he had brought back two volumes on Dutch-English conversation on which to start, but the first difficulty was to get a teacher, since hardly anyone knew any English at all. Hearing of one Dutch interpreter who was reputed to know a little English as well, he tried repeatedly to get lessons from him, but to no avail. He also needed a good dictionary and for this he even contrived at first to gain access to the *Kaiseisho* library, the largest collection of foreign books in Japan. This was through the then director Mitsukuri Gempo, the adoptive father of his friend Shūhei. But in fact his first visit was also his last, since he found that he was not permitted to take the books away. Eventually he persuaded the *han* to purchase for him a second-hand Dutch-English dictionary he had seen. And with this and his conversation book he set to work. In the end he did find a study partner, and of course they were not long in finding their knowledge of Dutch a considerable help in their new study, and far from work wasted.

Thus Fukuzawa entered upon the last and most important stage of his book-learning about the West, and he made good progress. For Fukuzawa, English soon came entirely to supercede Dutch, and all the later foreign books used and foreign instruction given at *Keiō* was in English, as were the books on which he based his own translations. During the next stage of his life Fukuzawa acquired

that first-hand experience of the West which was to stand him in such good stead for his didactic writings about the West.

(iii) First-hand Experience of the West, 1860-1866

Fukuzawa's first-hand experience of the West was nowhere near as protracted as Mori's. But during the next seven years Fukuzawa went three times overseas,...in 1860 and 1866 to America, and in 1862 to Europe, each time as a member of an official government party. The total duration of these visits, including the time for travel, was a round twenty months. Yet in this comparatively short time, Fukuzawa acquired fully as deep a conviction as Mori of the superiority of the West, and of the need to change Japan. What fascinated him principally on his first trip was the sheer wealth and power of the West. On the two later trips he became more consciously absorbed in the technicalities of how all aspects of daily life in the West worked. On all three trips, as well as developing his mental grasp of Western civilization, Fukuzawa lost no opportunity of increasing, as it were, his physical hold - through the acquisition of books.

At the time of the first voyage to America, Fukuzawa was still very much preoccupied with learning the English language, and so it was natural that the first books he brought back were dictionaries.²⁰

This first trip was on board the famous *Kanrin-Maru*. Fukuzawa travelled as the personal attendant of the head of the group,

Kimura Settsu no Kami, but it was on his own request and not by invitation. This was, furthermore, the shortest of his three trips, lasting altogether five months; and the actual time in San Francisco was only three months.²¹ This was the least significant of Fukuzawa's visits abroad; he does not appear to have made any notes, and its importance, apart from the books he got, was simply the way in which it opened his eyes to the might and wealth of Western lands, and, to a lesser extent, to the totally different social manners and general way of life. Fukuzawa seems, for example, to have been equally fascinated by the amount of unused scrap iron and the sight of 'ladies and gentlemen...hopping about the room together' at a dancing party.²²

The 1860 voyage, however, served as an excellent prelude to his most important journey, two years later, to Europe, for he was then more prepared fully to take in what he saw. This was the longest consecutive period that Fukuzawa spent abroad (he was away from Japan a full year)²³ and during it he spent various periods in most of the great countries of Europe. The purpose of this expedition was to attempt a postponement of the implementation of certain clauses in the recent agreements concluded on opening the country. And this time Fukuzawa did not have to ask but was appointed by the *Bakufu* to the position of interpreter, or translator. Of the remaining two similar appointees, one was his friend Mitsukuri Shūhei.

There can have been little time for deep reflection on their experiences by the delegates as they were whisked, between negotiations, from showpiece to banquet by their successive hosts in France, England, Holland, Germany, Russia and Portugal. But this time Fukuzawa had come prepared and was careful to make detailed notes. He never tired of asking questions, and no matter how trivial a matter might seem to his informant, he assiduously recorded information of any and every kind, from opinions about the growth of Prussia, 'her influence spreading like a rising sun',²⁴ to details of how money was payed in and out at a bank. As he himself described his approach:

During this mission to Europe I tried to learn some of the most commonplace details of foreign culture. I did not care to study scientific or technical subjects while on the journey, because I could study them as well from books after I had returned home. But I felt that I had to learn the more common matters of daily life directly from the people, because the Europeans would not describe them in books as being too obvious.²⁵

It was these very things, which would seem so very obvious to Europeans, that Fukuzawa was to set about describing in his own works once he got home. Likewise, he made a point of acquiring the books on those technical subjects which could be studied later. What titles he got are not known for certain, but during his eleven weeks in London he purchased a considerable number of books out of his allowance, thus making on his return one of the first sizeable imports of English books into Japan. 'It [was] only since my first

large purchase in London,' he wrote later, 'that our students [at *Keiō*]...had free access to English in print'.²⁶

The third trip, to America again, came in 1867. By now Fukuzawa was a full *Bakufu* retainer, having accepted an appointment in 1864.6.10, along with Shūhei as a translation official under the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (*Gaikoku Bugyō*);²⁷ but again it was principally on his own request that he was included in the group.²⁸ He was once more given the post of interpreter, and with him in the same post this time was Tsuda Sen, later one of the minor *Meirokusha* members.²⁹ The task of the mission, under the Finance Commissioner (*Kanjo Bugyō*) Ono Tomogorō, was to arrange delivery of a battleship for which the Japanese had payed before the Civil War, as well as to purchase rifles.³⁰ Fukuzawa too, it seems, was privately commissioned by the Sendai *han* to purchase rifles. He, however, devoted the large sum entrusted to him for this purpose to the renewed purchase of English books.³¹ The sort of books he got were 'dictionaries of different kinds, texts in geography, history, law, economics, mathematics and of every sort I could secure'.³²

Fukuzawa's three journeys to the West thus equipped him with both the inspiration and the means for promoting 'enlightenment' in Japan. On the one hand were the notes and ideas for his enlightenment writings which were directed at the general public; and on the other were the books with which he was to instruct people

in a more fundamental understanding of Western civilization, but within the more restricted range of his own school. The various works he assembled on his trips were added to the library at *Keiō*, and before turning to his written works as an 'enlightener' we may conveniently examine this, his other principle field of activity as an introducer of the West.

(iv) Fukuzawa as private educator and publicist, 1858-1875;
the development of *Keio Gijuku*

It has been seen how Fukuzawa was started off on his life-long career as a teacher by the Nakatsu *han* in 1858, and how he had not been working a year at Tsukiji before he formed the resolve to learn English. By about 1862, after scarcely three years, he was already teaching some English as well as Dutch.³³ The latter remained his principal subject for a while yet, but gradually it became entirely displaced by English. Thus by 1868, when the Nakatsu *han* school was moved for the first time, although it still had no official name, it was currently known as the *Fukuzawa Eigaku Juku*, or Fukuzawa's School of English Studies.³⁴

From the time of this first move in 1868.4, however, the school really became Fukuzawa's private undertaking and he called it *Keiō Gijuku*, naming it, in the same way as was the *Meiōkusha* later, after the year period in which it was established. The move was necessitated by the government's requisitioning Tsukiji

as a foreign settlement area, and the new quarters to which Fukuzawa moved were in the 'second estate' (*Nakayashiki*) of the Arima *han* at Shinsenza in Shiba. The number of Fukuzawa's students had already reached about a hundred, but with the Restoration disturbances numbers rapidly declined, and although Fukuzawa, who maintained a studiously non-partisan position, never closed the school down, by the time of the Battle of Ueno (1868.5.15), he was lecturing to no more than eighteen.³⁵ Nevertheless, once some sort of political order had been regained with the establishment of the Ōsaka government, things soon got better. And by the time of the school's second and final move to Mita three years later, Fukuzawa had three hundred and ten students.³⁶ And his school was of such high standing that W.E. Griffis, the American educator and later 'Corresponding Member' of the *Meiropusha*, who visited it early that year (1871), called it 'the rival of the Imperial College' - meaning the new government's *Kaiseisho*.³⁷

It is not possible to accept Fukuzawa's claim to absolute uniqueness when he writes:

For five or six years [after the Restoration]...ours was the only center in the country where Western learning was being taught. Indeed, I think, it was until after the completion of *haihanchiken*...[1871] that Keiō Gijuku remained the only school specialising in European studies.³⁸

In fact there were by 1871 in Tokyo alone at least eighteen well known private establishments teaching French, English or German;

and to take only those run by future members of the *Meirokeisha*: Mitsukuri Shūhei's *Sansajuku*, offering English and French, had 108 pupils; Mitsukuri Rinshō's *Kyōgakusha* offering English, had 40 pupils;³⁹ and Nishi Amane, as reported in a survey of schools in the fifth number of the *Shimbun Zasshi*, had 13 pupils for Western studies (*yōgaku*) by March, 1871.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, *Keiō*, with its continued average of about 300 pupils,⁴¹ was undoubtedly the best known and most flourishing centre of Western studies of the time. Thanks to Fukuzawa's trips to the West before the Restoration, it was also probably the best equipped with foreign texts. These, as already noted were principally English and American, and it was on these that he based his lectures.⁴² It is these books which were the source, or at least provided confirmation of such leading ideas of the Japanese Enlightenment as the equality of all men (and women), the linear concept of historical progress, parliamentary democracy, and the great importance attached to material and physical well-being.

Fukuzawa seems to have had quite definite ideas of what he was trying to do, and the parallel between his and Mori's ideas is quite striking. Both admired the superior material civilization of the West; both wanted to help Japan 'catch up'; both saw the answer as lying first and foremost in education; and for both this education was to be specifically practical education in both scientific techniques and social attitudes.

Fukuzawa believed firmly that 'the destiny of a nation depends upon the education of its people'⁴³ and he declared:

The final purpose of all my work was to create in Japan a civilized nation, as well equipped in both the arts of war and peace as those of the Western world. I acted as if I had become the sole functioning agent for the introduction of Western learning [sic].⁴⁴

The most important part of Western learning was the empirical natural sciences, which were both firmly based on deductions from observed reality and, by the same token, applicable to the management of his environment by man. Fukuzawa was a rather literal minded man and appears to have had an unquestioning faith in an essentially tidy and rational world, which both moved along a steady path of progress in time, and which was ultimately wholly susceptible to being weighed measured and quantitatively analysed. Everything, in short, could be reduced to what Fukuzawa called 'the very simple laws of "number and reason"'.⁴⁵ And so 'though lacking both funds and equipment', as he wrote, 'I did what I could in teaching the rudiments of sciences.'⁴⁶

But what was just as important as sound scientific knowledge based upon verifiable facts was the spirit in which one approached learning, and indeed life altogether. A new morality was just as much a necessity as the new learning. In place of the fundamentally authoritarian Confucian morality looking back to an age of past perfection never more to be regained, Fukuzawa set up a thorough-

going individualistic morality, striving nobly towards a perfection of the future, distant but inevitable. Accordingly, what he stressed above all else to his pupils was the necessity of a spirit of independence and self-respect.⁴⁷

What Fukuzawa desired to educate the people in was practical learning and individual independence. He applied them both in the organization of his school, which he ran from the start in a strictly utilitarian and business-like manner. This is far from saying the *Keiō* was run as a business concern to make money. But it was run efficiently and where old values interfered with efficiency they were discarded. Thus Fukuzawa soon instituted the payment of regular fees of a set amount, in this way ensuring a predictable income and the possibility of rational budgeting. The traditional practice of the student making periodic 'gifts' was abolished. Similarly, as the number of students grew, Fukuzawa began to find it irksome and impracticable to be continually answering their respectful bows in the corridor, and so the practice was discontinued. Overall discipline, however, was always strictly maintained as part of the training in respect for oneself as well as others. Fukuzawa had printed and distributed a booklet of carefully formulated rules, and tidiness and cleanliness were particularly enforced. It was altogether in stark contrast to the 'disorder and careless dirtiness'⁴⁸ which had so struck Fukuzawa as a student at Ogata's school. At his own

school, he did not perpetuate the lack of supervision and general rowdiness of Ogata's establishment which he describes with such relish in his autobiography.

Fukuzawa's emphasis on practical matters lays him open to the charge of being over-materialistic and unconcerned with spiritual values. And there is much truth in such a charge. Even his advocacy of political liberalism was not based on the theoretical sanctity of the individual but on the need for a strong state. This could indeed be said to be the fundamental paradox of early *Meiji* 'liberalism' altogether, that liberal ideals were to be adopted not for any intrinsic validity, but because they were seen to be the basis of the Western nations' strength. Although Fukuzawa was himself industrious and not given to extravagance or indulgence, all his talk was still ultimately of the goods of this world. And the following description, written early this century for the English reader, is, incidental humour aside, an essentially correct summing up of Fukuzawa's achievement:

As a pioneer of the new civilization of Meiji period, Mr Fukuzawa's name stands most conspicuous...he propounded the doctrine of money worship; he destroyed old customs and tradition while introducing new civilization....He encouraged young men to attach importance to money. Thus he hoped to enrich the country.⁴⁹

This is open to interpretation as praise or blame according to point of view (it is of course meant as praise); but certainly as

time went on increasing numbers of *Keiō* graduates were to be found throughout important areas of society, particularly business and industry. Later, they came to hold many of the top executive posts of both Mitsui and Mitsubishi. But even in the seventies they were making their presence felt so that one popular saying of the time ran: 'Teachers from *Dōjinsha*; soldiers from *Kyōgakusha*; *Keiō* for leaders of commerce and industry.'⁵⁰ As spokesmen of the popular rights movement too and in the press *Keiō* men were prominent. From 1874, for example, at the request of Kurimoto Jōun, *Keiō* provided a succession of writers for the *Yūbin Hōchi*.⁵¹ And one particular popular rights leader, who though not a *Keiō* man, regularly attended the public speaking meetings held on the campus from 1874, and who was much influenced by Fukuzawa was Ueki Emori.⁵²

The influence which Fukuzawa exerted on society through *Keiō* as outlined above, was extensive. However, his published writings were equally, and perhaps even more, influential.

If Fukuzawa were known as an author alone, he would undoubtedly still be ranked as the greatest of the leaders of the Japanese Enlightenment. His name even became adopted as the generic term for popularising works on the West which were known as '*Fukuzawabon*', or Fukuzawa books. His published works which proved almost from the start spectacularly popular quite naturally followed the development of his own interests. Thus amongst his

earlier books are several dealing with aspects of Western military techniques, a common enough preoccupation of 'Western scholars' of the *Bakumatsu* period. His new interest in English language was also reflected in his preparation of an English Japanese dictionary in 1860.⁵³ Then, after further travels abroad, his interest spread to the material wonders generally of Western civilization, and finally he became concerned with the spirit behind these wonders, which had enabled their development.

Thus Fukuzawa first produced, at the material level, a number of expository works, both original and translated, treating of factual details about the outward appearances and inner workings of 'civilization' in the West. And his straight descriptions of everyday Western appurtenances, tools and techniques capitalized on an already widespread curiosity both to develop a favourable attitude towards the West and in the process to make his name a household word. Then subsequently he went even beyond this, and attempted, though with less immediate practical success, to introduce Western social values as well. From about 1872 there is, indeed, a quite marked switch of approach in some of his writings from straight description to didacticism.

Fukuzawa continued to be a voluminous writer throughout his life, publishing mainly in the form of small pamphlets and of articles in his own periodicals, the *Mei-roku Zasshi* (from 1874),

the *Katei Sōdan* (from 1876) and the *Jiji Shimpō* (from 1882). But already by 1875 when the *Meiropusha* ended, Fukuzawa had published what were then (and apart from his autobiography have continued to be) his three most famous books. These were *Seiyō Jijō*, or conditions in the West (1866-9); *Gakumon no Susume*, or The Advancement of Learning (1872-6); and *Bummeiron no Gairyaku*, or Outline of Civilization (1875).⁵⁴ Of these, the first is typical of his descriptive phase while the others are representative of his switch to didacticism.

The appearance of these latter two works exactly parallels the *Meiropusha* period of 1873-5.⁵⁵ Their significance in the development and public expression of Fukuzawa's thought is crucial and they are amongst the most influential works of the Enlightenment. But their publication was wholly separate from any *Meiropusha* activity, neither do the ideas he put forward in them find any special reflection in his few articles for the *Meiropusha*.

These articles were only three in number; they were all written comparatively late in the life of the magazine, the first one appearing in Number XXI; and the topics they treated were, in order, the Formosa Expedition, the problem of residence and travel in the interior by foreigners, and the equality of women.

However, it is possible to go even further than saying that Fukuzawa clearly did not regard the *Meiropusha* as an adequate force or the *Meiropusha* as an adequate vehicle for his ideas. As

discussed below, part four of *Gakumon no Susume* may even be construed as a direct attack on the *Meiokusha*.

(v) Fukuzawa and the *Meiokusha*

Early in 1873, the very year of the foundation of the *Meiokusha*, Mori, while still in America, had come out in print in praise of Fukuzawa:

The name of Fukuzawa Yukiti [sic], he wrote, will always be most honorably associated with education in Japan. He has been the teacher of the leader and the led and his fame with us is immortal.⁵⁶

In view of Fukuzawa's ideals, his national preeminence and Mori's personal admiration for him, it was natural not only that he should be asked to join the *Meiokusha* but also that he should be further offered the highest post in the society - that of President. That he should almost curtly have refused this offer seems at first quite unnatural.

This refusal, however, was the first manifestation of an attitude that Fukuzawa consistently maintained in his association with the society; an attitude of almost scornful indifference, if not overt hostility. And the clue to this attitude seems to lie in his very carefully maintained stance of 'independence'.

The most important meaning of independence for Fukuzawa was independence of the people, both as a whole and individually, from the government for it was only on the basis of this independence of the people that Japan could hope to maintain her independence from

the imperialist West. And his doubts about the *Meirokeisha* were undoubtedly based upon the fact that almost every single member was also a civil servant in one government department or another.

Even so, it is difficult to see that there is any immediate cause for conflict with the other *Meirokeisha* men in Fukuzawa's ideal of independence. The need to provoke a spirit of independence among the people was a standard cry of the Enlightenment men. Nishi and Tsuda, for example, also deplored the servile and devious mentality engendered in the general mass of the people by the centuries of feudal rule. And if Fukuzawa saw in the forthrightness of the Westerners, and their readiness to take on individual responsibilities, the sovereign remedy for the backwardness of Japan, he was not alone in this. The real cause of the conflict seems to have been far more situational than ideological in origin, and more the result of a certain rigidity or blindness on Fukuzawa's part, than of any real disagreement over ideas or aims.

At the time Fukuzawa was renowned, and he is still remembered, for his own persistent refusal to join the government. This independent stance, however, as Fukuzawa makes clear in his autobiography, was not simply an attempt to put into practice an ideal of independence which he regarded as a distillation of the source of European power; it had its roots in eminently practical considerations at home. Fukuzawa had early learned to despise the

despisers of the West, and was painfully aware of the need for immediate and extensive foreign contact. As he was later to write:

...the purpose of my entire work has not only been to gather young men together and give the benefit of foreign books, but to open this 'closed' country of ours and bring it wholly into the light of Western civilization.⁵⁷

It was this very concern, however, which led him to take no part in the Restoration, for as he saw it, neither side was attuned to the real needs of the country:

...I disliked the bureaucratic, oppressive, conservative anti-foreign policy of the shogunate, so I could not side with it.

...Yet the followers of the Imperial cause were still more anti-foreign and more violent in their action, so I had even less sympathy for them.⁵⁸

Naturally, with such views, the situation could hardly seem materially better to him once the Restoration was accomplished; and though he was amongst the first to be sought out and offered employment by the new government, which was urgently in need of Western scholars, he refused, where his friends Kanda and Yanagawa from the *Kaiseisho* accepted.⁵⁹ For Fukuzawa 'believed the new government to be carrying [on] the ancient policy of exclusionism and antagonism against the Western culture'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, he felt that this was not confined to the government and that the general attitude of the people too remained so hostile to anything of Western provenance that he, as a Western scholar, feared for his very life. He claims in fact to have believed this so strongly

that he did not dare to go out at night till as late as 1874.⁶¹ Thus Fukuzawa concerned himself for the time solely with his school and with his writings, and in his own words: 'the years around the Restoration period were most active ones in my writing and translation'.⁶² Once he had achieved fame and fortune through his publications, even when he found that the government was in fact only too anxious to proceed with Westernization, there could no longer be any financial motivation for him to become a government employee. And indeed a positive disincentive was the very fact of his commitment to *Keiō*, already by 1870 a flourishing concern where he could feel that he was performing a socially useful task.

Although it may be too strong to assert that Fukuzawa sought to elevate the fortuitous course of his own life into a binding pattern for others, he certainly does seem to have been all too ready to generalise from his personal experience of success as an 'independent' man, and to prescribe as a remedy for the country's ills that course of action which had been so successful and beneficial in his own case. And it is in this way that, despite a community of opinion with other *Meirokeisha* men, he felt that the *Meirokeisha* must be ineffective. He published his reasons for this conviction in January 1874 in a paper titled *Gakusha Shokubun Ron*, or On the Vocation of Scholars. This constituted the fourth part of his serial publication *Gakumon no Susume*.

By January 1874 the *Meirokeisha* had still finally to formulate its rules, and was still currently engaged in discussing what the nature of the society was to be.⁶³ Fukuzawa's *Gakusha Shokubun Ron* appears to have been developed as his contribution to these discussions; for it is clear from Katō's reply in MZ, II that it was in fact originally written for the *Meirokeisha*.⁶⁴ It may be noted in passing, that Tōyama Shigeki's *Kindai Nihon Shisō Shi* [History of Modern Japanese Thought] mistakenly lists the *Gakusha Shokubun Ron* as having been published in the *Meirokei Zasshi*. This is a notable example of possible feedback from the overstressed importance of the *Meirokeisha*. That Fukuzawa actually chose to publish it separately and not to wait for the inauguration of the *Meirokei Zasshi* is in itself an important comment on his attitude to the *Meirokeisha*. But his position is clearly and forcefully set out in the paper itself.

As already intimated the principle theme of Fukuzawa's *On the Vocation of Scholars* is the need for and means of developing an independent spirit among the masses. The first main point which he sets out to make is that this is a task impossible of achievement by the government alone. The essential business of a government is to govern, but the general advancement of civilization involves the direct, conscious and independent participation of the people as well. The government does have a

contributory rôle to play in the advance, but both the government and the people must work together in balanced harmony.

Naturally, the carrying out of what is covered by the term governance is the duty of the government. But in human affairs there is a great number of things which have nothing to do with the government. Thus the consolidation of the whole country can only be achieved by the people and the government working together. And the independence of the country must be preserved by we the people fulfilling our allotted task, and the government fulfilling its allotted task, each supporting the other.⁶⁵

...the government has the power only to give orders but the function of criticism by setting a positive example is a matter for private action [and] the most urgent necessity of our time is that everyone should stick to his respective task, whether as scholar, tradesman, merchant, writer, newspaper publisher or whatever. Each should fulfill his function, and his function only, without fear of giving offence. We must arrange things as they should be and then stick rigidly to the laws. And if the government's orders are not trustworthy or are unjust, then they must be debated without resorting to self degradation...⁶⁶

Actual conditions, however, are seen by Fukuzawa as falling lamentably below this desirable ideal, and here he laments how in fact:

The government is the same old despotic government as before, and the people are the same old powerless, spiritless and stupid people...⁶⁷

Throughout the country people have for hundreds of years been held in subjection by a despotic government so that they have become incapable of expressing what they really think. They slyly resort to any deception in order to be left in peace and evade punishment. Dishonest stratagem has become an essential tool of life, and mendacity and untruth the order of the day. Nor is anyone ashamed or even surprised [at this state of affairs] and personal integrity lies exhausted in the dust.⁶⁸

The tentacles of government not only extend to an intolerable degree into the private affairs of the nation; but do so with the ready concurrence of the people:

No sooner have young men read through a few ^{times} than they immediately aim for an official post; no sooner have the more ambitious merchants scraped together a few hundreds of capital than they immediately want to do business under official patronage. The schools are licensed by the government; preaching is by government permission; dairy farming is by official sanction; sericulture is officially licensed. Seventy to eighty per cent of all popular occupations have some connection with the government. And thus the general populace, their minds moulded by this habit, fawn and depend on, fear and flatter officials, and develop no true spirit of independence, so that it is perfectly unbearable to see.⁶⁹

It is so unbearable, of course, because the lack of the individual's spirit of independence will always stand in the way of the advancement of scholarship, commerce and law, the three pillars of civilization, no matter what heroic efforts are made by the government in isolation:

If we take Japan today we may cite scholarship commerce and law as the areas in which our country is no match for others. But civilization is a matter solely of these three things, and if they are not doing well, it is clear... that it will be impossible to maintain national independence. Yet in Japan, not one of them is in a viable condition.

Since the inauguration of the new government, those in office have not failed to exert themselves to the utmost and they are by no means untalented men. But there is a reason why... in many instances they are unable to carry out their intentions, and this is the ignorance and illiteracy of the people.⁷⁰

Nor, claims Fukuzawa, is it possible for the government itself to give the necessary lead to the people. In explaining why this should

be so, he is content with mere assertion: on the one hand, in its attempts to coerce the people into truthful habits, the government 'has merely led the way in untruth', which says Fukuzawa, capping sketchy argument with skillful metaphors is simply 'trying to douse fire with fire'. On the other hand, whilst the government is certainly comprised of many talented individuals, acting in concert they contrive to perform stupidly and unsuccessfully. 'We have to admit that whilst the government has assembled a host of wise men, it still acts like a single fool.'⁷¹

Whatever the defects of his argument, however, what Fukuzawa asserts is that leadership of the people must come from a segment of the people themselves, as distinct from the government. This leadership must guide and educate the people in the spirit of independence, and the men most obviously qualified to do this are clearly those who already have an understanding of Western civilization, which is the very embodiment of individualism, independence and enterprise.

...in order to advance civilization in Japan at the present juncture, we must first make a clean sweep of that [servile] nature which has infiltrated the minds of the people. And the way to do it is certainly not by government decree...What is necessary is for certain people to take the lead and by their private actions show the people the goals for which they should aim. We will not find such people among the farmers or tradesmen or even amongst the scholars of Japanese and Chinese learning. The only people who are suitable for the task are what we may call the coterie of Western scholars.⁷²

Yet even this is not the final answer, Fukuzawa claims. For despite their growing numbers, not only are the great majority of those who comprise the 'coterie of Western scholars' themselves members of the government, but it is even doubtful that they really understand what they claim to profess.

Recently the number of people in this coterie has gradually increased. Some have studied in the original and others have read translations, and they appear to have devoted an immense amount of energy to this. Nevertheless, these 'scholars' have either been reading the words without comprehending their content, or else, despite having understood the content, have lacked the will to put it into practice. Most of their undertakings seem highly suspect to me and the basis for my doubts is that these learned gentlemen, whilst they all fully understand the official sphere, fail to understand that there is a private sphere too. They understand the skills necessary for participating in the government, but they have no knowledge of how people should behave outside the government....

.....
The present coterie of Western scholars is almost entirely made up of officials, and those engaged in private occupations could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand.⁷³

In his article, Fukuzawa nowhere makes explicit mention of the *Meirokeisha*, but there is little doubt that it is principally the men of the *Meirokeisha* whom he has in mind as at least a main segment of the 'coterie of Western scholars'. We may be sure of this on two counts: in the first place simply because the *Meirokeisha* was comprised of the foremost Western scholars of the day; and in the second place because we have Kato's assurance that *Gakusha Shokubun Ron* was aimed specifically at the *Meirokeisha*.⁷⁴

Once it is accepted that Fukuzawa is here talking largely about

the *Meirokusha*, then this sheds considerable light on his relationship with the society. And the final solution which he puts forward to his initial problem (that of helping the advance of Japanese civilization by developing independence among the people) does much to explain his attitude and behaviour towards the society.

What Fukuzawa goes on to say in his conclusion, with but the barest pretence at modesty, is that he personally is really the only one to perform the task of setting Japan on the right path. The relevant passage is worth quoting in full:

To put [the problem] in a nutshell, it must be said that we have at present in Japan a government, but we have as yet no people...the furtherance of civilization in our country and the maintainance of our independence cannot be adequately accomplished by the government alone, neither can we rely sufficiently upon the Western scholars. It is my job; and not only must I take the lead in showing the people what to do, but I must also do some pioneering work for the Western scholars, to show them the path they should follow....I am of course a man of rather shallow learning, but I have directed my efforts for a considerable time towards Western studies, and my status is something above the average in this country. Regarding recent reforms, even if I have not been the chief person to start them, indirectly I have been of assistance. And even if I had been of no help, the reforms made have been cause for rejoicing to me, and so people who looked at me would be compelled to dub me a reformer. And once one is known as a reformer one's position is already above the mediocre, and ordinary men can use the things one does as a model to aim at. Thus I can properly say that it is my task to go in front of the people in undertaking things.⁷⁵

And so Fukuzawa proclaims it as his intention to remain independent, or in other words, completely unconnected with the government.

'...a hundred explanations' he says,

are unable to be as effective as a single positive example. What I now wish to demonstrate by my own positive example of existence as a private person is that it is quite possible for a scholar to be active [purely] as a scholar, for a merchant to engage in activities [purely] as a merchant.⁷⁶

All of this, of course, is not to argue that Fukuzawa was saying he intended also to remain 'independent' of the *Meirokekusha*, but he is certainly expressing very grave doubts about the capacity of the *Meirokekusha* to accomplish the task which it has set itself of 'enlightening' the people. That his article was construed as a major criticism by the *Meirokekusha* men themselves is amply shown by the fact that it elicited no fewer than four replies, by Katō, Mori, Nishi and Tsuda, all published together in *Meirokekusha* II.⁷⁷

Fukuzawa, however, did not entirely discount the possible beneficial results of the *Meirokekusha*, as is shown by his ultimately qualified success in introducing into the society public speaking, which he felt could be of benefit in educating the public. This episode is discussed more fully in the fourth section of Chapter Four below, where it is significant for other reasons. What may be noted here in passing is that in his later account of this introduction, Fukuzawa speaks in a very casual and unenthusiastic manner about the *Meirokekusha*.⁷⁸ The introduction of public speaking to the *Meirokekusha* was nothing more than a side-effect of what Fukuzawa considered his far more important activities on the campus at Keiō, where he had developed the Mita Public Speaking Society (*Mita Enzetsu Kai*).

Finally, we may turn briefly to Fukuzawa's activities in relation to the society's magazine, the *Meirokekusha*. The

important point has already been made that his contribution to the magazine was as good as insignificant - a mere three articles, as compared with eleven from Mori, twenty from Sakatani, twenty-five from Nishi and twenty-nine from Tsuda.⁷⁹ Only four people (out of sixteen) contributed less. Of these three articles, the first is a reproduction of Fukuzawa's speech on the Taiwan expedition, the one with which he convinced the *Meirokeusha* men of the practicability of public speaking. That, indeed, is its principle interest, for this was not a matter which aroused any further debate within the society. His remaining two articles did relate to matters more frequently discussed by the *Meirokeusha*. Only one of them, however, (that on the question of allowing foreigners to travel and reside freely in Japan [*Naichi Ryokō Ron*]) was of any degree of importance. The other was a rather unvigorous plea for the recognition of the equality of women.

The *Naichi Ryokō Ron* was started off by Nishi in an article of that title in *Meiroku Zasshi*, XXIII where he argued in favour of permitting greater freedom to foreigners. What Nishi was in fact more interested in doing with this article was introducing his readers to the concepts of inductive and deductive logic. Nevertheless, the main theme was still there. Fukuzawa took Nishi up on both the content

and the style of his argument, and produced a highly amusing parody which was none the less serious for that in its opposition to extending the degree of intercourse with foreigners, which Fukuzawa could only imagine to be harmful to Japanese interests. But of greater interest for this thesis than the detailed argument of *Naichi Ryokō Ron* is a circumstance to which Fukuzawa himself makes reference in the opening sentence of his article. He writes:

When I first heard Nishi's speech... I ventured to publish my own opinions in *Minkan Zasshi* No.6, where I was not in complete opposition to his views. But when I saw it as published in the *Meiroku Zasshi*, I realised that there were a great number of other points on which we differed....

The significant point to be taken from this quotation is the reference to the *Minkan Zasshi*, or People's Magazine, which was Fukuzawa's own magazine and ran concurrently with the *Meiroku Zasshi*. In fact, he even commenced publication in February 1874, at the very time when the *Meiroku Zasshi* was about to be published.⁸⁰ Even more to the point, it seems clear that he used the *Minkan Zasshi* as a platform from which to criticise the *Meiroku Zasshi* from outside, instead of contributing to it directly as one would expect from an enthusiastic member of the *Meirokusha*.⁸¹ On two occasions (including the one just mentioned) Fukuzawa wrote articles in the *Minkan Zasshi* having a direct bearing on matters debated by the *Meirokusha*, and on a further two it is pupils of his at *Keiō* who take up the cudgels against the society. Fukuzawa's dissentient article on Nishi's *Naich Ryokō Ron*⁸² was followed one month later by a similar one from Kobata Tokujirō in *Minkan Zasshi*

VIII. That same month, in number X, Ushiba Tokuzō attacked Tsuda's article in *Meiroku Zasshi*, V, where he had argued against protective tariffs. Finally, Fukuzawa again entered the debate which of all had most vexed the *Meirokusha* (on the desirability of a popularly elected assembly) with a lengthy article advocating the separation of powers, in *Minkan Zasshi*, XII (June 1875).⁸³

However, more than simply not contributing freely to the *Meiroku Zasshi*, and more even than attacking it from outside rather than participating from within, Fukuzawa was, finally, the leading advocate of the total abandonment of the magazine. And as such, he was the direct cause of the society's ceasing to function as in any way an active public influence.

This episode is also discussed more fully in Chapter Four, but brief mention must be made here of Fukuzawa's intentions. His principle stated reason for wishing to continue publication of the *Meiroku Zasshi* was the existence, as of June 1875, of the revised newspaper and libel laws. Nor is there any reason to ascribe to him any hidden motive, such as the desire to eliminate a rival magazine, for he had withdrawn his own *Minkan Zasshi* from June, and did not revive it until September 1876.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the point to be made is that his speech proposing the withdrawal of the magazine, clearly indicates that he had no faith in the magazine itself, or even in the *Meirokusha* as a group, as satisfactory tools for the furtherance of 'enlightenment'.⁸⁵

What Fukuzawa maintains in essence is that the new laws make it impossible for members of a society like the *Meiropusha* to express themselves freely. For articles which would now be indictable had been published by them in the past, and similar topics would inevitably come up for discussion in the future. If publication was to continue, they were faced with the impossible alternatives of either infringing the law or else reneging on principles. It is not possible, he claims, for the society as a whole to make a decision either way:

...since [the question of whether] to submit to the law or to publish freely is properly a matter for personal deliberation, which each man must decide in his heart; and since, even if the Members' views all agree, the one Society can still not be compared to a single body, ...we cannot decide on a course of action in this matter.

Fukuzawa gives no adequate reason for his assertion that a society even if unanimous can still not make a decision as a unit, but goes on immediately to insist that the *Meiropusha* in any case is not such a unit:

However, our Society itself is young in days. We have assembled for meetings but twice a month, and this for the very reason that our Society cannot yet be regarded as a united body.⁸⁶

He thus claims that the society is not sufficiently unified to speak as a homogeneous group, and in his concluding sentence, Fukuzawa to all intents and purposes openly advocates the break-up of the society:

If people in the Society still want to give vent to their ideas, let them publish independently, without sheltering behind the name of the Magazine. Let everyone bear his own responsibility!⁸⁷

In conclusion it may thus be stated that whilst it is common practice to associate Fukuzawa with the *Meirokeusha*, this is accurate in only the most formal sense. Whilst Fukuzawa was indeed a member, he was from the start doubtful about the society's potential; he never participated with vigour or enthusiasm in the society's activities; and finally he was the prime mover behind the cessation of the *Meiroke Zasshi* which effectively destroyed the capacity of the *Meirokeusha* to exert any influence on the general public.⁸⁸

Fukuzawa has been dealt with at some length because he was without doubt the leading 'enlightenment' figure, so that his rôle in the *Meirokeusha* is of crucial importance in assessing the true significance of that body. The remaining members, however, were also for the most part amongst the more important leaders of the 'enlightenment'. They are dealt with together and more briefly in the ensuing chapter, but similar themes can be traced, which will serve further to diminish the stress which can be laid on the importance of the *Meirokeusha*.

CHAPTER 3

THE REMAINING CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS OF THE *MEIROKUSHA*.

THEIR RÔLE IN THE 'ENLIGHTENMENT' AS *MEIROKUSHA* MEN

AND AS INDIVIDUALS.

(1) Introductory

A more summary examination of the lives and activities of the remaining members of the *Meiropusha* who contributed to their magazine, reveals a number of similarities to the case of Fukuzawa, just examined in detail, except in one thing:

Where Fukuzawa was of outstanding importance for this thesis was in his indifference towards, and lack of enthusiasm for, the *Meiropusha*. In addition to Mori, a number of the other members, even if not all of them, were much more enthusiastic about the society and devoted considerable energy to it. Amongst these must be mentioned in particular the following (arranged in descending order of importance after the number of their contributions to the *Meiropu Zasshi*): Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane, Sakatani Shiroshi, Sugi Kōji, Nakamura Masanao and Nishimura Shigeki. None of these made fewer than eleven contributions, although the number of articles may be said to be fewer, since several were published in serial form.

Generally speaking, these more active members of the *Meiropusha* were at the same time the leading 'enlightenment' figures of the day.¹

Nevertheless, (and it is here that the similarities with Fukuzawa are evident) it becomes clear that what these men contributed to the *Meiropusha* in the form of articles for the magazine, is so far from constituting even a major part of their original contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, that only in two specific instances are *Meiropu Zasshi* articles of sufficient importance for their authors to be remembered by them today. (The two cases are Mori Arinori's *Saishōron* [On Wives and Concubines] advocating the recognition of greater equality for women, and Nishi Amane's *Jinsei Sampō Setsu* [Theory of the three Human Treasures] which sets out to introduce utilitarian values). Otherwise, the important popular 'enlightenment' writings of the *Meiropusha* men were produced outside of, and for the most part anterior to, the *Meiropusha*. Furthermore, they did not even restrict themselves in their minor writings to publication in the *Meiropu Zasshi*. Some, such as Kanda and the Mitsukuri 'brothers' happily wrote, like Fukuzawa, for other magazines (- for the *Seiyō Zasshi* and the *Bankoku Sōwa* respectively).²

But not only was their principal theoretical, or literary, contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, not made through the *Meiropusha*; many of them were also, again like Fukuzawa, extremely active in making practical contributions to the spread of 'enlightenment' through their own private schools (and even through other institutions such as the Institute for the Blind set up by Nakamura and Tsuda Sen),

In addition to their work for the *Bummei Kaika* oriented government. Their membership of the *Meiropusha* was only a very minor part of their overall 'enlightenment' activities and many members were preoccupied with other, and to them at least equally important activities. Furthermore, by the time of the *Meiropusha* the government itself had already made far more effective provision for the spread of 'enlightenment' by its active promotion of universal education and its commissioning of school textbooks largely based on translations of foreign works. Many of these textbooks were, as it happens, by members of the *Meiropusha*³ - but they had not been written by them as members of the *Meiropusha*. In short the *Meiropusha* was more a survival than a pioneering body, and its self proclaimed aim of enlightening the people⁴ was something of an anachronism. Whilst the popularity of the *Meiropu Zasshi* is indisputable, it must be said that rather than making a great original contribution to the 'enlightenment' this magazine merely reflected an already existing climate of opinion. It did not so much create a demand as answer one.

The *Meiropusha* might have had a more positive function to fulfill if it had been able to perform the task envisaged by Mori, of disseminating practical information about both techniques and moral values as practised in the West. If anything it was more active in the line of moral values. Excellent cases in point are both Nishi's and Mori's articles cited above. But, as will be seen,

the membership of the *Meirokeisha* was for the part not made up of people with the various necessary specialist skills, to carry out Mori's first aim. And it is noticeable that those few who were so equipped, like Sugi in statistics or Tsuda Sen in agriculture, respectively either made no attempt at all to disseminate knowledge about their speciality through the *Meirokei Zasshi* despite a considerable number of articles written; or else were conspicuous by the paucity of their writings for the magazine.

What drew a large majority of the *Meirokeisha* men together was a combination of similarities in both career and ideological commitment, to which Mori acted as the unifying catalyst. But of these two factors the former appears to have been the more important. Apart from the notable exception of Mori himself, (and less importantly, of Sakatani) all of the members were *ex-Bakufu* men, and the majority of them had either studied or taught, or done both at the *Kaiseisho*.

The *Bakufu's Kaiseisho* was the earliest and most important official centre of Western studies in Japan. The arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 gave great impetus to the establishment of similar institutions in several other *han* but it also spurred the *Bakufu* into expanding the activities of its own centre. And the *Kaiseisho*, with the best furnished library of Western books and (from 1860) newspapers in Japan maintained its preëminence. Out of this school came many of the greatest figures of the 'Enlightenment', a significant number of whom became members of the *Meirokeisha* and

constituted what I have called the *Kaiseisho* core of the *Meirokusha*.

The more famous of these were Nishi Amane, Tsuda Mamichi, Katō Hiroyuki and Mitsukuri Rinshō. By their translations and original writings, these men made a significant contribution to the general knowledge in Japan about the West, in the particular fields of political theory, philosophy, statistics and the various branches of law. Slightly less well remembered now, but still important authors were Kanda Kōhei and Sugi Kōji, in the fields of mathematics, economics, and again statistics.

The career similarities which united this *Kaiseisho* core of the *Meirokusha* were several. Firstly, all of them were of lower *samurai* origin (except Sugi, who was a commoner). They had all undergone a prolonged period of traditional education before coming to Western studies, in turning them towards which, the arrival of Perry was almost without exception a primary influence. (In other words they were motivated by considerations of national need. Tsuda and Katō in particular started off with military studies.) In each case their individually acquired facility in Dutch qualified them for posts as translators and teachers at the *Kaiseisho*. By working there, those who were not already *Bakufu* retainers became so. At the same time, while this employment also enabled some of them to gain first-hand foreign experience, they were provided with an unprecedented opportunity to familiarize themselves with the real

conditions in the West through the *Kaiseisho* library. Thus their remarkably similar life patterns united the *Kaiseisho* men by that closest human bond, shared experience, and the bond was all the stronger for having been formed between young men.

Their community of ideological commitment, however, was more tenuous than their personal friendship. Ultimately it is reducible to two rather broad commitments, the one to certain traditional values and the other to the need for deeper knowledge of the West. But this still left room for broad areas of disagreement. In the first place there was no general concensus about the extent to which traditional values should be conserved, and in the second place, they were to find that the West itself had more than one ideology to offer. There was no fundamental agreement over aims and ideals in the *Meiropusha*. Thus we find Nishi espousing Utilitarianism, Tsuda and Nakamura urging the adoption of Christianity, and Nishimura and Sakatani arguing in Confucian terms, while Katō, during the very years of the *Meiropusha's* greatest activity, was starting to transfer his faith from individualism, liberalism and parliamentary government to statism and Social Darwinism.

Their knowledge of the West varied in both degree and kind. All had read about the West, either in Western languages or in Japanese translation, but some in addition had had first-hand foreign experience, - and this again in varying degrees. The division between those who had been overseas and those who had not makes as convenient

a distinction as any, and this chapter is divided into three sections: The first two deal with the more important members (most of them from the *Kaiseisho*, and the criterion for their importance being the amount of their contribution to the *Meiroku Zasshi*),

- i. the *ryūgakusei*, those who had studied, or at least travelled overseas; and
- ii. the stay-at-home *yōgakusha*, or Western scholars, whose only knowledge of the West was from written sources.
- iii. the final section is devoted to the remaining minor members, a study of whom also contributes marginally to indicate the need for reassessing the importance of the *Meirokusha*.

(ii) The *Ryūgakusei*: Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane, Nakamura Masanao, Mitsukuri Rinshō and Mitsukuri Shūhei

- a. Tsuda Mamichi (1829-1903) and Nishi Amane (1829-1897).

Nishi and Tsuda together contributed over one third of the total number of articles in the *Meiroku Zasshi*,⁶ and it is perhaps they, rather even than Mori, who have with the greatest justification contributed to the fame of the *Meirokusha*. They were amongst the earliest of the *ryūgakusei* and were the first Japanese to study, and later to introduce into Japan, Western style social sciences. The notes they took down during their period in Holland provided the basis for important works of translation both by themselves and by

Kanda Kōhei and Sugi Kōji, discussed below. Both of preeminent stature in *Meiji* intellectual history (Nishi as a philosopher and Tsuda as a lawyer), they also devoted considerable energy to the *Meiroke Zasshi* and clearly regarded it as an important organ for the spreading of 'enlightenment'. It has been said of Nishi in particular that 'The ... *Meiroke Zasshi* served as [his] major forum for introducing the doctrines of Comte and Mill';⁷ whilst Tsuda's articles, as well as constituting the largest individual contribution to the *Meiroke Zasshi*, made up a major portion of his total published work. Predictably, Nishi and Tsuda were two of the only four who favoured continuing the magazine in the debate of September 1875.

All this notwithstanding, it will be seen that even in their case, where it seems so abundantly clear that major significance must be attributed to the *Meirokekusha*, certain qualifications need to be made.

Tsuda Mamichi is generally so completely associated with Nishi Amane, that he tends to be overshadowed by his more famous contemporary and friend. At least part of the reason for this is that Nishi, being of a more literary bent, has more published works to his name, while Tsuda spent more of his energies in practical matters - as a translator in helping to codify the laws, and as a judge in trying to apply the statutes. Nevertheless, although neither so prolific or important as Nishi, Tsuda is worth remembering

as an 'enlightenment' writer in his own right. And it will be noted that he published two major pioneering works as a result of his foreign studies, quite outside the *Meiropkusha* ... one on Western law and one on statistics.

Tsuda Mamichi was born in 1829.6.25, the eldest son of a low-grade *samurai* family of Tsuyama in Mimasaka (part of modern Okayama).⁸ His father, a cook, was a man of small love for books and Tsuda's earliest education was in the hands of his mother and grandmother.⁹ He was eleven before he started any official schooling, and not till the age of 21 did he start on Western studies, though his interest here had been developing for some time. Up to 1850, however, he went through the normal *samurai* education in Confucian (Chu Hsi) studies and in the practical military arts.¹⁰ He was also fond of reading the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century loyalist *Shintō* scholars, Moto'ori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane.¹¹ Tsuda's ideas were thus tinged with an early anti-foreign complexion, and it is hardly surprising to find his first desire to study the West inspired by military considerations. It was indeed his military instructor, one Sakakibara, who persuaded him of the need to be aware of Western conditions. He is also likely to have been influenced by the connection with Tsuyama of two noted families of *rangaku* scholars the Udagawas and the Mitsukuris.

As early as 1847 Tsuda had obtained permission from his *han* to take up Western studies in Edo, but he was prevented from doing

so by his mother's illness. Then he eventually persuaded his father to let him renounce his prospective headship of the family in favour of his brother, Senjirō, and in 1850.8.25 he went to study in Edo.¹² Here he first entered the school of Mitsukuri Gempo,¹³ a good friend of his former instructor Sakakibara, and then in the same year he studied briefly under the Western gunnery expert, Sakuma Shōzan,¹⁴ -- a teacher whose fiery patriotism would have done nothing to diminish any conviction on Tsuda's part of the value of his native tradition.

While at Sakuma's Tsuda also met Katsu Kaishū, the future founder of the Japanese navy, who became a good friend.¹⁵ But he did not stay long with Sakuma, and soon, on the advice of Mitsukuri Gempo, he started studying under the famous scholar of Dutch medicine Itō Gemboku, at his school the *Zōsendō*. This was in 1851.1.8.¹⁶ Later he was living at the house of Ōkubo Ichirō who was closely associated with the *Kaiseisho*, from where he moved at the request of Katsu, who wanted him to give lessons in Western studies at his house. And clearly, by 1855 he had a good reputation in his studies, for that year he was offered posts by both the Matsumae *han* and Abe Masahiro personally, which, however, he refused.¹⁷ At that time he seems, like Mori about a decade later, to have set his heart on making his way in the navy. That same year (1855), the *Bakufu* opened a school for Western style naval studies at Nagasaki, the *Kaigun Denshū Sho*,

and learning of this from Katsu, Tsuda went down to Nagasaki that autumn.¹⁸

This proved to be a turning point in his career, though in an unexpected way. Not being a direct *Bakufu* retainer, Tsuda needed the permission of his own *Daimyō* to study at the *Kaigun Denshū Sho*, but this, despite several attempts on his part, was not forthcoming. Thus after a whole fruitless year in Nagasaki, he returned to Edo in 1856.11,¹⁹ there to pursue the life of a scholar instead of a sailor. He lodged first with Ōkubo Ichiō again, and then went back to Mitsukuri's school, where he was made head student. Then after only half a year came the step which was to confirm Tsuda in his life of civilian studies, and which at the same time introduced him to his life-long, intimate friend, Nishi Amane. In 1857.5 on the advice of Ōkubo Ichiō and the recommendation of Katsu, he was taken on as Junior Assistant Professor (*Kyojutetsudainarabi*) at the Bakufu's *Kaiseisho*.²⁰

Tsuda and Nishi, who were appointed at the same time, soon became fast friends. In the spring of 1858 they both moved into the special *Keiseisho* teachers' living quarters.²¹ Beyond the fact that they were teachers, little is known of their duties at this time, but it is certain that they now had access to a library of foreign books unequalled in all Japan.²² Their work included translation, which was one important function of the *Kaiseisho*;

certainly they also started reading more widely on their own account, and two manuscripts of Tsuda's survive which testify to his growing consciousness of the need to study other aspects of Western civilisation than simply its superior military arts.²³

It was doubtless their growing familiarity with the realities of the Western world that prompted their mutual determination to try to go abroad themselves for further study. Such a thing was not to be lightly requested for up to that time the *Bakufu* had sent extremely few students abroad, and none for other than strictly scientific training.²⁴ However, they forwarded petitions and already in 1861 it looked as if their desire would be fulfilled when they were included in a group selected to go to America. But the plan was suspended owing to the American Civil War, and not till the following year did they meet with success.

In the spring of 1862 they were notified that they were to join a group of students going to Holland. This group, of fifteen in all, included both *samurai* and commoners, the former being sent to study navigation, ship-building and medicine, and the latter, (who were artisans of various sorts), their respective trades. Nishi and Tsuda were the only ones from the *Kaiseisho* and were sent to study law and politics. From the time of their return is dated the first real introduction of Western social sciences in Japan.

Eventually, the whole group set off from Nagasaki in 1862.9.14, on the Dutch sailing ship *Kallipus*. And after a voyage which included a lengthy stop over in Batavia, they reached Rotterdam in 1863.4.18, whence Nishi and Tsuda went on alone to Leyden.²⁵ Here they spent some four months augmenting their knowledge of Dutch under a local school-master called Van Dyck, and then from 1863.11, for almost two years, the most important part of their studies comprised the twice weekly lectures they received from Professor Simon Vissering in the disciplines of law, economics and statistics.

Vissering had been a practicing lawyer before returning to teach at his *alma mater*, Leyden. He was at this time Professor of Economics there, and himself firmly believed in the liberal theories of free trade in the classical English tradition. Nishi and Tsuda also attended lectures by C. W. Opzoomer, who introduced them to Comte and Mill. Their Western education was thus firmly in the positivist, utilitarian tradition, and Nishi later wrote of the great influence that Opzoomer had upon him.²⁶ It was, however, the notes taken on Vissering's lectures which formed the basis of the 'enlightenment' works published by Nishi and Tsuda on their return.

While in Holland they both devoted the greater part of their time and energy to their studies. They travelled hardly at all, and the detailed notes they took are testimony of the seriousness with which they approached their task. In 1865.10 they finally set off via Paris²⁷ for Marseilles where they boarded the boat for home,

and they reached Yokohama in early February 1866 (1865.12.29).²⁸ Just over a fortnight later, they had immediately returned to work at the *Kaiseisho* where they were shortly appointed full professors (*Kyōjushoku*), and within three months they were ordered to produce translations of notes they had taken from Vissering.²⁹ Nishi was to do the notes for Natural and International Law (*natuurregt* and *volkenregt*) while Tsuda fell the fields of National Law (*staatsregt*) and Statistics (*statisteik*).³⁰

The next four years, covering the end of the *Bakufu* and the early stages in the establishment of the new government, were a rather unsettled period for all, and Tsuda was no exception. In 1866.9 he went with Nishi to Kyoto on the *Shogun Keiki*'s orders, but finding that he was not really wanted returned immediately to Edo.³¹ The main point of his visit was most likely to present the translation of Vissering's notes on National Law, which he had made under the title of *Kokuhōron*.³² This work was never published as such, and it seems likely that the *Bakufu*, in accordance with its standard practice, had commissioned the translation, not for publication but for official and secret use only. By 1868.4, however, Tsuda had published his *Taisei Kokuhō Ron*, a four volume (*satsu*) work based on the same notes and including a separate introduction.³³

The significance of *Taisei Kokuhō Ron* as one of the most important 'Enlightenment' works is discussed below; here it is

sufficient to say that it served as a solid basis for Tsuda's subsequent very successful legal career. Meanwhile the *Bakufu*, in its dying struggles to preserve some of its own power within some new government framework was investigating how it could implement limited participation by others in some form of parliamentary system. Tsuda was interviewed for his ideas in 1868.1.24. He was immediately appointed *Metsuke*. At the same time during this period, he submitted a number of petitions on government reform, and engaged in the currently popular pastime of drafting constitutions. Finally, in 1868.7, Keiki, having already resigned his office the preceding year, retired to Shizuoka. He was followed there by the majority of his retainers, including Tsuda.

Two months later, the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee, already discussed in connection with Mori, was set up in Edo, now renamed Tokyo. When Tsuda accepted a post in the new government's Judiciary (*Keibushō*) and returned to the capital in 1869.1, he was at the same time seconded for work on this committee; and in the resultant *Kōgisho* he presented three submissions, all on predictably enlightenment topics.³⁴ The most important one was to prevent traffic in human beings; the other two were rationalising suggestions that the year-period (*nengō*) chronological system and certain feudal name distinctions be abolished.³⁵

Tsuda's stay in Tokyo this time, however, was brief - barely seven months -, and in 1869.8 he returned to Shizuoka where he spent the following year as an advisor (*Shōsanji*) to the Shizuoka *han*. But then in 1870.9, Tsuda returned for good to Tokyo, service with the new government and steady promotion as a respected legal authority. At first he was put on the School Systems Investigation Committee where other future *Meirokeisha* men also served,³⁶ but he was soon appointed to a high *sōnin* rank in the Department of Justice (*Keibushōhanji*), where he worked on the drafting of new laws and particularly the *Shinritsu Kōryō*, or Summary of New Laws, published in 1870.³⁷ Most of 1871 he spent in the Foreign Department (*Gaimushō*) where he served Date Muneki on his mission to China, but late that year he returned to the Ministry of Justice (now renamed the *Shihōsho*). There he was appointed to the highest *sōnin* rank by 1872, but continued disagreement with his chief, Etō Shimpei led within the year to his dismissal on 13 July 1873.³⁸ By the end of August, however, he was re-employed through the good offices of his friend Nishi at an equivalent rank (*Daijō*) in the Army Department (*Rikugunshō*), as a translator of French military law (*Furansu Gumpōsho Honyaku-gakari*).³⁹

During the whole of the *Meirokeisha* period⁴⁰ Tsuda remained with the Army Department and he seems to have found considerable time for his own writings, and of his 29 contributions to the *Meirokei Zasshi*, all but six were done in 1874. It was also October of that year

which saw the publication of his second most important 'enlightenment' work, *Hyōki Teikō* (Outline of Statistics), and in the same period (late 1874) he wrote another minor work of *zuihitsu* type - a collection of short essays and notes on various subjects, including freedom and human rights, which was commissioned by Shimizu Usaburō and published by him the following January, under the title of *Waga Kan ga Kaku no Gotoshi* (Such are my Views).⁴¹

The latter was in no sense a major work, although worth mentioning as having been produced outside the *Meiropusha*. Far more significant for the argument are Tsuda's two other main works: *Hyōki Teikō*, just mentioned, and *Taisei Kokuhō Ron*, cited earlier, both of which were based on notes taken down from Vissering in Leyden. It is on these that Tsuda's fame as an 'enlightenment' writer most surely rests.

Of the two, *Hyōki Teikō* (also known as *Seihyō Gakuron* - [Treatise on Statistics]) is the lesser work. It had to a certain extent been pre-empted by Mitsukuri Rinshō's *Tōkeigaku*, published earlier the same year (1874), but was nonetheless an important document in the history of Japanese statistics, particularly in its influence on Sugi, the 'father of Japanese statistics',⁴² who also made his own translation of Tsuda's notes.⁴³ *Taisei Kokuhō Ron*, on the other hand, was amongst the most important early 'enlightenment' works, and was of great influence in both legal and political circles.⁴⁴ It contained many neologisms to translate

the technicalities of Western legal terminology and which have remained the standard Japanese terms, the best known being *mimpō* for 'civil law'. The main body of the text, which was translation, dealt with constitutional law, administrative law, criminal law and in short all elements of internal state law except for civil procedure. The latter he discussed in a separate prefatory essay, *Taisei Yōgaku Yōmyō* [Principal Elements of Western Law], which was the first original work by a Japanese to treat of Western Law. (International law, the other main subject not treated by *Taisei Kokuhō Ron*, was dealt with by Nishi as discussed below).

When it comes to Tsuda's contribution to the *Meinokusha*, it must be said that his articles are both generally progressive and a conscious attempt to spread 'enlightenment'. And particularly in his one long serial contribution 'On Government' (*Seiron*) MZ Nos. IX, XI, XII, XV and XVI) he does draw on his specialist knowledge both to discuss legal matters⁴⁵ and to advocate the establishment of a bureau of statistics.⁴⁶ Elsewhere he urges the slackening of trade restrictions,⁴⁷ and freedom for the press.⁴⁸ At the same time he is in favour of popular government based on the theory of natural rights.⁴⁹

Although this is essentially a chronologico-quantitative study rather than a detailed substantive analysis of the writings of the 'enlightenment' leaders, it may be noted in passing here that despite the comparatively radical aspects outlined above, Tsuda's attitudes are often modified by at best a pragmatic common sense and at

worst by lingering traditional modes of thought. Thus he argues for parliamentary government in the following unexceptionable terms:

... our people have long submitted to oppression so that their spirit of freedom has been quite crushed. But this spirit is the health of the country, and if the health of the country is weak, then the banner of the country's dignity will not be born aloft. And there is no other way at the present time to accomplish this and to make the country flourish than to have the people take a hand in national affairs. And for this purpose nothing would be so good as to start having popularly elected representatives. Thus it is undeniable that the right time is certainly here, and it is equally undeniable that the trend of conditions makes it inevitable.⁵⁰

But at the same time he takes a classic *shōsōron* line on the general stupidity of the people and urges a strictly limited franchise, based on class and tax qualifications. And even further than this he would in fact grant an assembly no ultimate powers:

The duties and particular rights of the representatives would be determined by parliamentary statute, but the final right to say what should and what should not be promulgated as the law of Japan would be an Imperial prerogative and nothing whatsoever to do with the representatives.⁵¹

Again, he is adamant about the different status of women, arguing that it is quite impossible for man and wife to have equal rights;⁵² and with respect to the franchise, that:

Of course, it goes without saying that women, children, mental defectives and ... criminals are to be excluded.⁵³

These two examples are an interesting comment on the *Meiropusha's* general reputation as an introducer of progressive ideas from the West (although it is only fair to add that these very attitudes on the

franchise and the position of women were the currently predominant ones in Europe as well!) But the really important comment which needs to be made here is not on the *Meiropusha's* reputation as an introducer of ideas from the West (progressive or otherwise), but on its reputation as the *predominant* introducer of Western ideas. And it is by now obvious that Tsuda's principal contribution to the 'enlightenment' was first as a practicing jurist and lawyer and second as the writer, to a certain degree of the *Meiropusha* articles, but far more importantly of *Taisei Kokuhō Ron* and *Hyōki Teikō*. Furthermore the second of these was produced at the same time as his greatest activity within the *Meiropusha*, as was also the more minor *Waga Kan ga Kaku no Gotoshi*. Thus it is clear that even by Tsuda the *Meiropusha* was not regarded as the principle vehicle for getting his ideas across.

Nishi's importance for the modern history of Japan lies in two quite distinct spheres. The first was his work as a bureaucrat for the army, where his unrivalled reading knowledge of Western languages (English, French and Dutch) and of military institutional practice proved invaluable to his chief, Yamagata. The second was his work as an 'enlightener', in the introduction and justification of a Positivist approach to learning and a Utilitarian approach to social and moral values, based primarily upon his knowledge of Comte and Mill. As Roger Hackett has pointed out,⁵⁴ Nishi is better known for the latter, although the former was

at least equally important. It was possibly even more important,⁵⁵ though he still remains such a commanding figure in early *Meiji* intellectual history as to be known as the father of Western philosophy in Japan.⁵⁶

Nishi's life and career, unlike that of Tsuda, have been the object of several studies in English, and need not be treated so extensively here.⁵⁷ The details of his study in Holland are naturally the same as those for Tsuda outlined above, and we may conveniently pick up the thread again at his return to Japan in 1866. The ensuing decade is roughly divisible into three periods, which may be called the Numazu period (up to 1870), the *Ikueisha* period (1870-3) and the *Meiropusha* period (1873-5). During the first two periods, Nishi was concerned primarily with the simple transmission of what he had learned in the West; the *Meiropusha* period saw the fullest flowering of his own creative scholarship. Subsequently, he reverted to translation, and after his *kambun* version of Mill's *Utilitarianism* (published as *Rigaku*, 1874),⁵⁸ he became less important as an 'enlightenment' figure than as a theorist, translator and drafter of regulations for the Army Department - a rôle which he was already playing concurrently during the *Meiropusha* period.

Two things may immediately be noted. The first is self-evident, namely, that in discussing Nishi's contribution to the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement, it is immaterial whether what he wrote and taught was a

simple retailing of Western ideas, or whether it was an admixture of this and his own originally developed ideas. The second will emerge below, and is that in only one instance is it his writing for the *Meiropusha* which is of major significance for the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement.

Before dealing with the *Meiropusha* period itself, it is convenient to outline his earlier 'enlightenment' activities as both teacher and writer.

The Numazu period starts strictly speaking in late 1868⁵⁹ when Nishi was appointed head of the Numazu Military College (*Numazu Heigakkō*), but is used here to cover the whole period of his service with the *Bakufu*, from his return to Japan till his final settling in Tokyo as a bureaucrat for the new *Meiji* government (1866-70). Throughout this and the ensuing *Ikueisha* period, Nishi acted as the intermediary for Western culture in the rôle of a teacher. He became a full professor at the *Kaiseisho* almost immediately on his return.⁶⁰ When summoned to Kyoto in October 1866, he set up his own private school. Then came his time as head of the *Numazu Heigakkō* until 1870. As a direct result of Nishi's and Tsuda's foreign studies, the courses offered at the *Kaiseisho* were considerably expanded to include the new social sciences which they had brought back.⁶¹ A similar pattern followed under Nishi's headship at Numazu, where, in addition to the strictly military subjects, he introduced courses in logic,

ethics, natural history and French and English language.⁶² (The intervening period of his private school in Kyoto may be regarded as somewhat less important, despite the large number of pupils,⁶³ for it lasted only a short time and anyway was not apparently conducted by Nishi with any great enthusiasm,⁶⁴ owing to the current political turmoil and his uncertainties about his own career). Concurrently with the *Numazu Heigakkō* Nishi also ran the Tokugawa school of literature at Shizuoka.⁶⁵

In addition to these important educational activities as a practicing teacher, Nishi also started to spread the new knowledge by means of the written word, - although these first works were not as important as his later ones. Immediately in 1866.12 the *Bakufu* commanded translations of the Vissering lecture notes on international law, and this resulted in the publication, in 1868 of *Bankoku Kōhō*.⁶⁶ Nishi also made a translation of the notes on natural law, but these were destroyed and it was left to Kanda Kōhei to publish a version which he made in 1871 under the title of *Seihō Ryaku* (Outline of Natural Law).⁶⁷

Nishi's writings during the *Ikueisha* period (*Ikueisha* being the name of the private school he ran from 1870 till it collapsed for want of funds in early 1873)⁶⁸ also remained unpublished. Thus his importance for the 'Enlightenment' at this time was again principally as a teacher. Nevertheless, several important manuscripts survive, amongst them one which has been characterised

as being amongst Nishi's three major works.⁶⁹ This was *Hyakugaku Renkan* or The Universal Interconnections of Learning, and consists basically of lectures Nishi gave at the *Ikueisha* based on Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, though with important modifications.⁷⁰ It contains further a section on inductive and deductive logic, based on J. S. Mill.⁷¹

It was also Mill who provided Nishi with the basis of much of his most significant writing published during the *Meirokusha* period, to which we now come. The most important of these were:

- i. *Chichi Keimō* [Logic and Enlightenment], 1874;
- ii. *Hyaku-ichi Shinron* [A New Theory of the Hundred and One], 1874; &
- iii. *Jinsei Sampō Setsu* [Theory of the Three Human Treasures], 1875-80.

Chichi Keimō, like *Hyakugaku Renkan* was based on a series of *Ikueisha* lectures, devoted this time to a detailed study of Mill's *System of Logic*, of which it also contains translated portions.⁷² This was not a widely influential work since only a hundred copies were printed at first and it was not reprinted until 1881.⁷³

Hyaku-ichi Shinron, on the other hand, has been called Nishi's most important work.⁷⁴ It was concerned essentially with the relationship between morals and politics and applied the inductive method in the form of a socratic dialogue, to a refutation of Sung Neo-Confucianism.⁷⁵

Jinsei Sampō Setsu was probably Nishi's most widely read work. It was a justification of utilitarian values and stressed the necessity of health, knowledge and wealth (the 'three human treasures' of the title) as acceptable objects of pursuit. The first half (four parts out of eight) was published in the *Meiroke Zasshi* from June to October 1875.⁷⁶

Havens' judgement that 'The ... *Meirokeusha* served as Nishi's major forum for introducing the doctrines of Comte and Mill' was cited at the outset of this section, and the same sentiment is explicit in an earlier statement of his that:

Despite the richness of the course content [of the *Hyakugaku Renkan* lectures etc. at the *Ikueisha*] the task of spreading European philosophic thought required an audience beyond the classroom, something Nishi rarely achieved before the Meiji Six Society began work in 1874.⁷⁷

Elsewhere, he says that 'The *Meirokeusha* emerged to give institutional framework for [Nishi's] scholarly activities less than a year after ... the *Ikueisha* had foundered ...' and that 'The Society's two most active years ... coincided with the appearance of Nishi's most significant works, *Hyakuichi Shinron* and *Jinsei Sampōsetsu*.'⁷⁸ The implied importance of the *Meirokeusha* is clear enough.

Havens' work on Nishi is detailed and authoritative, and his words carry weight. Thus it may be taken as so, when he lays a claim for the superior importance of *Jinsei Sampō Setsu* over Nishi's works or translation.⁷⁹ This is a feather in the cap of the *Meirokeusha*; for even though only half of the work appeared in the *Meiroke Zasshi*,

it can be fairly argued that the essential message of the work is made fully clear in the first four parts. Furthermore, as regards influence in the 'Enlightenment', *Jinsei Sampō Setsu* may be said to have been supreme. For of the other two works, which Havens elsewhere lists, with *Jinsei Sampō Setsu*, as Nishi's three most significant works,⁸⁰ *Hyakugaku Renkan* was never published in Nishi's lifetime, while *Hyaku-ichi Shinron* was more important as an example of Western learning applied than as an apologia for same.

Nevertheless, apart from being only half published in the *Meirokei Zasshi*, *Jinsei Sampō Setsu* was the only piece of outstanding importance which Nishi wrote for the magazine. In a whole chapter devoted to his other writings for the *Meirokei Zasshi*, far from stressing the significance of the society, Havens seems to be playing it down. He discusses Nishi's contribution to four main areas of debate: the position of scholars (*Gakusha Shokubun Ron*), foreign relations (*Naichi Ryokō Ron*), the relationship of religion and politics (*Kyōmonron*), and the matter of establishing a parliament (*Minsen Gi'in Ron*).

Of the first two, Nishi's ideas on the first were 'unrealistic',⁸¹ whilst *Naichi Ryokō Ron* was a 'minor academic dispute'.⁸² The real significance of this article, as mentioned above,⁸³ was in its attempt to introduce the concepts of deductive and inductive logic, and

Although the course of Meiji history ultimately sustained Nishi's viewpoint on ... domestic travel... his contribution

outside the *Meiropusha*. Furthermore, by far the greater part of his 'non-creative' work, (ie. his translations) was also produced outside the *Meiropusha*, whether before, after or even during the life of the society - respectively: *Bankoku Kōhō*, *Rigaku* & *Chichi Keimō*.

Ultimately, of course, there is no denying that the *Meiropusha Zasshi* articles of both Nishi and Tsuda were a sustained and even occasionally important contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. Nevertheless, each of them made other substantial contributions quite outside the *Meiropusha*. When it is seen by comparison in the rest of this chapter that these two members were in fact the most enthusiastic, and the ones who attempted most consistently actively to use the *Meiropusha Zasshi* as a vehicle to spread 'enlightenment', their case will serve to underline even further the comparative insignificance of the *Meiropusha* as a group within the *Bummei Kaika* Movement.

b. Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891)

Nakamura Masanao was amongst the most eminent educationists and translators of the early *Meiji* period, and he made significant contributions to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement at both the practical and theoretical levels. He was, furthermore, amongst the keener members of the *Meirokeisha*. Nevertheless, the contribution which he made to the *Bummei Kaika* movement through the *Meirokeisha* will be seen to have been small by any account, and quite insignificant compared with his work outside the *Meirokeisha*. Thus even more than in the case of Tsuda and Nishi, though not quite to the extent of that of Fukuzawa, an examination of his life serves to illustrate the far from dominant rôle played by the *Meirokeisha*.

Nakamura was born in Tokyo in 1832, the eldest son of a low-grade *Bakufu* police officer.⁹¹ He showed early indications of high academic talent, and earned more than one money prize in his studies, the first in a reading examination at the *Shōheikō* at the age of nine.⁹² He is in fact supposed to have started to learn to read at the age of two - doubtless an essential attainment for the future translator of John Stuart Mill.⁹³ Be that as it may, it is clear that he was always an earnest and talented student and he became renowned for his prodigious feats of memory. He carried on Chinese studies under a number of private teachers until the age of sixteen when he entered the *Shōheikō* as a full-time student, and after seven years there he was

appointed an apprentice teacher (*Gakumonjo Kyōjukata*). By 1862, he had risen to the highest rank of Confucian Scholar (*On-Jusha*) at the remarkably early age of thirty-one.

However, this highly traditional course of instruction had not prevented his simultaneously taking an interest in Western studies, apparently under the stimulus of the Opium Wars and later the Morrison Incident. As early as 1847, the year before he entered the *Shōheikō*, he had started secretly to learn Dutch, and later he also commenced English studies. On the latter he was able to get some advice from Mitsukuri Keigo,⁹⁴ and in 1857 he also studied for a while under Nakahama Manjirō, together with Nishi and Mitsukuri Rinsho.⁹⁵ In 1865 he borrowed from Katsu Kaishū an English Chinese dictionary, which he proceeded to copy out in full over a period of three months.⁹⁶ As the Tokugawa regime neared its end Nakamura though not a member of the *Kaiseisho* was thus amongst the small but increasing number of those who had at least some knowledge about the West, and he is known to have been in favour of both internal reform and of opening the country to foreign intercourse.⁹⁷

Striking confirmation of his growing interest in the West was given early in 1866 when he applied for permission to go and study in England. And he succeeded where Nishimura in a similar request had failed. For now the *Bakufu* was itself anxious to send students abroad and had canvassed for people who would like to go, principally among the members of the *Kaiseisho*.⁹⁸ As a result, a majority of

those chosen were *Kaiseisho* men and amongst them were several relations of future *Meirokeisha* men, namely: Mitsukuri Shūhei's two eldest boys, a nephew of Sugī Kōji, and Fukuzawa's adopted son Einosuke.⁹⁹ Nakamura was appointed as one of the two leaders of the group, which reached England at the very end of the year (1868.12.28).¹⁰⁰ The original idea was to study in London for a period of five years, but with the fall of the *Bakufu*, funds were no longer forthcoming and all were thus forced to come home after barely one and a half years. During this time they did pursue some elementary scientific studies, but basically all that they were able to accomplish was a grounding in the English language. After a period of private tutoring the younger students attended a while at University College School, but Nakamura, being too old, continued with private instruction.

Facility with language was the most obvious single gain which Nakamura acquired on this trip, and he was to put it to immediate good use in the service of the 'Enlightenment' in his translations,¹⁰¹ but also significant was the extent to which he was impressed by religion as the fundamental motive force behind Western (or at any rate English) society.¹⁰²

It is not surprising that the pervasive religious aura of the Victorians, which seemed to inform all of their actions and institutions, should have appealed to Nakamura, who, as an earnest and somewhat puritan young man had ten years earlier drawn up the

arrangement of Katsu Awa with W.E. Griffis to teach science at the Shizuoka *Denshūsho*, but after strenuous and eventually successful objection to a clause in his contract forbidding him to discuss Christianity, he also set about proselytizing circumspectly among his students through the medium of a Bible-class of which Nakamura was an enthusiastic member. Clarke himself relates how Nakamura

was subsequently my warmest friend and most intimate companion; he became a devout Christian under the instruction of my Bible-class, and frequently would sign himself "Your most humble servant, and to be your future and forever friend in the spiritual world."¹⁰⁶

It is quite soon after Clarke's arrival that Nakamura published his famous memorial urging the adoption of Christianity on the Emperor.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile he had set about establishing a small private school of his own, in addition to his work at the *Gakumonjo*.¹⁰⁸ This was the origin of his *Dōjinsha*, but the school did not attain its great fame until after its re-establishment in Tokyo, in February 1873. Nakamura had moved to Tokyo the previous year (1872) to take up an appointment with the new government as head of the translation section of the Finance Department (*Ōkurashō*) (- though in the event he seems to have worked more in a semi-official capacity, preferring to carry out his tasks at home).¹⁰⁹ By this time he had of course already made his name as a translator, and the importance of his works is discussed below. But it is important

to note here that as he entered the *Meiropusha* years, of 1873-5, he was very much preoccupied with his school on the one hand, and with his personal religious development on the other.

The *Dōjinsha* became one of the more famous private foreign language schools of the *Meiji* period and the Annual Report of the Education Department (*Mombu Nempō*) for 1873 lists it as having already 253 pupils, ten Japanese instructors and two foreign ones. One of the latter was Clarke, by that time officially employed at the *Kaiseisho* but who retained his close connection with Nakamura. Another foreign missionary whom Nakamura employed later was Clarke's friend, Dr. George Cochran, a Canadian Methodist Minister. The latter was engaged to give instruction in both the English language and the Christian scriptures, and from April 1874 he actually lived on the premises at *Dōjinsha*. It was from him that Nakamura received baptism the following Christmas Day,¹¹⁰ a time when the *Meiropusha* may be said to have been at its apogee.

By mid-1875 the *Meiropusha* was faltering, but it was at this very time that Nakamura made the third of his foreign Christian contacts which it is important to mention. This was with the English doctor, Henry Forze [?] and the American Lutheran, Dr. Borchardt.

Nakamura's Christianity, combined with his natural humanitarianism and urge to do good was pushing him in the direction of 'good works', and together with these men he formed a group to promote education for

the blind, principally through the means of a Japanese style brail edition of the Bible. This group, called the *Rakuzenkai*, also contained two other Christian members of the *Meiropusha*, Tsuda Sen (discussed below) and Furukawa Masao, and their first meeting was held on 12 May 1875.¹¹¹ At the second meeting on 5 June the idea was first put forward that they should establish a full-scale school for the blind. And from these small beginnings there soon developed the *Kumōin* (Institute for the Blind), established on 15 March 1876, and shortly afterwards awarded an Imperial grant and the official name of *Tōkyō Kumōin*.¹¹²

Nakamura was amongst those in favour of withdrawing the *Meiropusha Zasshi* when this matter came up for debate in September 1875,¹¹³ and whilst there is no question of possible hostility to the *Meiropusha* as in the case of Fukuzawa, (in June 1875 Nishi and Mori even came, on invitation, to a meeting of the *Rakuzenkai*)¹¹⁴ it does seem feasible to suggest that Nakamura was by now feeling that his energies would be more profitably devoted to this new venture than to the *Meiropusha* and that his own school was a better means for promoting his own particular brand of religion oriented enlightenment. Certainly the foundation of the *Rakuzenkai* coincided with the end of his own contribution to the *Meiropusha Zasshi* which had till then been fairly regular.¹¹⁵

Having seen what a comparatively insignificant part Nakamura's membership of the *Meiropusha* played in his life, it remains to look

briefly at his actual contribution to the magazine and assess its importance for the 'enlightenment' relative to his total output.

Nakamura was amongst the more prolific writers for the *Meiroke Zasshi*, submitting eleven contributions in all, seven of which comprised a series on 'Western Learning'¹¹⁶ which is a not entirely impressive attempt to give a survey introduction to the whole history of thought and philosophy in the West. It is rather a mad gallop through and frequently as remarkable for its juxtaposition of names as for its erudition. Nevertheless, it was one of the earliest attempts to perform this task, and as such was certainly a contribution to the 'Enlightenment'. In two further articles he sets out aspects of his theoretical position in regard to education for the people. In one he argues for the education of women,¹¹⁷ and in the other, entitled 'How to refashion the Spirit of the People', he stressed the importance of religion.¹¹⁸ In yet another he takes up the defence of the Chinese tradition in which he had had so thorough an education himself, pointing out emphatically that not all was bad about China, as some of the less enlightened enthusiasts for the West would have people believe.¹¹⁹

Thus Nakamura in some degree conformed to Mori's idea that the *Meiroke Zasshi* should spread practical knowledge from the West, although the information he gave was narrative rather than specialist - technical. He also conformed to the aim which the *Meirokekusha* as a group set itself - that of 'discussing ways of

furthering education in Japan'.¹²⁰ In both he may be said to have contributed to the 'enlightenment' through the *Meiroke Zasshi*, but this magazine was very far from being where he expended all his literary energies even during the *Meirokeusha* years. In 1874, for example, he published at the *Dōjinsha* his *Seihai Zassan* [Miscellany of Western Tales], being two volumes of selected anecdotes and didactic stories translated into *Kambun*.¹²¹ This was admittedly a minor work, but in this it was like the *Meiroke Zasshi* articles themselves, and the important point may be made that these articles are not the writings for which he is remembered. Nakamura is known now as the translator of Samuel Smiles and of John Stuart Mill.

In 1868.4, as he was setting off from London on the return journey to Japan, Nakamura was given, by an English friend, a copy of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*. He was enthralled by the book, read it repeatedly on the boat and is reputed to have memorised the half of it by the time he reached Yokohama.¹²² The feat may be doubtful but Nakamura's enthusiasm was more than justified by the reception accorded to his translation, which he had commenced aboard ship and completed at Shizuoka over two years late in 1870.11.9. The following year, on the urging of friends, he had it published in 14 sections (*hen*) under the title of *Saikoku Risshi Hen* (Tales of Success in the West).¹²³ Nakamura provided it with *furigana* to make it more

widely accessible and was quite explicit about his 'enlightenment' aim in the preface, where he claimed that his intention was

to get people to learn about the West, make their hearts humble, accept new values and different ideas, and to strive to advance the knowledge of the common people ... 124

Its success was immediate and the first edition was reprinted many times before a revised one appeared in 1878. Including all editions it is estimated to have sold over one million copies. It was serialised as a magazine with the almost inevitable title of *Success* (*Seikō*), and part of it was even acted on stage in a dramatised version by Sabashi Tomisaburō.¹²⁵ Just as the *Dōjinsha* became known as one of the three great private schools of Tokyo,¹²⁶ *Saikoku Risshi Hen* was known as one of the three most famous books of *Meiji*.¹²⁷ It was certainly Nakamura's most important 'enlightenment' work, but he quickly followed it up with one almost as important and popular, and this was his version of Mill's essay *On Liberty* published in 1872.11, under the title of *Jiyū no Ri* (The Principle of Freedom).

Although no concrete evidence exists, it is natural to suppose that this work will have been especially popular among the proponents of popular rights, whose movement was soon to be given such impetus by the Itagaki Memorial. Certainly *Jiyū no Ri* and *Saikoku Risshi Hen* are regularly cited as being amongst the principle works to give currency in Japan to the coin of individualism and free enterprise. The bald assertion of the widespread acceptance of these values may

be regarded with some scepticism, and it is interesting to note, in the case of *Jiyū no Ri*, Nakamura's specific disclaimer of any intention to advocate the style of government described as suitable for Japan. His aim, he said, was simply to inform people who were interested about political conditions in other countries. Of course, such things were not directly applicable in the case of Imperial Japan.¹²⁸

This seems quite likely to have been Nakamura's genuine intention rather than simple self-protection. For he was not the man to indulge in this sort of deception, and was indeed far more concerned with the importance of religion, than the style of government, in developing healthy individuals in a healthy state, as was amply demonstrated in his next translation of any length, published in October 1873. This was *Kyōwa Seiji* (Republican Government), a translation of an obscure American text stressing religion as the fundamental basis of government.¹²⁹

All this notwithstanding, the works were undoubtedly popular enough, whether or not they had any really widespread or profound effect on the transformation of *Meiji* values. And together with his varied educational activities they constitute the principal basis for Nakamura's fame as an enlightener.

From the above account it can be seen that the *Meiropusha* years came right in the middle of the most active and important period of Nakamura's life. However, whilst he was also a fairly

active member of the society, his contribution to the *Meiroke Zasshi* can be said to have constituted but the smallest part of his work for the 'Enlightenment', and there is little doubt that his main interests were focussed elsewhere than on the *Meirokeusha*. Thus Nakamura's greatest literary contributions to the 'Enlightenment' came before the *Meirokeusha*, while his greatest practical contribution came after. Since the influence of the *Meirokeusha* itself was almost wholly a literary one, the greater importance must be attached to the former fact. But the latter too seems to have played its part in Nakamura's willingness to see the *Meiroke Zasshi* stop publication, in that he was extremely busily occupied both in the good works to which he was called by his religion and in continuing his educational activities. (For in addition to the demands of the *Dōjinsha*, in October 1875 he accepted an appointment as head of the Tokyo Women's Normal School (*Tōkyō joshi Shihan Gakkō*).)

Thus it may be stated in conclusion that the case of Nakamura is further confirmation of the thesis that the *Meirokeusha* could neither be what Mori hoped, nor was in fact what it is reputed to have been - ie. the prime mover behind the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement. While the active life of the *Meirokeusha* did coincide with the high of the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement, it was in itself neither the inspiration nor even the finest flower of the movement, and it owes its fame to its membership list rather than to its own achievements.

c. Mitsukuri Shūhei (1825-1886) and Mitsukuri Rinshō (1846-1897)

The Mitsukuris are both good examples of the first generation 'Enlightenment' men who formed the main body of the *Meirokeisha*. They both had a strong traditional education as well as foreign linguistic knowledge. In each case this ability led to early bureaucratic appointments with the government. This in turn led to opportunities for travel abroad as members of *Bakufu* missions, and they were thus enabled to have some first hand experience of the West (unlike Katō, Kanda and Sugi) though not on the same scale as Nishi, Nakamura and Tsuda. Each of the Mitsukuris made important contributions to the 'Enlightenment', Shūhei mainly as an educator and Rinshō as a translator, principally of law. Shūhei as teacher, is of interest as another case where traditionalist modes of thought survive strongly alongside an interest in certain aspects of Western civilisation. His writings on the other hand, though meagre, are most definitely progressive. In fact both the Mitsukuris seem to have been among the more revolutionary members of the *Meirokeisha*. In consequence, all the greater interest attaches to the fact that they did not continue to use the *Meiroke Zasshi* as a vehicle for their views. Shūhei, after one early article in number eight, contributed nothing else. Rinshō was a more frequent contributor, but he too stopped early and published nothing in the *Meiroke Zasshi* after number fourteen, (August 1874). Indeed, he withdrew entirely from the society,

and this, as discussed below, was in all likelihood not simply for the stated reason of sickness. In both cases, then, and like Fukuzawa the special interest of the Mitsukuris for a study of the *Meiropkusha*, lies in their comparative inactivity within the society, despite their being important 'Enlightenment' figures.

The Mitsukuri 'brothers' were not in fact blood relations at all, nor was either even in the true blood line of the Mitsukuri family. Shūhei was a late adopted son of the famous doctor of Dutch style medicine, Mitsukuri Gempo;¹³⁰ Rinshō was the latter's grandson by a previously adopted son Shōgo,¹³¹ and was young enough to be Shūhei's son, - which helps to explain, perhaps, their differing approaches to Western learning. While Shūhei's studies led him to follow the traditional family line as a doctor, Rinshō, through his translation activities was led on into entering the fields of Western political science and law.

Shūhei (1825-1886) was born in Tsuyama (modern Okayama), and four years after losing his father at the age of twelve in 1837, he was taken up by one of his father's friends who saw to his instruction in the Confucian classics.¹³² In 1843, with assistance from Gempo, he went to Edo, where he continued his traditional studies under Gempo's former teacher, Koga Dōan.¹³³ A fellow pupil here with whom he struck up a firm friendship was Sakatani Shiroshi, a strong confucianist with an amateur interest in Western studies like their common teacher, and who was also to join the

Meirokusha.¹³⁴ Later, at Koga's insistence, Shūhei returned to Gempo, under whom he commenced serious Dutch studies. These he continued from 1847 in Osaka under Ogata Kōan, the teacher likewise of Sugi and Fukuzawa. Shūhei's association and friendship with Fukuzawa, however, dates from later on. Fukuzawa first came to Ogata in 1855, some five years after Shūhei had completed his studies, and returned to Edo. It was in Edo that they first became acquainted and it was also there that Shūhei became Gempo's adopted son, marrying his second daughter.

As part of the *Bakufu's* expansion of Western studies, sparked off by the arrival of Perry, Shūhei was engaged in 1853, like Gempo before him, for translation work, first at the Bureau of Astronomy (*Temmondai*)¹³⁵ and almost immediately at the Office for Foreign Affairs (*Gaikokukata*) too. He seems to have continued similar duties for the next few years, and early in 1857, for example, he was specially commissioned to do some translation work for the mathematician Yamaji Yazaemon at the *Kaiseisho*. Later that year, (1857.7) he was made an assistant to the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (*Gaikoku Bugyō*). By 1859 he was an Assistant Professor (*Kyōjushoku Tetsudai*) at the *Kaiseisho* and a further teaching appointment followed in 1861 when he was made an instructor at the School of Western Medicine (*Seiyō Igakusho*).¹³⁶ He was not long here however, for in 1862-3 came the first of his two trips abroad.

This was the same mission which took Fukuzawa for the second time overseas,¹³⁷ and the two friends developed considerable intimacy during their year long tour abroad.¹³⁸ They had the official position of translator and were assistants to the new Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Takenouchi Yasunori, who was the chief negotiator. It was some time after their return that they both officially became direct *Bakufu* retainers when they were promoted to the rank of full Translation Officer (*Yakuin*) in 1864.10.6. Then in 1866-7 came Shūhei's second foreign trip, this time to Russia as aide to the Hakodate Commissioner, Koide Hidezane, who went principally to effect a settlement on Sakhalin.¹³⁹

Meanwhile, early in 1857 Shūhei had succeeded his adoptive father as private physician to the *Daimyō* of Tsuyama, Matsudaira Naritami. But with the Restoration he retired into private life, resigning the headship of the family and setting up his own private school. And it was in this that lay his principle contribution to the 'Enlightenment'. Shūhei at first refused service with the new government, and appears from now right through the *Meirokusha* period to have devoted his entire energies to this new undertaking, until in 1875, he accepted an appointment as head of the Tokyo Normal School as successor to Tanaka Fujimarō.¹⁴⁰

Shūhei's school was the famous *Sansa Gakusha*, housed in the *yashiki* of the Tsuyama *han* at Nihombashi. Here, in 1870, he made a rather more than modest beginning, giving instruction in English

and French to some 58 pupils.¹⁴¹ Some of these students at least must have been of quite a high standard, for amongst the works studied in the original was Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.¹⁴² The school very quickly grew in popularity, and almost doubled its numbers within a year, counting 106 by mid-1871.¹⁴³ One later entrant, who may be noted in passing was Yoshirō, the son of his friend Sakatani.¹⁴⁴

Shūhei was not a great writer, and his earlier translation work seems to have been largely for diplomatic purposes. But through his school he contributed, in the same way as Fukuzawa, to the ever growing familiarity of the Japanese with the West. His work as an 'Enlightenment' man was thus not so much as a conscious propagandist of new ideas, though inevitably the spread of ideas from the West was assisted by his use of foreign textbooks. Rather, he engaged in equipping students with the necessary linguistic knowledge for them to deal themselves with Western ideas. And nothing could better illustrate his own unabated loyalty to the traditional education he had himself experienced than his steady insistence to his pupils that:

It is no use doing Western studies by themselves. As soon as a man stops Chinese studies, it is impossible for him to perfect himself. A scholar of Western learning who has no knowledge of Chinese learning is quite useless.¹⁴⁵

Nevertheless two articles by Shūhei do exist from which it is clear that one particular topic on which he held advanced views

was that of equality for women. Only one of them, however, was published in the *Mei roku Zasshi*. This article is principally concerned with persuading people of the importance of universal education and of formal instruction outside the home, – a theme dear to Mori as well an obvious one for Shūhei the educationist. At the very end he particularly stresses the importance of education for women and promises a later article on this subject.¹⁴⁶ This article never appeared. What Shūhei did write, was an article on equality for women, which he published, not in the *Mei roku Zasshi* but in a rival magazine, the *Bankoku Sōwa*, or International Miscellany.¹⁴⁷

The *Bankoku Sōwa*, which commenced publication in June 1875, was a very similar magazine to the *Mei roku Zasshi*, put out by a group of Western scholars centred round the *Keio* man, Yoshida Kensuke.¹⁴⁸ Its aim as stated in the first issue, was to publish translations about things of interest in the West, 'not simply to satisfy the hunger of inveterate bookworms, but rather to open the eyes of the man in the street', and to provoke public discussion, which it claimed to be the only way to settle points at issue.¹⁴⁹ It did not last long but seems to have been established in positive rivalry to the *Mei roku Zasshi*, some three months before it was decided to withdraw the latter.¹⁵⁰

Shūhei's article was published in *Bankoku Sōwa*, II (August 1875). It was on the currently vexed topic, over which Mori's *Saishōron*

had done so much to arouse violent discussion, of rights for women, or more accurately, of the necessity for monogamy. This concept Shūhei takes as self-evident, and he argues the necessity for strict faithfulness in both men and women. It would have been an eminently suitable article for the *Meiroke Zasshi*, such as it is conceived to be, - *the* major organ for the propagation of liberal and equalitarian ideals. When it is further born in mind, that it was only one month later that Shūhei, while still apparently President of the *Meirokekusha*, was advocating the withdrawal of the magazine, his contribution to the *Bankoku Sōwa* increases in significance. Obviously for him at least, the *Meiroke Zasshi* was not the great organ of the 'Enlightenment' which later historians have claimed it to be.

The case of Mitsukuri Rinshō is remarkably similar with regard to the *Bankoku Sōwa* as will be seen below. It will also be seen how his writing for the *Meiroke Zasshi* was in any case but the most minor part of his contribution to the 'Enlightenment'.

Like his 'brother', Mitsukuri Rinshō (1846-1897)¹⁵¹ ran his own school for Western studies. This was the *Kyōgakusha* which he opened in 1869 with 30-40 pupils,¹⁵² and it was soon amongst the more famous of such establishments.¹⁵³ But he was also much more the typical 'Enlightenment' man, like Fukuzawa, in that he set about introducing new knowledge through his books as well. Rinshō was not an original writer and all his works, even his articles in the *Meiroke Zasshi*

and the *Bankoku Sōwa*, were straight translation, from either French or English, but in all the various fields they covered (general history, education, economics, political science and law),¹⁵⁴ the rationalist, equalitarian and liberal ideas of the Enlightenment are evident.

Rinshō was born in Edo, the son of Gempo's eldest adopted son Shōgo.^{155a} Shōgo died within the same year, however, and Rinshō reverted to the charge of his grandfather, under whom he later studied Western learning, and by whom he was much loved for his brightness. But Rinshō's Western studies did not lead him, as they had done Shūhei, to any form of medical career. Although he succeeded his grandfather in 1863 as head of the family it was Shūhei who succeeded to Gempo's professional position; and two years prior to this, in 1861, Rinshō commenced employment as Assistant Professor of English (*Eigo Kyōjushoku Tetsudainarabi*) at the *Kaiseisho*. From then on he stayed with this institution throughout all its reorganisations until well after the Restoration.^{155b}

This service was broken only once, or rather closely twice, by two distinct but temporally consecutive events. The first was in 1867 when Rinshō went to the International Exhibition at Paris as a subordinate to Tokugawa Akitake, who went as head of the official Japanese delegation. Another future *Meiropusha* man included in the group was Shumizu Usaburō.¹⁵⁶ After the exhibition

they toured around Europe. The tour was interrupted, however, the following year when the order went out for all *Bakufu* retainers to return home on account of the unsettled political position. Rinshō must have been back by mid-year, for in 1868.6.18 he was summoned by the temporary military government at Edo, the *Chindaiifu*, to resume his duties at the *Kaiseisho*. But the school was shortly closed because of the fighting, and Rinshō's work there was thus interrupted for the second time until the *Kaiseisho* was reopened in 1869.1.17.

As well as being a teacher, Rinshō was also employed by the *Bakufu* as translator. (It was of course as a translator that he accompanied Tokugawa Akitake.) Rinshō was a senior translator under the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, and immediately after the Restoration, in 1868.9.3, he was appointed to the equivalent post, under the new government, of Translator First Grade to the Foreign Department (*Gaikokukan Ichidai Yakkan*). Rinshō's skill in both English and French was highly appreciated by the new government. In addition to the Foreign Department, he also served the Departments of Education and Justice and his work came to be much praised by Ōkuma Shigenobu.¹⁵⁷ One of his earliest appointments with the *Mombushō* had been as Assistant Schooling Investigator (*Gakko Torishirabe Goyōgakari*), in which capacity he sat on the (School) Systems Investigation Committee (*Seido Chōsa-Kyoku*) along with Kanda, Katō and Mori.¹⁵⁸ Then in 1870 he was appointed to the *Sōnin* rank of *Hanji* in the Department of Justice, and by the time of the *Meirokusha*

he was head of the translation bureau there.¹⁵⁹

We may now turn to Rinshō as an 'enlightenment' writer. Undoubtedly he is best remembered for his extensive translations from the French legal codes. The new government, as part of the program to unify the state and in order to remove some of the objections which prevented abrogation of the unequal treaties, very soon set about compiling a systematic code of law along Western lines. The first real attempt in this fashion was commenced in 1870 under the direction of the then Minister of Justice Etō Shimpei,¹⁶⁰ who urgently insisted on the need of a formal civil code. The first civil code committee thus met from September 1870 to August 1871 and worked on what was to all intents and purposes a straight Japanese version of the French *Code Civile*.¹⁶¹

This translation was done by Rinshō. A sense of the urgency with which the task was regarded is explicit in Etō's reported request to Rinshō that he produce a translation as quickly as possible "never minding mistakes" with the intention that it should be promulgated as it stood, simply substituting the word 'Japanese' for 'French'.¹⁶² This plan naturally did not eventuate, and the first Japanese civil code, the so-called Old Civil Code, was not promulgated until 1890, after prolonged and repeated deliberation.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the substantive basis for all these deliberations was Rinshō's translation. And he thus played a most significant part, by making available to the drafters of the new Japanese laws this

solid basis of foreign thinking on the subject. Rinshō was first ordered to work on the French codes in 1869, and by 1876, he had brought out translations of the Civil, Criminal and Commercial Codes, of the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and of the Constitution.¹⁶⁴ In the course of this work Rinshō had per force to do the same service for law as did Nishi for Philosophy, namely to coin a whole host of new words to express unfamiliar terms and concepts in Japanese. He thus had a lasting influence on the modern language. It was in fact he who first used the word '*kempō*' in the modern sense of 'constitution'.

Although Rinshō's law translations were of great service and interest in legal circles, and were brought out as books in their own right, it may be doubted that they were otherwise widely circulated. And if indirectly they exerted an immense influence on the life of every Japanese, they could not rank as popular reading, either in fact or intention, as did some of his other translations. For his activities were not by any means confined to law and he also produced a number of translations on other important themes for the Department of Education.

Rinshō's work for the *Mombushō* was a natural outcome of his employment at the *Kaiseisho* which soon came under the department after the Restoration. And probably his most widely read book was *Taisei Kanzen Kummō*, or Western Moral Instruction, which from 1872 was widely used as a primary school textbook in ethics.¹⁶⁵ This

was a compound translation from a number of French and American works, and was typical of the early *Meiji* ethics textbooks, which, in the first reaction against Confucian learning, tended to be based entirely on Western sources.¹⁶⁶ Rinshō's was one of the most popular of such works, and an abridged edition, revised to make it 'more suitable for Japanese conditions', was brought out in 1873 under the new title of *Dōmō Oshie no Michi Suji*, or Essentials of Moral Knowledge for Children.¹⁶⁷

It cannot always be said for certain which of Rinshō's translations were direct commissions from the *Mombushō* and which were the result of his own interest and needs. *Gakkō Tsūron*, published in 1874, was a translation of a treatise on all aspects of school management and is likely to have been done at the request of the *Mombushō*. The same could be said of *Kyōdō Setsu* (1873) which was a translation of the entry under 'Education' in Chambers Encyclopaedia of 1859-68, and which was later incorporated as one of the volumes of the *Mombushō's* Encyclopaedia (*Hyakka Zensho*). But having his own private school, as well as being a government employed teacher, Rinshō was naturally personally involved in all practical problems of education. Thus his needs alone may be sufficient to account for the several other school texts he translated, apart from those used for *Taisei Kanzen Kummō* above. One such was *Fukkoku Seiten*, a translation of a French secondary school text on French law,¹⁶⁸ which he did together with Ōi Kentarō. It is known that in

his school he used an English language school history text titled *A Compendium of Universal History; Modern*,¹⁶⁹ and it is very likely that this served as the basis of his *Bankoku Shinshi*, an outline history of the world since the French Revolution, which he published in three parts between 1871 and 1881.¹⁷⁰ Still another school text, Caspar Hopkins' *Manual of American ideas*, appears also to have been used as the basis of his *Bankoku Seitai Ron*, or *Political Systems of the World*, of 1875.¹⁷¹

The Western books so far mentioned as Rinshō's sources are all obscure and at a rather simple level, but he also turned his attention to substantial works by more famous authors. His very first effort, in 1869, was a translation, in collaboration with Ōi Kentarō and Yanagawa Shunsan,¹⁷² of *Elements of Political Economy* by A. L. Perry. In 1874 he headed a team which translated for the Department of Justice *Kent's Commentary on International Law*,¹⁷³ and in the same year he published the first part of his translation of Moreau de Jonnès' *Eléments de Statistique*,¹⁷⁴ which he completed in 1877.¹⁷⁵ He must thus, like Sugī, be credited with considerable importance amongst the introducers of statistics to Japan. In economics his choice of Perry's book is interesting as an example of one of the books which argued for free trade, of which Kanda was also such a staunch advocate.

Further illustration of Rinshō's progressive outlook is given especially in his articles for the *Mei-roku Zasshi* and the *Bankoku Sōwa*. For although these too were all translations, the very fact that he published them indicated approval of the ideas expressed. And they form altogether an excellent illustration to Blacker's discussion of the nature of the 'Enlightenment Movement' as a new attempt to introduce spiritual values rather than as before merely mechanical techniques, and based on the writings of such people as Mill, Smiles, Buckle and Guizot:

It was thus in qualities of mind and spirit, rather than in material objects and techniques, the scholars now decided, where lay the essence of the 'civilisation' which Japan must at all costs learn from the West.¹⁷⁶

Rinshō's first article for the *Mei-roku Zasshi* is taken from an English version of Montesquieu's *De L'Esprit des Loix*, on the influence of climate and national character and prosperity, with specific reference to the spirit of freedom.¹⁷⁷ The other two are concerned with essentially related problems of 'liberty' and the 'advancement of civilisation', the latter being taken from Buckle.¹⁷⁸ The article on liberty,¹⁷⁹ starting with the etymology of the word, works up to a statement of the necessity for a popularly elected assembly in the spirit of Mill, though it is not clear where the translation was taken from.

The three articles for *Bankoku Sōwa* show a similarly advanced spirit.¹⁸⁰ The first as a translation of the French republican

constitution of 1875; the second, arguing that the government is something distinct from the state, firmly advocates the revolutionary right of the people to overthrow any government which does not act fairly in their interest; and the third, adapted from Arthur Helps' *Thoughts Upon Government*, strongly argues for the freedom of the press.¹⁸¹

It is clear enough from the above account that while Rinshō was a leading 'enlightenment' writer, his contribution to the 'Enlightenment' via the *Meiropusha* was fractional. And it is of interest to ask why. No final answer can be given but we may look first at the *Bankoku Sōwa* articles last mentioned. What is particularly interesting about these is not so much their progressiveness as the very fact that Rinshō chose to publish them in the *Bankoku Sōwa*. It has been mentioned how the *Bankoku Sōwa* appears to have been established in rivalry with the *Meiropusha* and it is thus all the stranger that two of the *Meiropusha* men, one of them the last president, and the other, one of the foremost 'enlightenment' translators of the day, should have written for it. In truth, Rinshō was not actually a member in 1875: he had left the society quite early on.¹⁸² But that in itself is significant. For if the *Meiropusha* was indeed the principal organ of liberal propaganda it is assumed to be, it is unclear why Rinshō, so demonstrably liberal in outlook, should have abandoned it. To be sure, the reason he gave for leaving was ill-health,¹⁸³ but this

ill-health proved no impediment to his other activities. In fact 1874 was his most active publishing year, not only during the 'enlightenment' period, but for his whole life.¹⁸⁴

Rinshō's last article in the *Bankoku Sōwa*, arguing for the freedom of the press, would have been particularly apposite to the *Meiroke Zasshi*. For it was over this very issue that the magazine foundered, it being voted by the members on 1 September 1875 to withdraw the magazine in the face of the stringent press and libel laws.¹⁸⁵ One can only speculate on the real reason why Rinshō left in the first place and why he never came back, despite Mori's wish that he would 'shortly get better and return to the society'.¹⁸⁶ There was possibly some personal antipathy involved. Or perhaps it was due to his association with Fukuzawa, who, as has been seen never took to the *Meiroke* idea with any enthusiasm. Certainly his 'brother' Shūhei was a very good friend of Fukuzawa's and could have been influenced in this way; and the whole *Bankoku Sōwa* group, whilst it consisted of other ex-*Kaiseisho* men was centred round Yoshida Kensuke who, as already noted, was a *Keiō* man.¹⁸⁷ At all events, the fact remains that for Mitsukuri Shūhei and Mitsukuri Rinshō, the *Meiroke Zasshi* was hardly of great significance; and particularly in the case of Rinshō, this fact necessitates some downward reassessment of the *Meiroke*'s importance for the Enlightenment Movement overall.

ii. The stay-at-home *Yōgakusha*: Nishimura Shigeki, Sakatani
Shiroshi, Katō Hiroyuki, Kanda Kōhei and Sugī Kōji

a. Nishimura Shigeki (1828-1902) and Sakatani Shiroshi (1822-1881)

Nishimura and Sakatani are each in their own way figures of considerable importance within the *Meiropusha*, - Nishimura as one of the two principle founders and more frequent contributors, and Sakatani as the third largest contributor to the *Meiropu Zasshi*. In dealing with them the angle of attack upon the established reputation of the *Meiropusha* is changed, and is qualitative rather than quantitative - that is, concerned more strictly with the content of the *Meiropu Zasshi* articles. Previously it has been argued that what the members contributed to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement through the *Meiropusha* was fractional compared with what they contributed as individuals outside the society; and thus, that it is quantitatively impossible to regard the *Meiropusha* as the leading introducer of progressive Western ideas in Japan. In the case of Nishimura and Sakatani, it will be argued that what they wrote for the *Meiropu Zasshi* was neither essentially progressive nor even an attempt to introduce Western ideas at all.

This change of emphasis is principally because of the peculiar position of Sakatani, the Confucianist, who apart from poetry, published little else than what he wrote for the *Meiropu Zasshi*. In itself, this would be insufficient ground for the different angle

of attack, except that after Nishi and Tsuda, he was the most prolific contributor to the magazine,¹⁸⁸ and must thus be admitted to have had a considerable influence on the tone of the magazine. Sakatani though he knew no foreign language was widely read in literature on the West in Japanese (much of it translation from Western authors) and was convinced that there was much that Japan could profitably learn from the West. By and large, however, he would go only a little further than Sakuma Shozan's *Tōyō Dōtoku: Seiyō Gijutsu*. The premises and style of his argument were invariably and firmly Confucian, and the way in which he used his knowledge of the West was solely to cite authors and examples to support essentially Confucian arguments.

Apart from his technical ability in foreign languages, very much the same can be said of Nishimura, and it is for this reason that the two are here taken together. Nishimura, of course, is a far more important figure in his own right, but less space is devoted to him here, partly because there already exists a good English study of him¹⁸⁹ while nothing (for reasons outlined below) has been written on Sakatani and partly because of the superior importance of Sakatani for an assessment of the *Meiropusha*. Nevertheless, Nishimura was important too, and in fact both the qualitative and the quantitative arguments are applicable to him. He thus acts as a convenient bridge from the discussion of earlier members to that of Sakatani, and is taken first.

In the sense that he recognised the need for greater knowledge about the West, and to the extent that he wrote a number of books and papers (principally on Western history) to satisfy this need, as well as later being superintendant of the *Mombushō's* Compilations section which supervised the production of numerous important works introducing 'Western' knowledge - Nishimura has a claim to be recognised as one of the principal *Meiji* 'enlighteners'. Nevertheless, both the motives for which he studied the West, and the use to which he put his knowledge of the West, had their origin in a wholly traditional outlook and intention. But before discussing the nature and tone of his 'enlightenment' writings, the latter may be listed, and the career which led to their production outlined.

During the *Bakumatsu* period Nishimura was an important advisor-administrator for the Hotta family, and engaged extensively in the production of memorials and recommendations on matters of national importance. This influential position of Nishimura's was by virtue of a combination of three main circumstances: i. the position of his lord, Hotta Masayoshi, as head of one of the more important Tokugawa branch houses, and a member (and from 1857, head) of the *Rōjū* (Senior Council); ii. his family's traditional position as senior administrators for the Hotta in Sano; and iii. his own native ability.

By virtue of his education, Nishimura was well aware of, and by virtue of his later position was brought into direct contact with the problem of foreign incursion. Like Katō, his first Western studies were military ones - and under the same teacher, Sakuma Shōzan. Prompted by the latter, during the fifties he expanded his interests and applied his steadily increasing mastery of Dutch to the study of such topics as geography, navigation, trade and manufacturing. From 1861, he also commenced English under Tezuka Ritsuzō - the teacher likewise of Kanda, Tsuda, Nishi and Sugi.

These studies prompted him both to translation and the redaction of short essays of his own, and he drew from his knowledge of the West for his various memorials. By the time of the Restoration, along with several of the *Kaiseisho* men, he was one of the best informed students of the West.

As in the case of Mori, one of the earliest works which had interested him in Western studies was Hayashi Shihei's *Kaikoku Heidan* and as early as 1864 Nishimura published a work of translation on the same theme titled *Bōkai Yōron* (Essentials of Coastal Defence). He had done a considerable amount of translation by 1868, including a general world history (*Hyakudai Tsūran* [Survey View of the Ages]) but it was not until after the Restoration that he published anything of note. Then in 1870 he published *Bankoku Shiryaku* (Short History of the World) and the first part of his edition of *Yochi Shiryaku*

(Outline World Geography). Both of these were widely read and influential works and *Yochi Shiryaku* has a particularly high reputation, having been called by Nishimura himself one of the three most important *Meiji* 'enlightenment' works.¹⁹⁰ (It should be noted however that Nishimura himself only wrote the last two sections of twelve and these were not published until 1879).¹⁹¹ He followed this up the next year (1871) with a Chronology of Western History (*Seishi Nempyō*), and the year after that he published a revised version of *Bankoku Shiryaku*,¹⁹² which is ample testimony to its popularity. Then he branched out into other fields and published two works on economics, in 1873 and 1874,¹⁹³ one on ethics in 1874,¹⁹⁴ one on the history of education in 1875,¹⁹⁵ and also in that year the first of a series of thirty parts of a general history titled *Taisei Shikan* (History of the West), and which appeared over the next five years. It will be noted that much of this was during the *Meirokeisha* years (1874-5). Furthermore, when it is taken into account that he was also a regular contributor to the *Yōhōsha Dan*, a magazine of a very similar type to the *Meiroku Zasshi* which was published from April 1875, it is clear that in Nishimura's case too, his activity within the *Meirokeisha* was but a small portion of his 'enlightenment' work.

When Shively then says that Nishimura 'made a reputation as an enlightener, first through the publication of his translations

and later through his participation in the *Meirokekusha*,¹⁹⁶ three points may be made in qualification of this statement. The first of these which will be returned to at the end of the discussion of Nishimura, may be stated briefly here and is that in so far as Nishi's reputation as an 'enlightener' stems from his membership of the *Meirokekusha*, this is due as much to the reputation of the *Meirokekusha* (whether true or false) as to the content of his articles in the society's magazine;

The second one, a minor one, is self-evident from the above discussion, namely, that Nishimura's translations and his membership of the *Meirokekusha* (as well as of the *Yōyōsha*) were essentially concurrent phenomena of the early and middle seventies and not consecutive;

The third point, which leads directly into a discussion of the content of Nishimura's writings, is that it is problematical how far Nishimura can be called an 'enlightener' at all, except in a rather restricted sense discussed below.

Shively's paper is in fact devoted to answering precisely this, although he poses the problem in slightly different terms. He sets out to explain why Nishimura apparently changed from a progressive 'enlightenment' stand in the '70s to a reactionary anti-Western one after the late '80s.

Although Nishimura had been one of the pioneers in the enlightenment movement of 1873, we find him increasingly associated with conservative and even reactionary movements, not only in moral education,

but also in his opposition to the Westernization policy and treaty revision plans of the government in the late 1880's. Nishimura's dual role, apparently contradictory, as enlightener and reactionary, suggests that he either underwent a major¹⁹⁷ change in his thought, or else that he was inconsistent.

Shively then proceeds to answer this by an entirely satisfactory demonstration, based on Nishimura's writings, that throughout his life his ideas were wholly consistent, and that he was never in fact either a wholly committed Westernizer or a reactionary Confucian bigot; but that he both accepted the need for modernization, recognizing that the West could to a degree provide useful models for the process, and also retained a world-view firmly grounded in Confucian principles. Indeed, Shively sees Nishimura as a paradigm of the *Meiji* conflict between traditional and modern:

...Japan in the process of modernization was a curious blend of tradition with Westernization. Nishimura's was perhaps an extreme case in point, for in his activities as a student of the West, he kept feudal values as his¹⁹⁸ guides and never lost the essentially Confucian world-view.

Nishimura used his knowledge of the West as a quarry, not of new Western ideas and theories about political structure, social relationships and so on, but of illustrative material to lend authority to his already preconceived ideas which were of a traditional mould:

... he drew selectively from Western materials for examples, precedents and illustrations to support his basic premises about what he considered the proper moral principles for Japan.¹⁹⁹

And again:

... Nishimura's procedure was to build from a set of Confucian attitudes, eliminating only those which he considered no longer suitable, and drawing on the West for elements which would supplement and support, but not be in conflict with his basically Confucian scheme.²⁰⁰

Shively, however, despite his convincing proof of the stability and uniformity of Nishimura's ideas, still seems to a degree to remain bound by the terms in which he has (almost inevitably) posed the problem: why did Nishimura change from 'enlightener' to reactionary? He talks at times as if there were such a change. Thus:

[Nishimura] was a pioneer in the modernization of Japan in this period [The first decade of *Meiji*], but this cannot be said for the remainder of his life. It became increasingly evident that he was not in the main current of the times in particular after 1876 when much of his activity shifted to insisting on moral reform as the first step in modernization.²⁰¹

But 'moral reform as the first step in modernization' was precisely what Nishimura was already stressing regularly in his *Meiroku Zasshi* articles, as will appear in the ensuing discussion of these, which at the same time gives further confirmation to Shively's thesis of Nishimura's constancy.

It will be helpful initially to give an outline of the basic elements of Nishimura's thought, indicating both his essentially Confucian preoccupations, as well as where he diverged from traditional Confucianism.²⁰² The first element (and the cornerstone of his thought structure) was the conviction that morality is the absolute and essential basis, in the first place for individual personal conduct, and hence by extension for the organization of society and conduct of government. Nishimura had the typical Confucian faith in good (i.e. virtuous) administrators rather than good administrative structures, in people rather than institutions; The second, a rider on the first, was the stress on individual morality

as the essential first step in a chain leading to national morality (based on the argument in the *Ta Hsueh* that if the individual is moral [well-governed], the family will be moral; if the family is moral, the province will be moral; and if the province is moral, the whole country will be moral);

The third, a development of the second, was the insistence on the particular need for individuals in high positions to practice morality, since their behaviour acted as a model for their inferiors;

And the last, implicit in the third, was the acceptance of class inequality as something given and absolute. And this was further extended to cover inequality of the sexes.

Nishimura diverged from traditional Confucianism in four ways: The first, a general difference from which the other more specific differences all sprang, was simply that he did not recognise Confucianism as the absolute, immutable and water-tight system which its more hidebound adherents proclaimed it to be. He recognised it as being capable of (and indeed requiring) modification in accordance with the exigencies of the time;

The second was that he recognised the idea of inevitable progress in world history;

The third, that he recognised the paramountcy of reason as the determinant of what modifications to Confucianism were needed;

And the fourth difference was that he held necessary empirical investigation (as providing the objective data on which reason could work), as well as the practical application of the knowledge

so gained.

In effect, what Nishimura did was to accept the ethical content along with much of the concomittant social organization of Confucianism, whilst recognising the need and ultimate inevitability of modification of the political order towards greater popular participation in government. But in his view it was only the realization of the former, through an emphasis on right moral training, which would enable the latter to be successfully accomplished.²⁰³ This stress on morality is a constant theme of his *Meiroku Zasshi* articles.

His article in the third issue of the *Meiroku Zasshi*, *Chingen Issoku* (A Point I would like to make), illustrates well both his fundamental concern with morality and the way in which he used his knowledge of Western history to illustrate his ideas:

When I read Western history, there are some things I deeply admire and others which make me equally apprehensive. At the birth of Ancient Greece, her people were robust of health, firm of character, and deeply patriotic. Thus were they able to break their great enemy Persia and give light to all the countries around. From then on their country became wealthy; the people advanced daily in knowledge; and their arts and crafts reached the height of refinement. Subsequently, however, their national morality [customs] collapsed and extravagance, licentiousness, frivolity and deceit became prevalent... and finally they were conquered by the Romans.

And then the same with Rome. In the early days her people too were frugal and robust... and they were able to advance their mighty armies, attacking both East and West, and caused the whole world to fear their might. As the wealth and power of the country grew, her people too rivalled one another in their skill and knowledge.... But then the morals of the people declined greatly. They changed their frugal and hardy customs and became a vulgar mob, licentious and debauched, proud and haughty, thieving, superficial, false and crafty. And finally they in turn were overthrown by the

German tribes. Thus it is clear that we can regard frugality and hardihood as good medicines for promoting the rise of a state, and licentiousness, luxury and frivolity as poisons which bring it down.

...
And whilst arts and crafts may be a means to ornament peace, they are not the means of maintaining the country. The only thing which can maintain the country is the spirit and conduct of the people. 204

Several apt quotations may be taken from the *Meiroke Zasshi* articles to illustrate Nishimura's insistence on the need for betterment of morality as a necessary prerequisite to what he freely confesses to believe is the best style of government - republicanism. A large proportion of his *Meirokeusha* writing in fact deals with political matters. In the most important of these, *Seitai Sanshū Setsu* (Theory of the three Forms of political Organization), a lengthy article in two parts comprising most of *Meiroke Zasshi* XXVIII, he starts out with a classification of what he sees as the three principle forms of government:

It is commonly accepted that the three forms of political organization are: I. Despotic Monarchy; II. Constitutional Monarchy; and III. Republicanism. I would like to categorise these three forms respectively as: traditional government, government based partly on tradition and partly on reason, and finally government based wholly on reason. 205

Then in part two he continues:

Now government on reasoned principles [republicanism] is certainly the most perfect form of state. But to this perfect form of state, only a perfect people is suited. And what do I understand by a perfect people? I mean one which has a deep love for its country; which devotes itself wholeheartedly, each to his individual task; which harbours no feelings of jealousy, nor any spirit of arrogance; in which everyone is prompted by deep loyalty to help everyone else; and whose relationships are governed by justice and morality. 206

The identical concern is apparent in an article in *Meiroku Zasshi* XXXI, devoted explicitly to arguing for the identity of morals and government, *Shūshin [to] Kuni [o] osameru [koto wa] futatsu [no] Michi [ni] arazu [no] Ron* (Argument that Morals and Government are not two separate Ways). The following excerpts from this article illustrate both this and the remaining aspects of his Confucian thought listed above (apart from the matter of sexual inequality):

There are people who regret the fact that government and the learning of the Chinese Confucianists separated and went different ways. What I would like to suggest is that it is not sufficient deeply to bewail the separation... of learning and government, and that what we should really deplore is the division between...morals and government. In the Great Learning there is explained the sequence of [Individual] morality leading to a well ruled household, from this to a properly governed state, and from this again to a world at peace. For both Confucius and Mencius therefore, the basis of the state was the family and the basis of the family was the Individual (and it would be superfluous for me to add that thus the foundation for ruling the country is the morals [of the Individual]). In the days when they respected the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, our people believed that the way in which they could best... govern the country was through morals.... But since the Restoration the whole style of learning has been transformed, and the teachings of Confucius and Mencius have already declined, although European science has not yet fully come in, so that at the moment it is like when the sun has set and the moon has not yet risen. Thus those who run after worldly benefits regard the teachings of Confucius and Mencius as trivial.... And to want to reform this pack through their teachings is quite pointless since they have already rejected them. And so I shall rely on the ideas of Western scholars in the following to demonstrate that morals and government are not two separate things.

...

The American, Dr. Wayman[?] says: morals are the basis of right government.... The English scholar Bentham says that no good political act can be morally bad.... Thus both [Confucianists and scholars in the West] have the same ideas about what is good and what is bad.

...

Recently the high officials and aristocrats have laid no restraint on their private actions and have become objects of ridicule to intelligent people.

...

The good or evil of a man's private actions affects him alone, and does not extend to others. But how can intelligent men stop here? These high officials and aristocrats are the model for the people. Did not the ancients say that what is favoured by the upper will be adored by the lower?

...

What I would most ardently like to see is the high officials and aristocrats as a group being aware that their morals are the basis for ruling the country.... 207

Nishimura did not contribute directly to the argument on women's rights, but his attitude is clear enough from passing references, such as that in his discussion of the meaning of the word 'rights' (*kenri*) in *Mei-roku Zasshi* IV. He divides rights into eight separate categories of: Natural, Superimposed, Transferrable, Non-transferrable, Absolute, Expedient, Individual and Universal. And Superimposed Rights he describes as:

...the rights of a ruler in respect to his subjects; of a general in respect to his soldiers; of a man in respect to his wife.... 208

The inference is plain. And whilst he admits that such rights have no absolute sanction, he is still quite ready to accept them as socially valid, simply because they exist:

The status of a ruler, a general, a man or his wife, is something originally decided by men, and the various rights which depend upon the respective status are not Natural but Superimposed Rights. However, in human society these are no different in their value from Natural Rights. 209

From the foregoing it is sufficiently obvious that Nishimura was very far from being an out-and-out Westernizer and that, on the contrary, his values were essentially traditional. This is not

entirely to deny him the rôle of an 'enlightener'; the significant ways in which he also diverged from Confucianism, as outlined above, can be equally well documented from his *Meiroku Zasshi* articles, whilst his frequent references to Western history could only serve to spread general factual knowledge about the West (although that, of course, was not his cardinal aim as has been made clear). And if he had the traditional Confucian scorn for the unlettered mob, and faith in the efficacy of the example of moral leadership, he was still concerned that the mob should be educated, and he wrote articles both preaching this and practising it.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, this very concern with educating the mob was within the Confucian framework of reference, and the accepted view of the overall modernity of the *Meirokusha* must be modified accordingly.

So different indeed are the basic tenets behind the objectives of Nishimura and of Mori, who was a Westernizer, that it is difficult to understand at first how they could ever have felt that they had common ground. But the clue to this may perhaps be found in a last quotation from Nishimura, who had the following to say on the meaning of 'civilization' (*Bunmei Kaika*):

Thinking now about the meaning of the word 'civilization', my thoughts turn in no way towards the authority, or wealth, or power of a people, but only to the personal character of individuals and the form taken by group relationships.
[Here follows supporting evidence from Mill and Guizot]

...

Now although it is true that civilization is manifested in both the group relationships of the whole and in the individual, the fundamental thing is the raising of the quality of the individual, and it is from there that you advance to the group

relationships of the whole. But by what methods are we to raise the quality of the individual? There is no other way to attain this than through good education. The most excellent tool for the promotion of civilization is a combination of the two basic essentials of extending learning and refining conduct [morality]. 211

Here we may recall Mori's aim in founding the *Meirokusha*:

'... to promote the advance of learning and... establish a pattern of morality.'²¹² It was seen earlier that what Mori meant by this was practical learning about technical matters and sexual morality. These were rather different from what Nishimura had in mind, but the superficial resemblance of their two statements is readily apparent, so that they could well have imagined a community of ideas. But although they spoke the same words, it was not the same language.

We may return finally to the first of the comments prompted by Shiveley's statement quoted above, that Nishimura 'made a reputation as an enlightener, first through the publication of his translations and later through his participation in the *Meirokusha*.' This statement is in fact a segment of a vicious circle, for on the one hand Nishimura's fame as an 'enlightener' rests partly on his membership of the *Meirokusha*, but on the other hand it is the fame of the *Meirokusha* which depends partly on the membership of the 'enlightener' Nishimura. Shively himself, however, breaches the circle by his demonstration of the true nature of Nishimura's 'enlightenment' writings, of which demonstration the above discussion of his *Meiroku Zasshi* articles furnishes still further illustration. Nishimura was not a Westerniser, and this fact must detract from the reputation

of the *Meirokekusha*. Shiveley's statement may be taken as an example of the feedback which has resulted in many other cases too from the initially inflated reputation of the *Meirokekusha*.²¹³

Sakatani Shiroshi; Introductory.

Turning now to Sakatani, it will be seen that his case provides even stronger evidence than Nishimura's for the need to reassess the 'enlightenment' rôle of the *Meirokekusha* as a whole. The reason for the need to devote particular attention to Sakatani, as mentioned above, is his very large contribution to the *Meirokekusha Zasshi*, and this point is laboured here because up to now in all discussions of the *Meirokekusha* scarcely any attention has been paid to him. Ōkubo Toshiaki, for example, in his section of the *Nihon Jimbutsushi Taikei* (Outline History of Japanese Personalities) V, 123-153, which is devoted specifically to the individual members of the *Meirokekusha* accords to Sakatani no more than a passing reference (p.128). Nor is he allotted any space whatsoever in the most recently issued collection of writings by the men of the 'Enlightenment'.²¹⁴ The reason, very simply, is that Sakatani was not an 'enlightener'. But the size of his contribution to the *Meirokekusha Zasshi* makes it impossible to ignore him in any assessment of the *Meirokekusha* as a whole.

Sakatani is without doubt the rogue star of the *Meirokekusha* galaxy: apart from being the oldest member²¹⁵ he was also the only one with no knowledge of foreign languages; he made no attempt to

introduce (or discuss) new and specifically Western ideas as such, and his *Meiroke Zasshi* articles all bear an indelibly Confucian stamp. He even seems to have felt himself that he was somehow in that company under false pretences.²¹⁶ Although he has so far been labelled here as simply a Confucianist, it is in fact more precise to call him a traditionalist, for his ideas were a synthesis of both Confucianism and National Learning (*Kokugaku*) - a common enough mixture. Thus in addition to all the Confucian elements as described above for Nishimura, and taking precedence over them, we find in Sakatani's thought the dominant ideas of *Kokutai* and *Kōtō* - the unique form of the Japanese state and the continuous line of emperors.

To say that Sakatani knew no foreign language, was a traditionalist, and was not an 'enlightener' does not mean, however, that he was against change, espoused *jōi*, and had little knowledge and less love of the West. On the contrary: Sakatani was widely read in the available Japanese literature on the West, warmly advocated the opening of the country during the *Bakumatsu* period, and once the new era had opened, was amongst the more insistent advocates of parliamentary government. Nevertheless, Sakatani is very far from contributing to any justifiable reputation that the *Meirokekusha* may have as a progressive, Western oriented group. His conception of ethics and human relationships was solidly Confucian; his use of Western history, just as with Nishimura, was invariably to point or underline a traditional moral; and his arguments for representative government (itself of a very limited kind, as will be seen) were not based on

any conception of popular or natural rights, or of individual freedom, but solely and firmly on the grounds that this was the best and only way to preserve and strengthen the *Kokutai*.

Sakatani was thus a realist of the same calibre as Nishimura: the edifice of his thought was constructed with traditional bricks, but he did not feel thereby constrained not to look out of the windows. Blacker's work on the 'Enlightenment'²¹⁷ paints a startlingly clear picture of the contrast between the old (Confucian) learning and the new (Western) learning. Sakatani, as discussed below, was one of the numerous figures who represented intermediate stages between these two sets of ideals. If anything, he was more traditional than modern, and his membership of the *Meirokekusha* is of all the greater interest for that.

Life and Thought of Sakatani.

Sakatani, in conformity with the general *Meirokekusha* type, was born on the *Bakufu* side of the pre-Restoration fence, had the customary predominantly Confucian education, became a school-master and subsequently a bureaucrat in the *Meiji* government, and had a long-standing interest in Western studies (though one which remained unfulfilled apart from his membership of the *Meirokekusha*). But here the similarities end; and it is the lack of any Western training or experience which is the great dividing line between Sakatani and the other members of the *Meirokekusha*.

He was born in Bitchū (modern Okayama) in 1822.11.17.²¹⁸ His father, Ryōsai, was a commoner and the traditional family business was sake-brewing.²¹⁹ But Ryōsai had abandoned this and achieved some degree of status by employment first under the *Jitō* of Natsukawa and subsequently as secretary to a touring magistrate based on Osaka.

Sakatani made an inauspicious start to his formal education in 1827 when his mother sent him to his father in Osaka. Here he entered the school of Okuno Shōzan for instruction in reading the Four Books, and did not impress his master with his ability. Okuno pronounced him a fool who would never make much progress in this field. However, his second master, Ōshio Heihachirō,²²⁰ was more confident of his talents, and his confidence proved justified on Sakatani's removal to Edo, where he followed his father in 1832.

His teacher in Edo was Sakaya Seikei, a former pupil of Satō Issai at the *Shōheikō*, and a personal friend of Ryōsai's. Under Sakaya his studies reportedly progressed rapidly over the next five years. Then in 1837 his father died and he returned with his mother to his native village of Kuryō. His mother seems never to have recovered from her husband's death, and this was to have an important influence on Sakatani's career.

The following year he returned to Edo to resume his studies, this time under Koga Dōan, an official *Bakufu* Confucianist, under whom he now made quite outstanding progress. Dōan was a strict teacher and not given to excessive praise, thus the fact that he named Sakatani one of his two best pupils and appointed him a teacher was no

Inconsiderable tribute, and Sakatani's growing reputation is said to have caused his old master Okuno some chagrin over his original judgement. Sakatani was also a great traveller, and it is on the basis of his Chinese style poems which he wrote in traditional celebration of his journeyings that he achieved a growing literary reputation. Apart from a period of well over a year at Komyō, during which he was probably looking after his mother, Sakatani spent almost a full decade with Koga, and it during this time that he struck up a firm and lasting friendship with Mitsukuri Shūhei, who came to Koga's in 1843. It was most likely this friendship which later provided Sakatani with his entry to the *Meirokusha*.

Koga's death in 1847 signalled the end of Sakatani's formal instruction, and having wound up his master's literary affairs, he returned home to Bitchū about May. He was not to see Tokyo again for some twenty years, during which time he pursued the career of a teacher and educational reformer, achieving a considerable reputation by his work, first in Bitchū and later in Hiroshima.

It was on his return to Bitchū that his interest was first aroused in Western studies by such people as his friend Kusaka Makoto and his father-in-law, Yamanari Tainen.²²¹ By 1849 he was anxious to return yet a fourth time to Edo to embark on a proper course of Western studies, and he had in fact made the journey as far as Osaka before his plans were brought to nought by news of his mother's sickness. He returned at once in order to nurse her, and remained faithfully with her although it meant not only giving up the prospect

of Western studies but also refusing several other good opportunities of employment.²²² In later life he was to say how he 'always looked back on this as the bitterest thing in my life,'²²³ and although from now on he read eagerly among Japanese works and translations on the West, he never overcame the gnawing regret at his lost chance to study Western languages, and several of his *Mei-roku Zasshi* articles are prefaced with an apology for having only second-hand knowledge of the West *via* translations.

To support himself and his mother Sakatani set up a small private school in 1851, and his work here very soon came to the notice of the local *Daikan* who was concerned at the general lack of educational facilities in the area, and having obtained permission and funds for a larger establishment, he persuaded Sakatani to head the same.²²⁴ Sakatani moved to the new building in 1853, and this was the start of the famous *Kōjōdō*, where he taught for most of the next fourteen years until the Restoration, and through which he achieved a very considerable reputation.²²⁵

From the start the school was well attended. As its fame grew it attracted students from all over the country, and to such an extent that it could not cope with them all.²²⁶ It was, of course, an orthodox Chu Hsi Confucian school and every morning were recited the precepts first bequeathed by Chu Hsi to his own school in Kiangsi, the *Pai-lu Tung Shu-yüan* (*Hakurokudō Shoin*).²²⁷ But this was far from being accompanied by any scorn for Western learning. Sakatani did not take the traditional attitude of regarding it as

'empty learning' (*kyogaku*), but went to great lengths indeed, to impress upon his students the necessity of studying the best in both the traditional and the new Western styles of learning. But although there was truth in both, naturally Eastern learning was still immeasurably superior since it was concerned with more fundamental things. His attitude in this was not unlike Sakuma Shōzan's.

For Sakatani as a good Confucianist, learning was all-important in life. It was not a fragment or separate compartment of life as it seemed so clearly to be regarded in the West, but embraced the whole of life. This, not in the sense of mere knowledge being the whole of life, but of all life being an exercise in learning; in other words the very antithesis of mere academicism and dry book learning. Not that he regarded Western learning as just dry book learning: he was only too fully aware of its immediate practical value. On the other hand, this was its only value, in so far as it could tell him nothing about the basic essence of the universe, or *Ri*, the fundamental nature of things. Clearly, however, Western science had hit upon certain aspects of truth, which could save Confucianists much of their impractical theorising about *Ri* which was insufficiently based upon hard physical facts. It was in this propensity to *kūri*, empty ideas on *Ri*, that Western learning could rectify the balance. In fact both types of learning were equally essential one to the other. 'The Westerners' said Sakatani, 'are unaware of *Ri*' but their knowledge of minute facts and details he characterised as 'incomparable.'²²⁸ Here certainly is Sakuma's idea

of Eastern morality and Western techniques. Sakatani, however, did go beyond this simplistic outlook, and recognised that the West was concerned with morality too. In one *Meiroku Zasshi* article he talks of 'the insulting argument that teachers of religion and the Chinese Classics invariably propound that [the Westerners] lay stress on implements but do not value morality.' 'I believe on the contrary,' he continues, 'that it is just because they do value morality that they also value implements.'²²⁹ Western morality, however, was of different origins and unsuitable for the unique conditions of Japan. Nevertheless, the Westerners' techniques and implements could still be of service for Japan while she upheld her own brand of morality.

Thus it can be seen how Sakatani, as mentioned in the introduction to this section, was at an intermediate stage between the out-and-out traditionalists and the Westernisers. He was amongst those more traditional-minded men who nevertheless prepared the way for the enthusiastic and uncritical acceptance of Western learning in the '70s. There was, of course, a considerable number of otherwise orthodox Confucianists who were very ready to recognise the value of Western studies. Not every Confucianist was a Motoda Eifu - and both Sakatani and Nishimura were amongst those bolder spirits who were prepared to recognise truth wherever they found it. But they were only at an intermediate stage, and this recognition of truth in Western learning did not involve any wholesale transfer of allegiance, and what they attempted to do was to absorb the new truth into the already existing value system which they still

recognised as valid. In discussing the ideas of Fukuzawa, Blacker writes:

The reason why knowledge of ordinary everyday things was important was not that thereby the moral Way could the better be put into practice, but that it was in these everyday things and activities... that the laws of nature within shapes were to be discovered. ²³⁰

But for Sakatani, the very reason why such knowledge was important (indeed, the only reason why it could be important) was just that it did conduce to a better understanding of the moral Way by allowing speculation about the fundamental nature (*ganri*) of things to be based on accurate knowledge of physical laws which obviously were true.

Naturally, by this recognition of the truth of immutable physical laws, the conception of the essentially moral interconnectedness of the workings of the universe was fatally undermined. But to have realised and admitted this would have been too great a leap for the men who made the first step, and time was needed before this next step could be taken by a new generation.

However, given this acceptance by Sakatani of the validity within a certain limited range of Western learning, it is not surprising to find that he was from early on an advocate of opening the country to fuller contact with the West. He never wavered in this attitude, even at the height of *jōi* sentiment. In 1864, as he relates himself in his last *Meiroku Zasshi* article, a year after the Shimonoseki bombardment, he had a long argument on the point with Kusaka Genzui, an ardent exponent of the idea of expelling the foreigners. And he

was similarly open with other like-minded *shishi* of the time, such as Shibusawa Ei'ichi and Chō Baigai.²³¹ He warned the latter that he would come to regret his narrow-minded ideas, and the latter fulfilled the prophecy in a poem he wrote Sakatani after the Restoration:

In earlier days I was appalled at your different opinions;
Today I am ashamed of my own former views. 232

If he would not concur in *jōi*, however, no-one could have been a more staunch upholder of its sister slogan, *sonnō*, than Sakatani. For him the Emperor was the *sine qua non* of the Japanese state, and reverence for the Emperor was the supreme virtue and fount of all other virtues, as appears from a discussion of his *Mei roku Zasshi* articles below. *Sonnō* was unequivocally the central pivot of Sakatani's thought. Nor did he even keep secret his hopes for an imperial restoration and was to as good as express these hopes to no less a person than the future *Shōgun* himself.

Hitotsubashi Keiki had been made aware of Sakatani's work at the *kōjōdō* through his financial advisor Shibusawa, already mentioned as one of Sakatani's *jōi* disputants, and who was a lifelong friend of his.²³³ In 1866.6.7 he was summoned to an audience with Keiki at Nijō Castle in Kyoto,²³⁴ and was offered a post by him. This Sakatani refused, but he did give a command lecture on the Analects of Confucius, during the course of which he proclaimed, before a large audience, that:

The three hundred years' rule of the Tokugawa family
is no more than one small segment of the many thousand
glorious years of the Imperial Court. The great principle

of revereing the Emperor must be made absolutely clear. And then again, all the countries of the world are next door neighbours and if we do not open the ports we will be unable to establish the moral duty of Japan. Thus to open the ports is to revere the Emperor. It is in fact of particular importance and not a thing to be undertaken in fear and trembling. 235

It is hardly surprising that those witnessing this bold statement, which was as good as a frontal assault on the Tokugawa, are recorded as having sweated with fear.²³⁵ Keiki, however, as his later actions were to prove, was neither a hasty man, nor unaware of the delicate political situation both internal and external. He even renewed his offer of employment, and took no offence at Sakatani's renewed refusal. In fact he made him a grant of money for his services, which Sakatani promptly devoted to the defrayment of expenses incurred by the *Kōjōdō*, whither he immediately returned.

With the Restoration, Bitchū was overrun by the armies of the torama han of Hiroshima, and it fell to Sakatani's lot to act as one of the peace-makers. This led directly to a renewal of an earlier offer of employ from the *Daimyō* of Hiroshima, which, in the altered circumstances, Sakatani saw fit to accept, and there he worked for the next two years. He had also been summoned immediately after the Restoration to take up employ with the new government, but he declined on the grounds that in his position at Hiroshima he was already serving the new state. However, soon after the abolition of the *han* as administrative units (*Haihan-Chiken*) in 1871.7.14, Sakatani did resign his post and took up a position in a branch of

the Council of State, and subsequently remained a bureaucrat until his retirement in 1879.²³⁷

Sakatani and the *Meiropusha*

How Sakatani came to join the *Meiropusha* is not absolutely certain, although the most likely means (his friendship with Mitsukuri Shūhei) was mentioned above. At all events, he was of an easy and likeable temper and had a wide circle of friends. And this combined with his unsatisfied enthusiasm for Western studies, is sufficient to explain his early membership. He was not in fact a founder member but one of the five later entrants to regular membership mentioned in Mori's retiring speech. His first contribution was to the tenth issue of the *Meiropu Zasshi*, but it is not unlikely that he attended from very early in 1874. He had in fact been permanently resident in Tokyo since 1870,²³⁸ and since the publication of the *Meiropu Zasshi* had been advertised from the beginning in the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*, he is not likely to have remained long ignorant of activities so dear to his own heart.

Sakatani had meanwhile been a founder member of another society of a rather different nature. This was the *Kyū'usha*, a small Confucian club and one of a number of similar societies, later to be amalgamated in the *Shibunkai*. But unlike the *Shibunkai*,²³⁹ the *Kyū'usha* was not a society with a mission, but rather just a group

of friends meeting regularly together for the pleasure of their mutually congenial company, to indulge in discussion of a Confucian turn, and to compose and criticise poetry. But it was still a very different style of thing from the *Meirokusha*. The *Kyū'usha* used to meet on the fifteenth of the month, and this gave rise to the witicism at Sakatani's expense:

Yesterday the Kyū'usha; today the Meiji Six Club's guest;
Sakatani's yearnings swing from West to East and East to West. 24)

The jibe was superficially true, but Sakatani's own form of syncretism has already been discussed. The lie to the implicit charge of inconsistency is given in Sakatani's own opening words to his first article published in the *Meiroku Zasshi*:

I am a stupid person, but I do not like people who are never willing to see the other side of a question, and who obstinately assert their own one-sided view. Therefore, despite my dullness and my incomprehension of any European tongue, I am favourably disposed towards people who undertake European studies, and it is my desire that European and Chinese studies should be amicably united and put to practical use. 24!

This initial statement sets the tone for Sakatani's whole contribution to the *Meiroku Zasshi* and sums up indeed much of his attitude to life. In passing we may note his inability to refrain from expressing his regret at his own lost opportunity for Western studies, and the humility which is a constant feature of his writing. More important, however, are his pragmatism and broad-mindedness: he admits both Eastern and Western traditions of learning as valid and wishes to 'unite' them and put them 'to practical use.'

In his case this 'unification' consisted largely in the relation of Western concepts to a clearly traditional frame of reference, and the 'practical use' was to be in the service of the unique Japanese national polity. The outstanding example to illustrate both of these points was his advocacy of parliamentary institutions, not on the basis of natural rights, but as the surest and only way to protect Japan by 'uniting upper and lower' and thus preserving the imperial line and the unique form of the Japanese state. His accent is not upon individual liberties, but upon social harmony. Much of Sakatani's writing in the *Meiroke Zasshi* was devoted to scathing attacks on traditional forms of superstition, and he also concerned himself with other important *Meiroke* debates such as that on orthography reform²⁴² and the all-important one on education and the means of reforming the spirit of the people,²⁴³ but most important was a block of some nine articles (over a third of his total contribution) devoted to political matters, and many of them specifically to the question of parliamentary government. Attention is here focussed on these political articles and his traditional ideas will now be elaborated and documented by quotation from them. His *Kokugaku* Ideas are taken first and then his Confucian ones.

It has been stated above that the cardinal feature of Sakatani's thought was his faith in the unique Japanese *Kokutai*. In this he was a firm adherent of the Mito School and thus his greatest point of difference with Confucianism was his complete rejection of the concept of legitimate revolt against a ruler who had lost the

Mandate of Heaven:

... from time immemorial, all wise men who have ever lived under... a regime [where an unjust ruler may be legitimately overthrown and replaced] have deplored such ideas and advocated discarding them. 244

He simply would not admit that the Japanese imperial house could lose the Mandate of Heaven, even though individual rulers might be unjust or weak:

Even the great mischief caused by such as Yoshitake Takauji cannot invalidate the reverence due to the Emperor. This is a principle ordained by Heaven and is unshakeable. However, if the government of a ruler is unjust, it is clear that he is heading for turbulent decline. 245

So complete was his commitment to the imperial line as an absolute and immemorial *donné* of the universe, that he was hardly even prepared to admit discussion of it in terms of its having had a historical beginning:

We talk of a monarchy having been set up in Japan but we should rather talk of the monarch as just being, for it is a mistaken theory that the Emperor is just like a theatre puppet with changeable heads. It is a wonderful thing that ever since its foundation it has been as natural for our country to have an Emperor as for a man to be born with a head. This may sound like a fairy-tale, but it is not. It is the sobre truth... 246

Given this staunch and steadfast conviction of the unassailable position of the emperor, Sakatani's insistent demand for a parliament seems paradoxical, until it is realised that he saw a parliament as an incomparable instrument for maintaining the stability of the imperial institution. It is of course not the individual emperor but the institution which commands loyalty. Sakatani recognises that there are both good and bad emperors, but his idea is that a

parliament would serve to minimise the potential damage of a bad emperor:

... it is natural that however virtuous a ruler may be and however well he imparts his virtue to others, over the centuries this virtue will decline. This is how the rise of the Fujiwara occurred and the changeover to military rule. Moreover, the emergence of a bad ruler destroys in a moment the whole system built up by a preceding enlightened ruler, and even with the resurgence of an enlightened ruler who tries gradually to restore things, it takes him a whole lifetime.... And if he is then followed by an unwise ruler, all is once more destroyed, merely creating new labour for a subsequent enlightened ruler. In such a cycle of rise and decline, how can a country be made strong and wealthy How can government be made enlightened?... If both upper and lower are allowed to participate in government while the ruling line is maintained, then even if a bad ruler does emerge, it will only mean a slight lapse in the enlightenment of the preceding age, and not a complete retreat....²⁴⁷

The article containing the above quotation is in fact not a plea for the establishment of a parliament as such, but rather for a recognition of what the fundamental aim of such a parliament should be, namely: the unification of upper and lower by provision for all to have a say in government. The purpose of this of course is simply to maintain the stability of the state. But Sakatani never questions the assumption that the only possible type of state is essentially the one which already exists. Nevertheless, within these terms (and however illogically) Sakatani clearly regards parliamentary government as desirable, and he finally puts forward a suggestion for the establishment of an officially nominated parliament, (of the same kind as Nishi was later to advocate in his 'Mōra Gi'in no Setsu' in *Meiroku Zasshi* XXIX):

Arguments about a popularly elected deliberative assembly have sprung up everywhere, and of all of them, not one is entirely against. The worst they have against the idea is that to set up an assembly while we are still at an unenlightened level would be too early. In my humble opinion it would indeed be too early, but to say that it is too early means that we do expect the correct level of enlightenment to be attained...

...

What I am concerned about is the intention to use an assembly without having decided the form of the state, and the way in which all the discutants theorise on the necessity of setting up an assembly without devoting one word to the form of the state. If it is granted that an assembly is a place where both upper and lower have a share in the government, is there really anything to be gained from petitioning for the government alone to establish an assembly without having settled the purpose for which both upper and lower are to have a share in the government?

...

What I have been thinking for some time is that the way to bring wealth and strength and enlightenment to our country and to protect the Imperial Line, is to popularise the idea of a form of state where both upper and lower participate in the government. From the start, our Japanese Kokutai has been under the leadership of a single line and the people have been integrated in spirit, and this (as even the least learned knows) is where we differ from all other countries.

...

Now when it comes to the matter of setting up a popularly elected deliberative assembly, even those who do not criticise it as being too early, undoubtedly have as their sole aim the strengthening of our Imperial land and the protection of the Imperial Line.

...

Once this aim of joint government by upper and lower is truly and firmly established, then teaching in the schools will get better and better, and government will be carried on in an ever more enlightened fashion. And then if on top of this the procedures of public election are established by appointing official representatives from among the notables of all areas for the first few years, there should be some success after three years; by seven the rough formation would be there; and after ten years this so-called popularly elected deliberative

assembly should be in full running order. In this way it is my humble opinion that we would be sure of clarifying the nature of popular rights; the ideal of an enlightened, strong and wealthy country would become a fact; and the Imperial Line would be extended for ever. 248

Here are manifest both the very limited idea which Sakatani entertained of parliamentarism, and his overriding preoccupation with the maintenance of the unique Japanese *Kokutai*. For Sakatani, the former was always entirely subordinate to the latter and could never be something good in its own right. As he puts it in another article:

Absolute insistence on... a parliament would become the basis of rebellion. As I have said before, I think that if insistence on popular election resulted in an intention to overthrow the government, then this would make us into a country of slaves. For if we did, heedless of this, try to get things going from below... conflict with the government would be inevitable, and... there would be a great war. Inevitably the result would be a popularly elected assembly and it is even possible that the level of civilization and enlightenment might also advance, but the regrettable thing is that our unique Imperial Line would be endangered... 249

The manner in which Sakatani thus sought to employ the Western concept of parliamentary government entirely within a traditional framework is now sufficiently clear. And he was himself quite explicit on this point in another article embodying similar themes in *Meiroku Zasshi* XXVII & XXVIII, entitled *Minsen Gi'in Hensokuron*. This title contains an untranslatable but significant play on the word *hensoku*, as it was currently applied in the field of education. All education was divided into two broad categories of *Seisokugaku* and *Hensokugaku*. In general terms this referred to all government sponsored education on the one hand, and on the other all instruction

offered at private establishments. And in this case the terms may be translated as 'official' and 'private instruction' respectively. They were also applied in a more restricted sense specifically to Western learning, and in this case, *seisoku* indicated instruction in the language concerned, and generally by a foreign teacher; while *hensoku* referred to all foreign learning carried out through the medium of Japanese translations. What Sakatani intends to signify by the use of *hensoku* is that the foreign concept of a parliament should first be reworked to suit Japanese conditions: the idea of popular participation in government must be 'translated' into the Japanese context to accord with the native concepts of *kokutai* and *kōtō*. 'My main contention' says Sakatani,

is that in order to realise the currently popular idea of a parliament we should take a leaf out of the book of the education system... [and] just as they there work up to Western language studies via translation, so too should the state start out with an officially nominated parliament.

...

... to argue that we should import into our own country the same form of parliament as they have in Europe and America [*sic*] is rather like measuring someone else's feet to make shoes for oneself.... 250

Different styles of government develop naturally in different parts of the world, and it is false to argue by analogy (or as Sakatani would have it - using the English word - by 'deduction'). A parliament is necessary, but it must suit Japanese conditions:

... in the same way as mountains and rivers... all differ individually from one another, so the forms and customs of the various states differ too...

...

Both monarchies and republics have evolved naturally... America and Switzerland being kingless countries, it would have been a mistake for them to have had even for a short time a king like England or a ruler like Napoleon in France. France and Sweden have not yet finally decided their form of state ²⁵¹ but I believe that if they pursue the natural course they will become republics...

...

But [when it then comes to Japan] some people argue that there is no reason for honouring one man above all others; that no man is by nature a god; that there is no benefit in a representative of Heaven [*Tenshi*]; that republicanism is the natural law of things [*Tenri-jindō*]; and that without a republic it is impossible to extend a country's strength. ... and on the basis of these small-minded conceptions they regard the Emperor as unnecessary. Now, all the great theorists of republicanism in America and Switzerland who argue that to elect a monarch would cause great harm, do so having scrupulous regard to the nature and environment of their people. They argue fairly without being biased by our history; but in contrast to them, these other tendentious and historically biased theories go flatly against the proper course of things.

...

If it is a choice of being either radical or conservative, I believe we should set up a parliament first and worry over matters of procedure later... ²⁵²

... but as I said before, conditions vary from country to country...

...

... and for this reason, it is essential in our country that we establish a parliament initially from above.

...

In Europe and America, after popular rights had been used to subdue the governments, parliaments were set up incorporating the ideas of popular rights and joint rule by upper and lower. But in our country it is different. We have something unique in the world, and even though the Kantō people may be so stupid as to refer to the Emperor by such disrespectful names as 'Tenkō' and 'Kinkō', still the concept is engraved on our minds, and if there were no Emperor, our country could not stand... And so I think that in regard to our most natural duty at the present (the protection of the people and of the Imperial Line together), we should not fail firmly to establish the principle of joint rule by upper and lower.

...

And the proper way to set about establishing a parliament would be to start with an officially selected one. ²⁵³

The above also contains a good example of the way in which Sakatani's knowledge of Western history (whether or not accurate in itself) was, like Nishimura's, entirely subservient to his traditionalist theories. Another is his oft repeated citation of the French revolutionary Terror, as a warning against the results to be expected from political upheaval.²⁵⁴ The same feature will be observed in the first of the following quotations, which are given to illustrate the Confucian aspects of Sakatani's thought.

Like Nishimura, Sakatani was convinced of the paramount importance of general morality, including such specific aspects as benevolence, virtue, honesty, self-control and practical learning:

A wise European once said that a country which is run by force and without benevolence and love is but hastening its downfall; and that a country where knowledge is implemented without virtue is courting disaster. He also said that since the moral behaviour of the people is the basis for everything that happens in a country, then the nature of the country will develop in accordance as the people's behaviour is good or bad. Finally he also said that in order to produce good results from trade and industry, upon which depends the maintenance of the country, wisdom and sagacity are not enough, but there must also be honesty and truthfulness. Now, these three verdicts are exactly paralleled by the sayings of the sages in China and Japan, and thus it is clear that herein lie the essentials for any government which is to be in accord with the proper nature of things.

Then going on to take the outcome of the Formosa Expedition as an example, he says:

even if we have just got an indemnity of ten million Taels, and even if we are later able to feel satisfied with our

foreign treaties..., if our moral attitudes and behaviour are bad, all our achievements will last no longer than the beauty of flowers stuck in a glass of water....²⁵⁵

In line with this preoccupation with morality, and again like Nishimura, Sakatani always talks in terms of virtuous officials rather than good institutions. '... law' he says, for example, 'is only a tool, and however excellent the tool, if the guiding hand is bad, then it will not function properly.'²⁵⁶ Likewise the same article evidences a parallel faith to Nishimura's in the importance of the example set by 'upper' to 'lower' people:

Now, when we come to investigate what is the basis of moral attitudes and behaviour, we see that in all countries, whether republics, despotisms, or those where joint rule prevails, the pattern is set by those in upper positions...

...

But if the pattern, the yardstick, is twisted, then there can be no goal for the lower people...

...

Thus when we lament the immoral attitudes and bad behaviour of a country, the blame lies with those in high positions, and the higher the position, the greater the blame. ²⁵⁷

The same theme recurs in his *Tenkan Chōzukai Setsu* (Theory of the hinge of our transformation), where he writes:

... of course both upper and lower are included in the people, but the rights of the people are at the moment held only by the upper, and their responsibility is correspondingly greater. I have heard that Englishmen like neither to be ruled by others nor to rule others themselves. Japan is just the opposite, where men love to be oppressive, and love also to be oppressed.... The only way to break this inertia is by a calm but resolute decision... to adopt a bold individual morality of disciplining anger, suppressing desires, transferring to the good and reforming excesses. The most important aspect of the moral conduct of a country is to achieve the happy state of power and prosperity by means of all the wise men of the country... putting spirit into the

masses below, eradicating their private desires and thus cheerfully sweeping aside the inertia of the bad old ways.²⁵⁸

(The elements of this 'bold individual morality' are directly traceable to the board of Chu Hsi's proverbs which Sakatani used at the *Kōjōdō*).²⁵⁹

Finally, mention should at least be made of Sakatani's fervent advocacy of *Bushidō* and of the universal practice of the martial arts. Particular reference may be made to his *Seishin o Yashinau Issetsu* (Theory of Nourishing the Spirit) in *Meiroke Zasshi* XL & XLI, although further quotation is unnecessary, since the overwhelmingly traditional nature of Sakatani's ideas has been fully demonstrated. It can now be authoritatively stated that whilst Sakatani was no hide-bound Confucianist but a pragmatic syncretist prepared even to admit Western studies within his system, still he was neither a progressive nor in any sense a Westerniser. And when the size of his contribution to the *Meiroke Zasshi* is taken into consideration, this still further underlines the need for a considerable reassessment of the nature and role of the *Meiroke*.

b. Sugi Kōji (1828-1917)

Sugi Kōji²⁶⁰ (the father of Japanese statistics)²⁶¹ has a very particular contribution to make to this thesis. At first glance he seems an excellent example of the type of man we may imagine Mori to have had in mind as the ideal *Meirokeisha* man. The manner in which he totally fails to fulfill this promise is an important demonstration both of the way Mori's ideal was unaccomplished and of the fact that the *Meirokeisha*'s reputation is an inflated one.

Sugi was a specialist in a technical field in which it was most urgent that Japan should develop her capabilities, namely: statistics. He was also the fourth most prolific contributor to the *Meirokei Zasshi*.²⁶² But there was no equation between these two facts. Sugi does not so much as mention statistics in his *Meirokei Zasshi* articles.

He must have seemed an obvious choice to Mori: he was rationalist and pragmatic, aware of foreign conditions, and had a working knowledge of both Dutch and French. Throughout his life he was an advocate of practical learning (*jitsugaku*) and the enemy of what he typically characterised as the empty and abstract theorising of the Confucianists and the Buddhists. And with all this, in his *Meirokei Zasshi* articles, Sugi steered largely clear of the great political questions which so vexed many of the other members. He neither wrote on the role of the scholar, nor added to the debate on a popularly elected assembly. But he also steered studiously clear

of his specialty, statistics. And this at a time when he was already involved as a government official on this, his lifelong preoccupation, and when he was campaigning vigorously for wider recognition of the necessity for more extensive statistical information if the machinery of state was to function smoothly.

Sugi was born a commoner in Nagasaki²⁶³ in September 1828,²⁶⁴ and being orphaned at the age of ten, he was taken over by his grandfather, a local doctor, and put to work as a house servant at a watchmaker's called Ueno.²⁶⁵ Here he studied the Confucian Classics on his own at night, but they do not seem to have made much impression on him,²⁶⁶ and he was soon devoting his efforts to more 'practical' learning. Such famous Dutch scholars as Ogata Kōan and Tezuka Ritsuzō were in the habit of occasionally visiting Ueno, and Sugi, doubtless influenced in part by his grandfather in the direction of medicine, went to Osaka to study under Ogata, but illness brought him back to Nagasaki.²⁶⁷

Another frequenter of Ueno's house had been one Murata Tessai, with whom Sugi had in fact stayed some time before going to Osaka.²⁶⁸ And when Murata was appointed to duty in Edo, Sugi went with him and there entered the school of Sugita Seikei.²⁶⁹ After an interval as teacher of Dutch studies for the *Daimyō* Okudaira,²⁷⁰ Sugi is to be found in association with Katsu Kaishū, an acquaintance readily accounted for by their common contacts in the world of *Bakumatsu Rangaku* studies.²⁷¹ This was certainly by 1856, the year of Katsu's

notebook listing Dutch scholars,²⁷² in which 'Sugi Shundō' is listed as being at Katsu's school.

It was the association with Katsu which really set Sugi on his feet. He became the head teacher of Katsu's private school, and it was on Katsu's recommendation that he was employed by the *Kakurō*, Abe Masahiro of Fukuyama,²⁷³ to lecture on Dutch studies at the very sufficient salary of fifteen *nimbuchi*.²⁷⁴ Then in 1860 Sugi was appointed Assistant Professor (*Kyōjutetsudai*) at the *Kaiseisho*, and four years later he became a direct *Bakufu* retainer, when he was promoted full Professor.²⁷⁵ While here, Sugi developed a strong interest in Western history and over a period of some two and a half years he read right through a ten volume world history which was in the library. It was this study on which much of his later *Meiroku Zasshi* writing was to be based. By this time too he had come into contact with a solid core of future *Meirokusha* men, including Mitsukuri Shūhei, Kanda, Katō, Nishi and Tsuda, all similarly employed to himself.

Later his association with Nishi in particular was strengthened, first when the latter came back from Holland, full, amongst all his other studies, also of statistics. And later with the retirement of Keiki and his retinue to Sumpu, Sugi was engaged as a teacher of French²⁷⁶ at the Numazu Military College, of which Nishi, of course, was head.

Meanwhile, however, Sugi had already been trying to put into practice some of the ideas he had acquired through his study of statistics. Sugi's interest in this branch of learning was first quickened at the

Kaiseisho when he came across a translation from the *Rotterdamsche Courant* of some Dutch educational statistics; and his favourable impression was later reinforced by the perusal of some more Dutch statistics for the year 1860-1 on births, deaths, marriages, crime and so on.²⁷⁷ Sugi realised what a useful tool these could make for the purposes of efficient government, and in 1866 he got down to serious study of the matter when the return of Tsuda and Nishi from Leyden brought him material on which to work in the form of lecture notes on Vissering's courses.²⁷⁸ Some two years later his enthusiasm was still further fired by two German works on statistics.

In his own words:

When Akamatsu Noriyoshi²⁷⁹ returned from Europe, knowing my passion for statistics, he presented me with a book, namely: Haushofer's Statistik... Also, when I read Oettingen's Moralstatistik, I realised more and more the great benefits of statistics to the world.²⁸⁰

Sugi was soon making attempts to implement a census. This was while in Sumpu, before joining the Numazu Military College. With the assistance of a former pupil of his at the *Kaiseisho*, Abe Kuninosuke, who was now the Numazu *Bugyō*, he obtained the consent of the *han* authorities, and during 1869 set about independantly taking a census in and around Sumpu and Numazu. About mid-year, however, a stop was put to his activities after the return of land registers to the Emperor (*hanseki hōkan*), on the grounds that with the Emperor now in full official power, it would be exceding local authority to continue without further sanction from the throne.²⁸¹ This suspension left two projected statistical treatises on Suruga (modern

Shizuoka) uncompleted,²⁸² and more definite achievements had to await Sugi's employment by the Council of State (*Dajōkan*). But this early work was significant as the first attempt at a fully modern type census, not designed for any single specific purpose, but simply to give as much general information as possible. It was also the first recorded use in Japan of a questionnaire form.²⁸³

Sugi's first official appointment with the new government was in the Home Department (*Mimbushō*) in mid 1870, but he very soon resigned on the grounds that the investigation of family registers, to which he had been assigned, did not give an adequate picture of the true nature of the population as a properly structured census would. While here, however, he drafted an interesting petition which, as well as urging the necessity of a general census, proposed the abolition of slavery, the permission of inter-class marriage, and the abolition of formal kowtowing.²⁸⁴

Then in early 1872²⁸⁵ Sugi was appointed to the *Sei'in*,²⁸⁶ where he was for the first time really enabled to handle government statistics. At this time a statistics section (*seihyōka*) was set up within the *Sei'in* and Sugi was put in charge.²⁸⁷ Shortly prior to this, about August 1871 a separate Statistics Office²⁸⁸ (*Tōkeishi* - renamed *Tōkeiryō* [Statistics Bureau] two months later) had been set up within the Finance Department on account of the necessity to produce statistical figures for use by the Iwakura Mission. It was Sugi's hope that the two might be combined.²⁸⁹

He made repeated memorials, hoping for more attention to be paid to statistics, and he would stress how far advanced the European countries were in this respect. In a memorial of February 1872 he called statistics 'the first essential in the management of the state' and 'indispensible in the practical economics of government.'²⁹⁰ He wanted with statistics to 'investigate the totality' of the social organism. In a later petition of December 1875²⁹¹ to the *Dajōkan* for the establishment of a permanent government bureau of statistics we find him saying:

Statistics is concerned with all matters of human well-being. It explains what will be of benefit and what harmful and is the fundamental basis for the essential administration of the country... [All the Western countries] have held international meetings²⁹² where they have discussed statistical methods broadly, and their discussion of internal conditions is always based upon proof by government statistics. ²⁹³

The latter point is already an old theme with him and as early as 4 October 1874 Sugi was voicing similar ideas through the *Seihyōka Shi*²⁹⁴ stressing how there were independent statistical institutes in all the countries of Europe, 'and even in such a small country as Holland they put out annual statistical information and have a staff of over three hundred.'²⁹⁵ Eventually these petitions did result in the foundation of a Statistical Institute (*Tōkei'in*) in 1881,²⁹⁶ and headed, under the overall supervision of Ōkuma Shigenobu,²⁹⁷ by Sugi who was appointed concurrently *Daishokikan*.²⁹⁸ It was, however, short-lived, and to Sugi's chagrin did not engage in the census which

had become his overriding preoccupation, but in the production of statistical yearbooks. But this, of course, is some years after the *Meiropusha*.

As has been seen, from 1871 to 1875 was a period of great activity and campaigning, and during these years Sugi's labours resulted in the publication of a considerable mass of statistical material. He started by circularising all government departments for statistical reports and had soon compiled his first work, the 'Statistical Tables for 1871'²⁹⁹ and similar publications were subsequently produced annually.³⁰⁰ Amongst other things, he further compiled statistical material on foreign trade, the government's public finances and the military.³⁰¹

Sugi seems in the early '70s to be well established, with the prospect of a highly successful career ahead of him as the leading authority on a much needed art. The fact that he proved to be too early for his time³⁰² is of greater interest to the full biographer of Sugi than the historian of the *Meiropusha*. What is truly remarkable with regard to the latter, however, is how at this critical time, when Sugi is doing his best elsewhere to promote the science of statistics, he makes no use of the large audience he would have had through the *Meiropu Zasshi* to widen the general interest in statistics. Only in one article, indeed, does he even make use of any of the statistical information at his disposal,³⁰³ and then he only quotes a single figure.

Otherwise, the *Meiroke Zasshi* shows us a different Sugi - a not very remarkable social theorist, a typical 'practical' intellectual of the early *Meiji* period and of somewhat facile optimism, although he is actually an alluring mixture of idealism and realism.

Sugi's superhuman specifications for the ideal politician³⁰⁴ seem less ridiculous when modified by the final *cri de coeur*: 'Ah! But what a difficult thing it is to have the desirable sort of politician!'; if his suggestion that Japan select and adopt for herself the best religion of the world³⁰⁵ is put forward in all seriousness, on the other hand his concern for the overall well-being (and particularly the economic well-being) of his country is based on factual analysis and his solutions on practical considerations; yet again, his categorical statement that the division between rich and poor is not only inevitable but the very driving force of society³⁰⁶ is balanced in the self-same article by a rather wistful recognition of the attractions of a communistic solution.³⁰⁷

Sugi makes frequent use of illustrative examples from Western history to back his case (sometimes he simply lets the example state the whole case)³⁰⁸ and in this his reading at the *Kaiseisho* stood him in good stead. But he had no first-hand experience of the West and far from being an enthusiastic, or over-enthusiastic introducer of the West to Japan, he was essentially conservative and based his estimates on a careful consideration of what seemed best for his country in the given situation. A case in point is his opposition to

Nishi's and Tsuda's advocacy of entire freedom for foreigners to travel in Japan (on very similar grounds to Fukuzawa, though based more logically on historical facts as he saw them).³⁰⁹

To say that the Sugi of the *Meiroke Zasshi* was a different Sugi, is not to say that there was any basic change in ideals. His interest in statistics was as a general technique for better administration; in the *Meiroke Zasshi* he turns to specific problems which he sees as needing better administration. The remarkable thing is that he does not touch upon statistics in the process, and the difference between Sugi the *Meiroke* man and Sugi the statistician, is that in the latter case, as the propagandist of an essential technique, he is memorable: as a social theorist he is not.

Sugi was the fourth most prolific contributor to the *Meiroke Zasshi*, and at the same time his articles are far from progressive or introductory of new ideas from the West. Just like Nishimura and Sakatani, he uses a wide knowledge of Western history as a source of historical examples to underline his more traditional arguments. The one area in which he was peculiarly qualified to introduce valuable new technical knowledge from the West he ignores entirely in the *Meiroke Zasshi*. Furthermore, his interest in the magazine seems to tail right away by the end of 1874. After very regular contributions up to December of that year, he subsequently contributed only one further article in April 1875. Whatever the reason for this, the *Meiroke Zasshi* was clearly no longer important to him, and even while he had made contributions, it was not as an innovator desiring to spread

new Western ideas. The case of Sugi is thus of considerable importance in proving just how little the *Meiokusha qua Meiokusha* contributed to the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement. It is also a classic demonstration of how Mori's ideas for the society failed to come to fruition.

c. Kanda Kōhei (1830-1898)

Kanda is amongst the more important second-rank figures of *Bakumatsu* and early *Meiji* history, first as 'enlightenment' author, and second as civil servant. As an early introducer of the West through both published translations and petitions to the government, he is probably even of the first rank, and he wrote, for example, important school textbooks on both economics and natural law. But his interests covered an amazing range, and he also wrote books on mathematics, astronomy, civil law and archeology. In the light of the *Meirokeisha's* reputation, he seems just the sort of man one would expect to find as a member of the society. Yet again, however, the facts reveal that it is not what Kanda did within the *Meirokeisha* on which his reputation is based to any significant extent; but rather that it is his membership as an already famous man which adds lustre to the halo of the *Meirokeisha*.

Like Fukuzawa and Nishimura (to name but two) he made his important contributions to the literature of the 'Enlightenment' quite independantly of the *Meirokeisha*; and like Sugi, whilst he was himself in possession of specialist knowledge, he did nothing within the pages of the *Meirokei Zasshi* to 'enlighten the people' by spreading knowledge of specialist techniques. Furthermore, as will be seen, the political attitudes which he expressed within the *Meirokei Zasshi* were the very opposite of progressive. Again like Sugi, his membership was largely the result of close personal acquaintance with

other *Meirokusha* men, but not of a shared and principally educational aim.

Kanda was born in 1830 in Iwate-mura, Mino (modern Gifu), the son of a Tokugawa *hatamoto* and was thus by birth a *Bakufu* retainer.³¹⁰ His interest in Western studies, as in the case of so many others, was first aroused in 1853 by the arrival of Perry's 'Black Ships'.³¹¹ Till then he had undergone a traditional style education in the Chinese Classics, first in Kyoto, and then under a variety of masters in Edo, until 1851, when he returned home. In 1853 he came a second time to Edo to study under Matsuzaki Kendō, but he soon started to concentrate on Dutch studies under Sugita Seikei, the teacher likewise of Sugi and Katō. But he did not stay long with Sugita and changed masters again twice in as many years, going to Itō Gemboku (who had also taught Tsūda Mamichi in 1851) in 1854, and to Tezuka Ritsuzō in 1855.³¹² It is perhaps to this frequent change of schools that all sources refer when they talk of the extreme difficulties under which Kanda pursued his Dutch studies.³¹³ This notwithstanding, he attained considerable proficiency, and it is said that he became 'one of the recognised masters of the [Dutch] language in the land.'³¹⁴ While still under Seikei he had already made his first essay in translation, contributing to the latter's *Tsūshiryaku* (A Short General History [of the West]),³¹⁵ and by 1855 he was already well enough known to be recorded in Katsu's notebook of currently known *Rangakusha*.³¹⁶ And he is reported to have made continued progress, 'gradually extending [his scholarship] to the various branches of the social and

natural sciences.³¹⁷ It was under Tezuka that he started to learn English. Tezuka taught many of the future *Meirokeisha* men³¹⁸ and it was also while under him that Kanda commenced a friendship with Nishi Amane. Later, in 1871, Kanda was to publish a translation he had made from Nishi's notes on Vissering's lectures on Natural Law. This was *Seihōryaku* (Outline of Natural Law), which came to be used as a primary school textbook.³¹⁹

Then in 1861, 12 Kanda published his first economic work, *Nōshō Kenkoku Ben* (The relative Importance of Trade and Agriculture in building the Country), commonly known by its abbreviated title of *Nōshōben*. In this he argued that great and lasting national wealth, such as appeared to be the prerogative of the Western countries, must be based primarily on commerce:

In the East countries are founded upon agriculture: in the West they are based on trade. But since the fertility of land is limited, this also restricts the amount that can be gained from taxation. So a country based on agriculture will always remain poor. If trade is carried on in all quarters, exchanging Eastern produce for Western manufactured goods, there will be no limit to the possible³²⁰ gain. A country based on trade will always be rich....

Two months after the publication of *Nōshōben*, Kanda was appointed teacher in charge of mathematics at the *Kaiseisho*, at which institution he remained until 1868, becoming in that year President (*Shudori*). It is by now superfluous to dwell upon his association with the many other future *Meirokeisha* men there. And this association was continued with Mori and Katō in particular as a member of the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee.³²¹

Meanwhile in 1867, he had published his short introduction to economics, *Keizai Shōgaku* (Elementary Economics), which was an adaptation from the Dutch version of an English original by William Ellis (*Outlines of Social Economy*, 1846). This again became a primary school textbook, and was reprinted the following year under a new title but otherwise unaltered.³²² Two minor pieces of this period which may also be noted are his articles for the *Seiyō Zasshi* and the *Chūgai Shimbun*, the two periodicals produced by Yanagawa Shunshō.³²³ The first article advocated the adoption in Japan of a patents system along Western lines as an essential means of building up the national wealth, and the second was a brief outline of the points he considered good about the Western penal system in comparison with Japanese practice. (Both are incidentally interesting as being argued not on moral grounds or on the basis of the intrinsic merits of the things proposed, but solely on the grounds of what was necessary for strengthening the country). Finally, in 1868 Kanda also published a translation of the 1848 Dutch constitution as well as a mathematics textbook (respectively *Oranda Seiten* and *Sūgaku Kyōiku hon*).³²⁴

In 1871, Kanda was appointed Governor of Hyōgo Province, where he remained throughout and beyond the *Meirokusha* period, until appointed as a member of the *Genrō'in* in September 1876. During this time he was actively concerned with the establishment of the Regional Councils (*Chihōkankaiji*), the experimental local parliaments. Earlier in 1871 he had published his important *Seihōryaku*,³²⁵ and

that same year he published two minor works of astronomy. Finally, the following year (1872) he published two more works of Dutch Law, both of them translations of Dutch legal codes.³²⁶

It is thus clear without going into further detail that by the time of the *Meiropkusha* Kanda was a figure of considerable stature, both as an 'enlightener' and as a bureaucrat. He was not actually a full member in the sense of attending meetings; but a Corresponding Member. This will have had no necessary effect on the content of his writing for the *Meiropku Zasshi*, however, and from the above account one might legitimately expect him to have made an important contribution towards enlightening the people in any one or more of the several fields of knowledge with which he was conversant.

When we now turn to his *Meiropku Zasshi* articles, however, such does not prove to be the case. Certainly he appears at first sight to have restricted himself almost totally to one field of knowledge, namely: economics. There are only two exceptions to this: the first was a plea for greater attention to be devoted to the notation and formalization of traditional music and need not detain us longer; the other, on the question of a parliament, is a truly remarkable piece to which we shall return shortly. What is notable about his seven remaining economic articles is that they in no way attempt to introduce Western ideas as such. Five of the seven are devoted to denouncing the evils of a mal-administered paper currency; a further one, in a sense complementary to these, urges the opening of new metal mines. The last one (actually his first contribution to the

Mei-roku Zasshi) is on the general financial administration of the country, and in this article he seems to be in favour of establishing a parliament as an essential preliminary to sound financial administration. However, when we come to his article devoted specifically to the topic of establishing a parliament by popular election, we find that Kanda, 'one of Japan's most progressive public men of that time,'³²⁷ not merely adds his assent to the general *Mei-rokusha* opinion that it is far too early for true popular representation, but further even voices doubts about the suitability of the idea altogether in the unique case of Japan. Kanda's is in fact the most distinctly hostile and reactionary article on this topic which was published in the *Mei-roku Zasshi* and it worth quoting *in extenso* as further evidence against the *Mei-rokusha's* reputation as an introducer of progressive ideas from the West:

How could we possibly set up a popularly elected assembly with ease? If the proper time has not come it is quite impossible. And when the proper time does come, it will certainly not be a time for rejoicing. After all, the time for establishing a popularly elected assembly would simultaneously be the time we changed the Kokutai from a system where the Emperor has absolute authority to one where power is divided between the Emperor and the people. In such a situation it is difficult to say clearly whether, since the people had obtained rights, they might not become discontented. We cannot yet know whether the court would willingly consent to hand over half of its authority. If it did consent to do so, doubtless things would make great progress, but the thing is inconceivable. And since if the thing were permitted simply in order to pacify the people, the Imperial office would inevitably revert some day to the old ways, it is still not possible to make a firm decision. Let alone if it is not permitted in the first place, for then, however much the people beg for it, it

will not be carried through.

...

Broadly speaking there is no need for a popularly elected assembly as long as there is no pressure from hostile foreign countries, as long as paper currency circulates freely, as long as we can borrow money from foreign countries and as long as the people consent to increases in taxation. Nevertheless, the world is a living entity, and we can never say for certain that any or all of these conditions will remain constant. It is not inconceivable that some time in the future the people may not be content with increased taxation, that paper currency may cease to circulate, that we may not be able to borrow money from abroad, that there may be competitive pressure from hostile countries and that official posts may not continue to be held by wise men.

Such things are most unlikely to happen, but if they did, what could we do? If a popularly elected assembly were not established, the country would undoubtedly be destroyed; and if it were not destroyed it would certainly be because an assembly had been established. This is what I meant by the 'proper time', but this would undoubtedly be a most undesirable state of affairs, and that is the reason why I also said that it would certainly not be a time for rejoicing. ³²⁸

It is thus clear that Kanda had no conception of using the *Mei-roku Zasshi* as a vehicle for popularising new or progressive ideas, and in further illustration of this point, it may also be noted that there was one important issue debated by the *Mei-rokusha* in which Kanda had a very particular interest, but on which he made no contribution whatsoever. This was the matter of language and orthography reform. Kanda himself was an advocate of 'writing Japanese as it is actually spoken' and also 'believed in the possibilities of the English language as the future universal language of the world.'³²⁹ Orthography reform was the very first object of debate in the *Mei-rokusha*, and the matter of a world language was brought up as part of this question by Sakatani.³³⁰ Neither issue produced any response from Kanda.

In conclusion, we have seen in Kanda's case a pattern already familiar from Nishimura: not only was Kanda's (fully justified) reputation as an 'enlightener' founded on work produced totally outside the *Meinokusha*, but further, the contributions he made to the *Meinoku Zasshi* were neither progressive, nor a conscious attempt to introduce ideas of any sort from the West. A similar pattern recurs in the final study of this section, on Katō Hiroyuki.

d. Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916)

Finally in this section, Katō may be dealt with fairly briefly. Not only does a full length study of his life and thought already exist in English,³³¹ but he was in any case a comparatively insignificant contributor to the magazine (a mere six articles in eight contributions). The main points to made in reference to Katō may be conveniently summarised at the outset:

Firstly, Katō's considerable reputation is as a political theorist and exponent of Western (mainly German) ideas, first of a liberal and later of an authoritarian and statist cast;

Secondly, the *Meiokusha* years came just at the transition period between these two conflicting sets of ideas, so that his political writing in the *Meioku Zasshi* is not particularly progressive;

Thirdly, not only was his early liberal reputation based entirely on works he published individually (most of them before the *Meiokusha* even existed), but even during the *Meiokusha* years Katō did not use the *Meioku Zasshi* as the principle vehicle for the expression of his ideas (so that the small number of his articles is itself significant); and thus,

Fourthly, Katō's membership of the *Meiokusha* does little to give substance to that society's reputation for introducing Western ideas at all, let alone its being the principle introducer of Western ideas, and quite apart from whether or not they were liberal and progressive.

Katō's membership of the *Meiropokusha* may have been partly the result of his early liberal reputation, but was principally the result simply of close personal acquaintance with other members, first at the *Kaiseisho* and later as a *Meiji* bureaucrat.

The question of a switch from an early liberal to a later authoritarian attitude was raised and discounted in the discussion of Nishimura above. A similar and less decisive debate exists in the case of Mori, with his early insistence on freedom and his later authoritarian and military-style education system. There does indeed seem to have been a definite change of ideals in Mori's case,³³² although the driving force behind all his thoughts and actions remained constant - a desire to promote the well-being of the Japanese state. Nevertheless, Mori had no such spectacular transformation of guiding ideals as did Katō.

Perhaps one reason why the contrast does not seem so clearly marked in Mori, is that in his case a comparison has to be made between the earlier theorising and the later actions. Mori was essentially a man of action and even in his youth directed his writings at immediate and specific aims. Once in a position of administrative authority, he had not only less time for active theorising, but by the same token more power for immediate action and his attitudes have to be sought in his deeds rather than his words.

Katō on the other hand remained a general theorist throughout, and the contrast of his early and his later ideas is the more glaring for one's being able to lay side by side texts of his which are mutually quite incompatible. (It is of course an incompatibility about which he is quite open, as will be seen below). If anything, Katō in his early days was a more comprehensive theorist of liberal government than Mori, who dealt with more immediate single concerns such as religious toleration, education, or the abolition of swords. Katō first took his stand firmly on the unquestionability of natural rights as a cosmological *donné*, and elaborated on this a theory of necessary constitutional government. He later entirely turned his back on these ideas, and following the recently evolved Social Darwinist conceptions of Western Europe, propounded a basically brutal philosophy, reducible at its most stark to the belief that might is right (- which is not, however, to deny that Katō had a deep and genuine concern to elucidate how human society really worked).

It is not necessary to go deeply into Katō's later theories, but the following sketch of his life and ideas before 1876 will serve to substantiate the four statements made at the start of this account.

1860 was the crucial year in Katō's early development, and after mentioning that he had earlier studied 'Dutch' gunnery under Sakuma Shōzan³³³ and Dutch language proper under Ōku Chū'eki³³⁴ and the latter's successive head pupils, Tsuboi Shin'yū and Ōtori Keisuke,³³⁵ we may start the account immediately there.

In 1860.3.10, on Ōki's recommendation, Katō was taken on for translation duties at the *Kaiseisho* with the rank of *Kyōju Tetsudai*.³³⁶ The same year saw his first attempt at writing, when he produced his famous manuscript *Tonarigusa* (Neighbouring Vegetation).³³⁷ And finally, it was in 1860 that the pioneer of German studies in Japan made his own first acquaintance with that language.

Once he had entered the *Kaiseisho*, he had access through the library there to Japan's most comprehensive collection of materials on the West, and was furthermore in regular contact with the men most knowledgeable about the West, amongst them many future *Meiropusha* men. As he put it in his own words: 'my whole way of thinking was transformed by that place.'³³⁸ From now until the mid-'70s there flowed successively from his brush a number of works based principally on the concept of natural rights, advocating free trade and explaining and urging the necessity of constitutional government. Most of his arguments were based on works he read in German, and he has left the following account of the commencement of his German studies:

While I was teaching at [the *Kaiseisho*], Prussia sent a special plenipotentiary envoy to draw up a treaty with Japan. ...the king of [Prussia] wanted to present some telegraphic equipment to the Bakufu, and somebody was to go to the Ambassador's lodgings to be taught how to use it. I and my friend Ichikawa Saiku [Kaneyasu] were ordered to receive this instruction. And so the two of us spent several days...being taught how to use it. And having heard before that Germany was the most scientifically advanced country in Europe, I thought how I would like to learn German.... So I made up my mind and commenced studying German from this time. There was no-one who could

help in these studies, but thinking that it would not be too difficult to study from parallel texts of German and Dutch, Ichikawa, myself and two or three other friends set about it. Within a year we found it fairly easy to read things, and such were the first German language studies in Japan.³³⁹

It is not clear on what work(s) *Tonarigusa* was based, and it even appears to have been written slightly before he entered the *Kaiseisho*.³⁴⁰ In any case the work is of greater importance in Katō's personal development than the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement as a whole, for it remained unpublished until 1899 (although it did circulate among Katō's friends in the original manuscript as well as in one and possibly more transcriptions).³⁴¹ Nevertheless, Katō's own later notes on *Tonarigusa* give a useful account of his ideas at the time and his intention in writing it, as well as showing how completely his ideas had since changed:

Since I could see absolutely nothing admirable which had come out of Christianity, I entirely disregarded it, but I found much to admire in [Western] books on philosophy, morality, politics and law. And what I admired above all was the idea that men have as their birth-right certain so-called 'Natural Rights.' Nowadays, of course, this seems an outmoded belief, but since there had been till that time no such belief in China or Japan, I thought it most wonderful that the Westerners should have such an idea. I thought it extremely fine and believed it to be absolutely correct. And from this one new idea I had formed were born several works, the first being one I called *Tonarigusa*. It was hardly forty pages long and I wrote it when I was twenty-six. What it contained was an account of how the Westerners had a thing called constitutional government, and how the rulers and ministers did not have absolute powers. They had an upper and lower house, constituting a parliament, by which system legislative and financial matters were settled by debate. It was really emphasising the rights that men have naturally and in fact implied that all men are equal.

But no such concept was practised elsewhere than in the West. It propounded the idea that for a country's ruler or government to have absolute powers went against reason. Actually my idea was to say that Japan too needed such 'seasoning', but I could not openly write 'Japan'. I could not write that since Japan was bad, we ought to pattern ourselves upon the West and improve our government by adopting their system. And so I hit on the idea of using China... And since I was thus writing of our neighbour, I called the work 'Neighbouring Vegetation' - but the aim was to reform Japan. However, since it was a period of very little freedom of expression, it would have been dangerous to publish it openly.... And so I left it as it was and eventually thought it was lost, but recently I found it again amongst some scrap papers. Of course, reading it now it seems rather puerile, but this was the first time that constitutional government was written about in Japan. It was also the very first thing I wrote after having come upon Western ideas. ³⁴²

Writing in the same vein in his autobiography, he says: 'Looking back on it now, there was much mistaken about it. It was a careless bit of work and quite unadoptable, but it was the very first work in Japan to talk about constitutional government.' And he goes on to explain about his ensuing liberal works of a similar nature, and his subsequent change of ideas:

Then, a little after the Restoration, I wrote *Shinsei Tai'i* and *Rikken Seitai Ryaku*, followed in about 1873-4 by a work entitled *Kokutai Shinron*. These works were all confident in the idea that we humans are furnished with natural rights, and they were argued on that basis. Later, when my ideas changed and I came round to denying the existence of natural rights, these three works went out of print. ³⁴³

Thus it is clear, without going into further detail on his early liberal works, ³⁴⁴ that Kato's writings up to 1874 furnished a very solid basis for his reputation as an 'enlightener', and none of them had been produced in any way through a connection with the *Meiropusha*.

As regards his membership of that body, mention has already been made of his friendship with other future members at the *Kaiseisho*, and writing of 1868, when he was appointed *Metsuke*, Katō himself mentions several of these by name:

... Tsuda Shinichirō (later Mamichi) and Nishi Shōsuke (later Amane)... were similarly appointed [*Metsuke*]. These had been intimate friends of mine for a long time. Other friends of mine at that period were Sugī Shundō (later Kōji),... Kanda Kōhei,... Nakamura Masanao, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori. 345

As far as Mori is concerned, Katō's memory must be playing him slightly false, since Mori did not return from his experience with Harris in America till a few months later in the year.³⁴⁶ However, they very soon were to meet, if not earlier, then certainly on the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee. And it will be sufficient to mention this and his membership likewise of the School Systems Investigation Committee to indicate his continued contact and acquaintance with these men as a bureaucrat.³⁴⁷

Returning to Katō's 'enlightenment' writings, however, already from the start of the 1870s he was producing translations from German authors which implied some retreat from his enthusiastic advocacy of establishing a parliament. In 1872 he published *Kokuhō Hanron* based on the Swiss jurist Bluntschli's *Allgemeines Staatsrecht...*, and in 1875-6 he published *Seiyō Kakkoku Rikken Seitai Kiritsu Shi*, based on the German Biedermann's *Die Entwicklung des Staatswesens in Deutschland England u. Frankreich...*³⁴⁸

The latter was strictly speaking after the *Meirokeisha* had collapsed,

but he had been working on his translation since at least late 1873.³⁴⁹

It was these works which informed his ideas in discussing the Itagaki petition for a popularly elected parliament. And although they were fully in favour of constitutional government in theory, the main theme of both Bluntschli and Biedermann which Katō elected to emphasise was that of the constitution of a state having necessarily to be matched to the 'level of enlightenment' of the people; and he argued that consequently a popularly elected assembly was still unsuitable for Japan. In his one short article on this subject for the *Meiropokusha*, Katō quotes a patchwork of translated sentences from Bluntschli arguing that a parliament was only possible in England because it was formed solely of people who qualified by wealth, education or birth, and that the success of Prussia was due solely to the fact that Bismarck was able successfully to defie a recalcitrant parliament. 'What I have here translated' he concludes,

is by no means to argue against the open expression of public opinion; it is just that I want to make it clear that I do not desire arbitrarily to extend public discussion without regard to the conditions of the time, nor taking into account the circumstances of the people. 350

Thus Katō is still not openly against the idea of a parliament in principle, but the retreat from his earlier position is already manifest. But what is significant is not only Katō's declining liberalism during the *Meiropokusha* years, but also the fact that the principle expression of what has come to be known as his 'prematurity thesis' (*shōsōron*) was not through the *Meiropokusha* at all. Katō's

Meiroku Zasshi article is little more than an appendix, lending added weight through translation of Western examples, to his lengthy and closely reasoned attack on the Itagaki petition, published in January 1874 in the newspaper, the *Nisshin Shinji Shi* immediately after the appearance of the petition.³⁵¹ In fact it is only by first reading the *Nisshin Shinji Shi* piece that a fully precise interpretation can be made of the *Meiroku Zasshi* article. The inference of his conclusion to the latter quoted above is fairly obvious, but nowhere in that article are his sentiments so clearly enunciated as in the *Nisshin Shinji Shi* piece, where he writes for example:

All the great scholars of Europe argue that whilst a popularly elected assembly is essential in enlightened countries, it is harmful in unenlightened ones. Amongst them, the great Biedermann argues in his book...: If you wish to draw up a constitution which will be a bastion of the state over a protracted period, you must first select one which is suitable for the nature of the people and the spirit of the times. If you try to impose a system suitable only to an enlightened and civilized country upon one which is not so, not only will there be no benefit, but positive harm may even ensue...³⁵²

Having thus made the point that Katō neither used the *Meiroku Zasshi* as a vehicle for introducing progressive Western political ideas, nor even attached sufficient importance to it as a major means of communicating with the people to publish in it the main expression of his most deeply felt ideas, we may now turn briefly to the remaining minor members of the *Meirokusha*, who also have their part to play in detracting from the significance attachable to the society.

iii. The Remaining Minor Members: Tsuda Sen, Kashiwabara, Taka'aki, Shibata Shōkichi, and Shimizu Usaburō

The remaining minor members have been so-called partly because they are comparatively minor figures in *Meiji* history anyway, but particularly because of their insignificant contribution to the *Meiroke Zasshi*. Together they contributed eight out of a total 154 articles in the magazine, and half of these were by Kashiwabara, an old style *Rangakusha*, who added little to the *Meiroke's* progressive image. But the small number of their articles is itself important for the theme of this thesis; for whilst a Kashiwabara or a Tsuda Sen were not of the same order as a Katō or a Tsuda Mamichi, each still had his main preoccupations expressed in some way as a contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. As in the case of the more significant figures treated in this thesis, it is noteworthy that their contribution too was made far more through other means than the *Meiroke*.

Tsuda Sen was quite an important pioneer in agriculture; Kashiwabara made a number of specialist medical translations; Shibata was the compiler of an important Japanese English dictionary; and Shimizu too was the author of a dictionary of phrases, amongst other things, as well as being an important technological innovator. In a sense, it is perhaps these minor members, and more particularly Tsuda Sen and Shimizu, who come closest to fulfilling Mori's desire

that the *Meiroku Zasshi* should actively disseminate practical knowledge. That this should be so, itself reflects the overall failure of Mori's idea. But also important, in assessing the importance of the *Meirokusha* in the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, is that what these men contributed to the *Meiroku Zasshi* was almost totally insignificant compared with their other work for the 'Enlightenment'.

a. Tsuda Sen, (1837-1908)

Tsuda Sen was perhaps the most important of the minor *Meirokusha* men in the 'Enlightenment'. He has considerable achievement to his credit in the areas of both agriculture and education.

Originally born into the Sakura *han*, Sen passed by adoption to one Tsuda Kichiuemon of the Tayasu *han*. Nothing is known of his early education, but from the age of 23 he studied at the *Kaiseisho* under Tezuka Ritsuzō, first Dutch and then English and Natural History. He then progressed naturally to the post of translator-interpreter for the *Bakufu*. In 1866 he was dispatched by the *Bakufu* to America on the same expedition which formed Fukuzawa's third trip abroad, and like Fukuzawa, Tsuda was employed as an interpreter.³⁵³

Much impressed by what he had observed of American agricultural methods, Tsuda resolved on his return in mid-1867,³⁵⁴

to go onto the land in order to experiment with the application of the principles which he had seen. It is unclear how long he actually stayed on the land, or how successful were these early experiments, but it is clear that he achieved some reputation for in 1873, he was sent by the new government to the International Exhibition at Vienna, specifically to study agricultural methods. And on his return the following year, he published *Nōgyō Sanji* (Three Concerns of Agriculture), an adaptation of a work by an Austrian agricultural specialist who seems particularly to have influenced him while he was in Vienna.³⁵⁵

This was only the start, however, of Tsuda's labours in propagandizing for agricultural improvement. By December 1874, he had joined the *Meiropusha*,³⁵⁶ and the following August, he published his first and only article in *Meiroku Zasshi* XLI - on developing strains of grain. Then in the very next month, he founded his own *Gakunōsha*, or Society for Academic Agriculture, through which he set about advocating the improvement of agriculture by the application of scientific principles. This was quickly followed in January 1876 by the establishment of a private agricultural college (the *Shiritsu Nōgyōkō*), from which he published the *Nōgyō Zasshi* (Agricultural Magazine), which pioneered Western agricultural ideas in Japan.³⁵⁷

Two things may be noted in connection with Tsuda's sole article in the *Meiroku Zasshi*. The first is that after joining

assessing the nature and rôle of the *Meirokeusha* in the same way as were those of Nakamura, discussed earlier. Tsuda was closely associated with Nakamura in the establishment of the *Rakuzenkai* for educating the blind in May 1875, and of the more ambitious hospital school for the blind, the *Kummonin*, three months later.³⁶⁰ Even more than with Nakamura, these projects seem to have been far more important to Tsuda than participation in the *Meirokeusha* which could not be seen as nearly such a profitable activity in the cause of the 'Enlightenment'. Certainly, when the time came, Tsuda was amongst those who voted for withdrawal of the magazine.³⁶¹

In short, Tsuda's relationship with the *Meirokeusha* may be taken as a perfect illustration of the way in which that society both failed to achieve Mori's original aims, and fails now, when examined in detail to live up to its reputation as the leading protagonist of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement.

b. Kashiwabara Taka'aki (1837 - 1910)

Although nowhere near so important an 'Enlightenment' figure in his own right as Tsuda Sen, Kashiwabara Taka'aki did make a number of translations which could be called contributions to the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. Like Tsuda, he was a specialist, in his case in medicine, and equally like Tsuda, he failed to make use of the *Meirokeu Zasshi* in any sustained attempt to propagandise in his own subject. In fact, not a single one of his contributions was on medicine.³⁶²

Kashiwabara was born in Sanuki (modern Kagawa) on a small island of the North coast of Shikoku.³⁶³ His father, who had studied under Siebold in Nagasaki, was head of the local Takamatsu *han* hospital, and Kashiwabara studied from an early age not only the Confucian Classics but also traditional and Western medical practice. In 1852 he went to Ōsaka to continue studies in Western medicine under Ogata Kōan. Shortly he returned to set up private practice in Sanuki but returned almost immediately to Ogata's academy, where he remained a teacher for almost a decade until 1862. It is most likely here that he picked up the facility in Dutch which later helped him in his fairly extensive translation work. In 1862, Ogata had reluctantly to abandon his school in response to a *Bakufu* command to take charge of the Institute of Western Medicine (*Seiyō Igakusho*). Kashiwabara followed him to Edo where he soon entered the school of another *Bakufu* doctor, Ishikawa Ōsho, and on whose recommendation he became himself a private doctor to the *Shōgun*, Keiki. He attended Keiki in both Edo and then Sumpu (modern Shizuoka).³⁶⁴ After the Restoration, he remained at Shizuoka and opened a highly successful practice at Kōyamachi, where he was greatly in demand and apparently continued to practice until his death.

Unfortunately it has not been possible to date Kashiwabara's written works, but they include a number of medical texts as well as introductions to physics, chemistry and geology.³⁶⁵ They are

unremembered now and no claim could be made on their basis for Kashiwabara's being an 'enlightener' of any more than minor significance. In fact they seem to have been written more for the specialist than in an attempt to popularise knowledge of the West at the more general level, and Kashiwabara is really more typical of the old style *Rangakusha* than the new *Meiji* intellectuals. He remained throughout life a practising doctor and was not really concerned with inducing social change at all.

This being so, any inference from his failure to advocate innovations in the *Meiroku Zasshi* is really tautological. But some importance may be attached to the fact that the *Meirokusha* should have attracted such a man in the first place. And his membership illustrates the nature of the *Meirokusha* as a talking-shop rather than a group with any clearly defined programme of action for the renovation of society.

There is no information as to how Kashiwabara came to join the *Meirokusha* but he will certainly have had contacts from his time under Ogata, and also from his high position for a year or two at the centre of Keiki's entourage, when he would very likely have met Nishi Amane for one. He was, however, a comparatively late joiner.³⁶⁶ And his first contribution was to *Meiroku Zasshi* XXIX. He then contributed regularly for a very short period,³⁶⁷ before apparently losing interest again. If he was not concerned to promote social change, he was certainly concerned about social change

such as was already happening. But this, as exemplified in his final article, was of a style that it is difficult to take seriously.³⁶⁸

If any real interest attaches to Kashiwabara's membership of the *Meirokeusha*, it is as some slight evidence of *Meirokeusha* influence outside the capital, for he was a Corresponding Member and remained at Shizuoka.³⁶⁹ But as has been seen, his participation seems to have been half hearted, nor did he contribute to any of the debates which made the *Meirokeusha* famous. Perhaps rather than this, his membership serves simply to underline the fact of the *Meirokeusha*'s being a group with overwhelming *Bakufu* connections.

c. Shibata Shōkichi (1841-1901)

In the sixth volume of the *Meirokeu Zasshi* there is an article entitled 'Religion' by Mori, consisting of selected passages translated from Emer de Vattel's *Law of Nations* and from Phillimore's *Commentaries*.³⁷⁰ The translations from the latter appear under a separate heading and under the name of one Shibata.

We may safely ascribe the thought content of the translation to Mori who has clearly simply enlisted outside help to supplement his own translation work. There is thus little need to devote much space to Shibata. There is indeed no absolute certainty as to who this Shibata was, though it seems most likely to have been Shibata Shōkichi.

Shibata Shōkichi was a translator for the *Bakufu*, moved later into the *Meiji* Foreign Department (*Gaimushō*), and was author of the famous Japanese-English dictionary, known after him as the *Shibata Jisho*.³⁷¹ Shōkichi is thus well qualified to be the Shibata in question, both by his linguistic capability,³⁷² and by his service in the *Gaimushō* where he is almost certain to have become acquainted with Mori. Almost conclusive evidence is furnished by the fact that Shōkichi did also become a member of the *Meiropusha*. This was not until 16 December 1874,³⁷³ and was thus long after the translation in the *Meiropu Zasshi* which appeared the previous April, but that is no final argument against its having been by Shōkichi.³⁷⁴ The name of the translator is in fact given as 'Shibata-Shi' (my emphasis), which could well indicate an author known to some or all of them in the *Meiropusha*, though not himself a member.

Shōkichi was born in Nagasaki and adopted at the age of seven by the doctor Shibata Hōan of Mito.³⁷⁵ The latter was an acquaintance of Itō Gemboku who had in turn received instruction from Siebold. Shōkichi studied Chinese under Yamamoto Seikei and Dutch under Namura Kakai. In 1858 he entered the English language school at Tateyama in Nagasaki, where he was taught by the Bakufu's translator Ka Reinosuke (Later head of the *Ōsaka Semmon Gakkō*). In little more than a year he was himself appointed as a translation official, and in 1867 he became an instructor at the Bakufu's naval college, the *Kaigun Sōrensho* in Nagasaki.

With the Restoration Shōkichi entered the Foreign Department in a high secretarial position.³⁷⁶ He was under Iwakura Tomomi at the time of the latter's mission to America and Europe in 1871, but declined to go on it himself, and declined also the later proffered post of Minister Resident in America. He appears to have been more interested in his language work, having been engaged since 1870 on his dictionary, which was published after three years in January 1873, some seven month prior to Mori's first moves towards the foundation of the *Meiropusha*.

Here again, although Shibata was the least significant member of the *Meiropusha*, it is interesting to note that he did, with his dictionary, make a significant contribution to the *Bummei Kaika* movement, and that this contribution was made quite separately from the *Meiropusha*. Indeed since it was published before he became a member of the *Meiropusha*, it is a likely assumption that it was this publication which entitled him to membership of the group. It was certainly not the case that his membership of the *Meiropusha* inspired his *magnum opus*, nor does it appear to have influenced him to any further production. Once again, membership of the *Meiropusha* is a reflection of certain shared interests, already independantly expressed, rather than the source of motivation for further action.

d. Shimizu Usaburō (1829-1910)

Finally comes the society's Treasurer, Shimizu (also known as Mizuhoya) Usaburō who was the strangest and in one way the most interesting person to find as a member of the *Meirokusha*. Being a commoner and a tradesman, Shimizu was more completely an outsider than any of the others. Indeed, Nishimura is reported to have objected to his membership on the grounds that he would be unsuitable (*omoshirokarazu!*), however sincere his interest in learning.³⁷⁷ As a practical man with a keen interest in scientific techniques, however, and as an energetic business man, it is easy to see why he would have appealed to Mori and Fukuzawa, and it was apparently their ardent sponsorship which overruled any objection to his joining.³⁷⁸

As a businessman, Shimizu engaged in various ventures but was principally a bookseller and publisher. He was also an author in his own right - or at least a compiler and editor. In the former line he produced a small dictionary of English phrases, and in the latter he for some time edited his own dentistry magazine. He was also greatly interested in spreading literacy by the adoption of a purely *kana* system of writing Japanese. It may thus be seen that he had some small claim to being an 'enlightener', although if he is remembered at all today, it is more as the introducer into Japan of the technique of lithographic printing.

Shimizu was born of wealthy commoner parents in 1829, in a little village North of Edo. Wealth being by that time frequently

an adequate substitute for birth, he had a good Samurai style education in the Classics. His lifelong interest in foreign languages is said to have been started by the somewhat bizarre stimulus of seeing some Dutch words on a ceiling, which prompted a determined resolve to learn how to read and understand such things.³⁷⁹

Shimizu would hardly have been assisted in reading his motto on the ceiling by his first 'studies', which were in Russian. Taking the first opportunity of making contact with foreigners, in 1854 he accompanied the Bakufu official Tsutsui Masanori to Shimoda, where the latter was to treat with the Russian representatives over the opening of the ports.³⁸⁰ During some three months there he acquired a smattering of about 300 Russian words. He was later also to master a modicum of French, but his first really serious language studies were in Dutch under Mitsukuri Gempo,³⁸¹ whom it is a fair assumption that he met at Shimoda, where he too took part in the talks with Putiatin.³⁸² Of all the languages with which Shimizu had any acquaintance, however, undoubtedly the one he knew best was English, which he studied together with the Satsuma man Matsuki Kōan³⁸³ and which he also presumably picked up in his association with British merchants in Edo and Yokohama.

One result of his English studies was that he was able to act as an interpreter in the Anglo-Satsuma negotiations after the Kagoshima bombardment of 1863.³⁸⁴ An earlier, and more important,

one as regards the 'Enlightenment' was his publication in 1860, from his own press, of the English word and phrase list for Japanese learners mentioned above.³⁸⁵

Shimizu had been established some years as a publisher and trader between Tokyo and Yokohama when in 1867 came a chance to go abroad himself. He was amongst a group of several *chōnin* who joined Tokugawa Akitake's group to the Paris exhibition, and there he exhibited Japanese craft articles and works of art.³⁸⁶ This group also included Mitsukuri Rinshō, whom he very likely already knew since he had studied under his father. At all events they can hardly have avoided becoming acquainted at this time. It must also have been in Paris that Shimizu learned what French he did. And while there, he took the opportunity to indulge his interest in scientific matters and scoured the city collecting all kinds of books, tools, chemicals and medicines, presumably establishing in the process trading contacts for the future. For after his return via America in 1868.5,³⁸⁷ he set up in Tokyo at Nihombashi as an importer-retailer of Western art materials and medical instruments.³⁸⁸ It was at this time that he first started marketing and expounding the use of lithographic equipment. Around this time too, he set up as an adjunct to his publishing business a bookshop for Western books at Asakusa, and later he started publishing works by some of the leading Western scholars in the *Meiropusha*, advertising regularly in the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*.

It has been suggested that Shimizu's membership of the *Meiropusha* was the result of his connections with the society as a publisher. It is possible however that it was the other way round, and that his membership in turn was actually the result of prior acquaintance with other members, specifically Mitsukuri Rinshō and Fukuzawa.³⁸⁹ More interesting than this speculation, however, is what he actually wrote for the magazine.

Shimizu's two articles in the *Meiropu Zasshi* may both be taken as classic examples of the type of contribution which Mori undoubtedly wanted. The first in MZ,VII, a rather late contribution to the debate on orthography reform,³⁹⁰ urges the wider use of *hiragana*. The second, published much later, in MZ,XXII, is a plea for reform and standardization in chemical terminology. On both of these subjects, Shimizu was something of an expert,³⁹¹ and both articles are manifest attempts to use the *Meiropu Zasshi* as a vehicle to spread practical knowledge and to assist in educating the general populace.

The irony, of course, is, that the one member of the *Meiropusha* who consistently (if that is the right word for only two articles) put forward in the magazine practical suggestions for the solution of practical problems, is now quite naturally never so much as mentioned in any discussion of the *Meiropusha*. Shimizu perhaps did have hopes that the *Meiropu Zasshi* could be a vehicle for enlightenment of the type that Mori envisaged. But he and Mori,

together with Tsuda Sen, form a clear minority of three in sixteen, as the only ones to put forward practical and definite proposals for any sort of change (Shimizu as seen above; Tsuda in agriculture; and Mori in the social position of women.) It is not their style of article which is characteristic of the *Meirokei Zasshi*, but the vague and verbose discussions of a Sakatani or a Nishi on what proved to be such unproductive themes as the nature of government, or religion or enlightenment itself, (- unproductive as regards positive action, or even suggestions for positive action).

Conclusion

From an examination of the individual lives of all of the contributing members two themes have emerged, relating both to the nature and to the rôle of the *Meirokeisha*, and which may now be conveniently restated.

Firstly, the nature of the *Meirokeisha*, envisaged by Mori as being that of a society for specialist scholars who would contribute to the enlightenment of Japan by disseminating to a broad public factual information and practical suggestions for improvement in both social and technological fields, was impossible of realization, given the type of membership, and was not in fact realized.

Secondly, the rôle of the *Meirokeisha* was not nearly as significant within the *Bummei Kaika* Movement as has been generally

imagined, but was rather that of a private discussion group, for men whose leading position in the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement was already well established (in fact whose major contribution to the *Bunmei Kaika* Movement had already been made) by the time of the establishment of the society, and who continued, furthermore, to contribute to the movement entirely outside the auspices of the *Meiropusha*.

Further illustration and confirmation of both of these themes is furnished in the ensuing final chapter through an examination of the actual organization and development of the *Meiropusha*.

CHAPTER 4

THE ORGANISATION AND HISTORY OF THE MEIROKUSHA

(i) Introductory

This Chapter shows how the *Meiropusha's* principal activities, namely the magazine and the 'public' lecture and discussion meetings, were not the outcome of any clearly conceived plan, but evolved gradually over the months. It will also show that too great an importance has been ascribed to these activities by historians. At the same time it will be seen how Mori, who did have a clear conception of what the society should be, was unable to guide its development along the lines that he wished.

(ii) Preliminaries and Formalization, August 1873 to February 1874

This section concerns the early formative months of the society, up to the formal acceptance of the 'Rules of the *Meiropusha*' as enacted 1 February 1874.

The development of Mori's ideas up to the Summer of 1873 was traced in Chapter One, where it was shown how he came to a firm conviction that education was the supreme necessity for modernizing

the state. Already in America his deep interest in educational matters had led him to seek transfer from the Foreign Department (*Gaimushō*) to the Department of Education (*Mombushō*).¹ In the event, Mori remained with the Foreign Department, but once back in Japan, as has been seen, he lost little time before continuing his self-imposed labours in the field of education.

Mori arrived back in Japan on 23 July 1873, and within two months at the very most,² had contacted the famous 'Western scholar', Nishimura Shigeki, with a view to establishing a learned society. It is a matter of speculation why Mori should have turned first to Nishimura whom he did not know, rather than to one of the several other future members with whom he was already acquainted, such as Katō, Kanda or Mitsukuri Rinshō. Perhaps it was because Nishimura was already a scholar of note, and an eminently respectable personage who would lend a prestigious tone to the projected group. It may have been on account of his considerable reputation as a student specifically of the West, with a number of translations to his credit.³ Mori might even have been deceived by these writings into thinking that he was more progressive than he in fact turned out to be. Professor Ōkubo suggests that he approached Nishimura because, after his tour in America, he was out of touch with the intellectual world at home.⁴ At all events, it was to Nishimura that he did first broach the idea, arranging an introduction to him through the

good offices of one Yokoyama Mago'ichirō (?). And it has been suggested that they first met at the house of Kido Kōin, which was a place frequented by all three.⁵

Nishimura, at this time as anxious as anyone to awaken the mass of his countrymen to what could profitably be adopted from the West, was clearly much taken by Mori's idea, and he agreed that they should contact a number of other 'well-known people in the capital'.⁶ These, as listed in Nishimura's account in his autobiography, were the 'Western scholars' Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura Masanao, Katō Hiroyuki, Tsuda Mamichi, Nishi Amane and Mitsukuri Shūhei. All except Fukuzawa and Nakamura were members of the *Kaiseisho*.

It is also from Nishimura's account that we learn what precisely was Mori's aim, namely:

...to set up a society in the first place to promote the advance of learning, and in the second place to establish a pattern of morality.

Not only would both of these objectives have appealed particularly to Nishimura, but we also see here reflected the two main features of Mori's thought which were traced in Chapter One, where it was also seen that the type of learning Mori wished to disseminate was essentially practical. Mori was interested in popularizing factual knowledge both of scientific principles and of institutional organisations. And it was in this respect that he lamented to

Nishimura the isolation of Japanese scholars and their failure to be of 'benefit to the world'.

Nishimura's description of the *Meirokusha*, however, suggests a wider scope of reference for the society than what Mori subsumed under 'arts and science'. Mention is made by him of monthly meetings (actually they were semi-monthly) held 'with the intention of getting the public to hear talks on politics, arts and science and so on'. The extent to which the meetings were really public will be seen later. But what is notable here is the adumbration of politics as one of the chief objects of attention by the *Meirokusha*. For although this highlights an essential feature of the society as it actually evolved, the discussion of politics was so far opposed to Mori's intent, that after meetings had been held for something over one year, he had this to say:

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, the facts of natural law and so on, which enrich man's talents and enhance his moral character... 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.⁷

Mori's desire is clear enough, but it is equally clear that his desire had not been met. Much of the discussion, despite his disclaimer, had already by that time centred on politics.

Nishimura's *ex post facto* emphasis on politics focusses attention on an essential difference of opinion, or rather, lack of concensus, about the society's aims, which was present among the members from the start. Mori had an exact picture of what he wanted; other members were either not so clear, or even had different ideas altogether.

This lack of immediate agreement is demonstrated by the fact that it was fully five months before the *Meirokeisha* could decide to commit itself formally to anything but the most general educational aim. Exactly how often the members met between September 1873 and the following February is uncertain, though it is unlikely to have been less than once a month. Nor are all the exact topics of discussion known, but it is clear that at least part of the time was devoted to hammering out the details of the society's aims and organization. A more definite picture of at least some of the discussion is preserved in the first number of the *Meiroku Zasshi*.⁸

This first issue contains two articles - a longer one by Nishi Amane, followed by a shorter one by Nishimura.⁹ Both deal ostensibly with the matter of orthography reform, but at the same time discuss questions of intent and organization of the society. Indeed it becomes clear that the whole question of orthography reform has itself arisen out of a discussion of the society's aims, as will be seen in the examination of Nishi's article below.

manner of deciding on a President, the times of meeting and rules of discussion, who should be Secretary and Treasurer, and finally, the manner in which they were to set about publishing a journal.¹¹ Nishimura is much less definite about the society's rôle, and seems happy to allow that to define itself with time. He restricts his remarks on this matter to the pious hope that the society will 'open the eyes of the stupid [and] establish a pattern for the Empire'.¹²

Nishi, on the other hand, made a very definite proposal about the society's possible rôle, as well as appropriate suggestions about its organization. In fact, Nishi was even more precise than Mori on this question, and was prepared to settle for a considerably more restricted rôle, though one, as he saw it, more basic and necessary to the problem of Japan's modernization.

Like Mori (and Nishimura and Fukuzawa), Nishi's overall concern was to instruct the general public in the knowledge behind and the benefits of the recent and continuing changes imposed on Japanese society by the government. He and his friends, he said, had been in despair at the 'unenlightened' state of Japan. These reforms, and the new attitudes engendered by the Restoration, had given them new hope, but still there was much to be done and it was clear that many people did not understand what the reforms were all about.

Whenever in the everyday course of events I was with two or three of my highly respected friends, our conversation would turn to the reasons behind the chance vicissitudes of the political turmoil of our times....And throughout the many comparisons we were apt to draw with the various countries of Europe, we always ended up by envying them their civilization as compared with our own regrettable lack of enlightenment...and we could only utter sighs in our unendurable rage.

Since the Restoration, numbers of highly capable men have appeared, and numerous reforms have been made...so that we have already reached a point where Japan is no longer the Japan of old....On the other hand, when you give it all earnest thought, there are still numerous areas which have not yet been cleared up, and though there may be good government, the people have not received the benefit of it....And the reason is that since the Restoration was only a short while ago, although superficially the new ideas are immensely flourishing...they have not yet found a place in the people's inmost hearts.¹²

'An apt analogy', he continues, 'would be clothes on a monkey' for 'the principles which inspire the leaders are not known to the led'.

It seems that after the society had been meeting for some time without formulating any very definite aims or conclusions, Nishi, like Nishimura, was anxious to reach some positive decisions. Generally speaking, all the members agreed that the problem that they had to tackle was the abysmal ignorance of the masses. In this respect Nishi thought that Mori's idea of a society for 'science, arts and literature' was an excellent one. But this gave rise to the even more basic problem of how to get these things across to the uneducated, in view of the tremendous

divergence between the spoken and the written language, with its fantastic complexities.

As I saw it, the universal disease was that the small minority of wise men who might reverse the situation, was quite outnumbered by the vast throng of fools....The question was, how should we first deal with the general stupidity of the populace?... Now, Mori's desire to form this society for science arts and literature, constitutes just such an attempt. For these three things I have just mentioned are all tools for destroying blind stupidity and abolishing such a dangerous thing completely....

For some time now we have talked over these three things which the society has as its aim, and it is time to give them some written form. For what are science and arts if they are not committed to paper? Even as they said of old, writing is the tool to make your point. However, at present our rules of expression are different according to whether we are writing or speaking: we can neither write as we speak nor speak as we write.¹³

To surmount this fundamental barrier, Nishi says he has 'decided to make so bold as to put a very strange suggestion to the other members'.¹⁴ He then gives at length his proposals for the simplification of the Japanese language - using in the process language of such tortuous complexity as could hardly better have made his case.

He outlines the way in which their society could even develop into a nation-wide *rōmaji* movement. The finance for the initial production of dictionaries and textbooks would be provided by a fee of three Yen, levied on all new members. (For by the time the society had grown through vigorous proselytising to 30,000 runs his argument, it would have 90,000 Yen at its disposal!)¹⁵

Nishi then waxes lyrical over the unique and fundamental rôle which he sees the *Meiropusha* as destined to play:

If we do succeed in establishing such a society, we are bound to turn the interest of all men of spirit - whether they be scholars of Chinese or Japanese learning, or even uneducated men - towards the Western way of doing things. And then if, owing to our daring insight, all the talented men of the country were gathered together within the compass of the one society ...we could correct the lack of a broadly based unity of all knowledge, whether in science, arts, literature or morality, and this is how we would be able to destroy without a trace that blind stupidity, and achieve the victory of enlightenment in Japan.

If we are to estimate the time it would take; we should be able within one year to establish the rules in general outline; within two, we should have sown the seeds within the capital;...in seven years, it will have spread through the whole country; and in ten years, even women and children could be versed in these ideas, and primary school students would have this as the staple of their introduction to learning.¹⁶

But it was not to be. The *Meiropusha* had no such restricted aim and positive development. Indeed, after this broadside in the first issue, very little more is heard of language or orthography reform, and in the event, the aim of the *Meiropusha* never developed any greater precision than that set out in the first rule:

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 so. It is also in order to assemble like-minded men for the purpose of exchanging views, broadening knowledge and illuminating consciousness.¹⁷

This statement represents a somewhat inconclusive victory for Mori's conception of what the society should be. Although the general educational aim remains intact, it is clearly not as precise and practical as Mori would have wished. In a sense, the first rule is more of a passive rationalisation for the society as it already existed than an active statement of intent. Mori wanted to get on with the job, to instruct people directly in practical affairs and techniques, in short, 'to further education'. But the society as a whole, whilst agreeing with this aim in principle, retreated from immediate action and defined its rôle as being 'to discuss ways of doing so'.

Even this is not the end of the story, however, and it is necessary to go briefly into the later history of the *Meiropusha*, to see how the society eventually modified even so mild and vague an aim as this.

In May 1875, some fifteen months after the first establishment of the rules of the *Meiropusha*, a small pamphlet of 'amended rules' was put out by the society. In this pamphlet, the new rule one, defining the society's aim, now read:

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.¹⁸

Furthermore, the definition of Corresponding Members was reworded from 'people...who are deeply interested in education' to 'people

...who are deeply interested in cultural matters'.¹⁹ It will be readily seen that the new rule one is simply the latter portion of the old rule one, with all mention of the general aim of education - for Mori, the whole *raison d'être* of the society - entirely omitted. There remains not a trace of any commitment to educating the public in the new rules. They thus present a tacit admission that the true nature of the *Meiropusha* was first and foremost that of a private intellectual club. After only one year, the *Meiropusha* thus made an implicit formal denial of all that Mori had intended his society to stand for.

(iii) Membership and Organization

If there remained from the very start a certain vagueness about the society's aim, nevertheless the concrete aspects of organization, Nishimura's chief preoccupation, were settled with great precision. The remaining rules adopted on 1 February 1874 concern these formal details.²⁰

There were to be three main officers: a President, a Treasurer and a Secretary, who were to be replaced on 1 February annually, presumably on a straight majority.

The Presidency, first held by Mori, was by no means a purely honorary position, and its powers were considerable. Some of the President's duties, such as the registration of applicant members and the receipt of resignations, might more normally have been

carried out by the Secretary. More significant were his powers to convene a meeting at any time, to supervise personally the Secretary and the Treasurer, to appoint auditors for the account books and to nominate his own successor. It seems that this overall control by the one man was in practice not altogether to the society's liking, for again, substantial changes were made in the amended rules of May 1875. The post of President, if not in fact abolished,^{20a} was omitted in print and his powers were invested in a committee of six. Since the original rules also stipulated that amendments could only be debated at the annual general meeting, this change was very probably mooted at the end of Mori's Presidency in February 1875. (It is most likely that May was simply the date of printing of the amended rules.) The rule on amendments was itself changed at the same time so that these could be debated at any regular meeting. These changes in the rules may perhaps be taken as signs of a certain chafing under Mori's leadership.²¹ And it is perhaps not without significance that his retiring speech of February 1875 was the last contribution from Mori's pen to be published in the *Meiroke Zasshi*.²²

To return to the original organization, however, we may now see who actually filled the posts and examine the structure of the rest of the membership.

Mori was not the first person proposed as President. He and Nishimura had in fact offered it to Fukuzawa, a man wholly in sympathy with Mori's practical ideals. Fukuzawa however, refused it outright,²³ whereupon Mori was elected. Then Shimizu Usaburō and Sera Tai'ichi were appointed as Treasurer and Secretary respectively.²⁴ In February 1875, Mori's nominee, Mitsukuri Shūhei, was voted in as his successor, and in the event, he was the last President of the *Mei'irokusha*. Whether or not the Secretary and Treasurer changed at the same time is not known.

There seems never to have been a specified limit to the number of members, as Nishimura had advocated.²⁵ An aspiring member had simply to register himself and the name of a sponsor member with the President, who was then required to submit his name to the next full session where he could be elected by a three-fifths majority. However, it should be noted that the membership was divided into four distinct categories of Regular, Corresponding, Honorary and Casual Members.

The regular members were of course those who formed the core of the society, attending the regular meetings, and delivering papers. Nishi, in his scheme, had suggested drawing a distinction between founder members and the rest, but this idea was not taken up. This was quite possibly because, by the time the rules were formalized, several new members had already joined. For example, the first advertisement for the society's magazine carried in the

*Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*²⁶ gives, apart from the founders, the names of Hatakeyama Yoshinari and Shimizu Usaburō, the Treasurer.²⁷

Corresponding Members were those who, living outside Tokyo, could not attend meetings, and they needed only a two-thirds majority to be elected. One of the earliest and most important of these was Mori's friend Kanda Kōhei, at the time the Governor of Hyōgo Province.

The provision for Honorary Members, who could only be elected by an absolute majority, seems never to have been invoked, but it was designed as an honour to be bestowed on people selected for their services to society.

There were several Casual Members, however, amongst them the American, W.E. Griffis.²⁸ This group was restricted to people from the provinces or from abroad who were temporarily resident in Tokyo. But they needed the same three-fifths majority as Regular Members and had to pay the same subscription.

The total number of people known to have been members of the *Meiropusha* is thirty-three.²⁹ From early 1875 on, there was also an unspecified but steadily growing number of guests at the meetings.³⁰ Of the many people who undoubtedly attended at one time or another, only a very small number of names is known for certain. Amongst the unknown were quite probably a number of important intellectuals and government officials, as is regularly asserted.³¹ Those that are known include several later popular

rights leaders, two former *Daimyō*, journalists, bureaucrats and two other Westerners apart from Griffis.³² Quite apart from numbers, however (which are discussed below), sufficiently few names of guests are definitely recorded to make this an unreliable basis for the ascription of great public influence to the society. And even of the members proper, only those who contributed to the magazine can be regarded as the real moulders of the *Meiropusha* ethos. These were sixteen in all - just under half the total of full members - and it is these sixteen who have already been treated in the preceding chapters.

Having analysed the composition of the membership of the *Meiropusha*, we may now turn to its actual meetings.

It was perhaps a fitting symbol of the *Meiropusha's* Western orientation that its first meeting place should have been the *Seiyōken* in Tsukiji.³³ For this was a restaurant for foreign food, a comparatively rare thing for those days.³⁴

The days for meeting were settled as the first and sixteenth of every month, with provision for additional meetings if thought desirable by the President, or by a group of any five or more members. Since Mori said in his retiring speech 'we only meet twice a month or at the most four or five times...'³⁵ the latter provision does appear to have been invoked, but no definite dates are known.³⁶ The form of the early meetings is also uncertain, but eventually it became the custom for the full members

to meet in the morning to discuss matters of business before taking lunch together. Then in the afternoon, when others could attend, the speeches and discussions were held.³⁷ Ueki Emori, who attended nearly every meeting after tickets were first made available to the public, always came in the afternoon.³⁸

The early expenses of the society cannot have been very great - little more, in fact, than the cost of refreshments and a private room. The provision made for the society's expenses in the rules was that they should be met by a subscription levied on the members at the start of every month and graded in accord with actual expenditure. (As some safeguard, however, it is also stipulated that 'the Secretary and Treasurer shall not indulge in excessive spending'!) The money raised within the society in this way during the first year totalled 81 Yen and 50 Sen. This did not in fact even cover the largest single item of expense which was refreshment - some 214 Yen. But as seen immediately below the surplus, here as well as the other expenses, was covered by other income. It is interesting to note that the total expense of producing the magazine throughout this first year was a mere 22 Yen, which, when

compared with 214 Yen for refreshment perhaps gives some indication of the society's priorities.

Obviously there must have been some problem over the initial financing of the magazine, particularly as the first four issues were published simultaneously,³⁹ but most of the members had good government posts and could hardly be described as poor and the society was also advance money by its publisher, the *Hōchisha*, quite likely to cover this first stage of production. In any case, once underway, the *Meiroke Zasshi* was soon yielding a good profit; so much so that by November 1874, it was decided that half the proceeds could be divided amongst the contributors, whilst still leaving a sum large enough to be worth saving by the society as a whole. By the following February, the amount accruing to the society alone in this way was averaging fifty Yen a month, and Mori, in his customary ambitious and enterprising manner was able to envisualize greatly expanded activities.

His principal suggestion was that with the six hundred Yen which they could hope to accumulate in the coming year, they should set about building a special hall of the society's own. This, he thought, they could then also hire

out to other strictly cultural organizations,⁴⁰ thereby actually increasing the society's income in the long run.⁴¹

There was another very good reason for this proposal, apart from the financial one, and this was the steadily growing popularity of the society. It had for some time been the practice for guests of one sort or another to attend the meetings, but the number of people wanting to attend had by early 1875 apparently grown quite beyond control. As a temporary expedient, Mori, in his retiring speech of February 1875, proposed a plan to put on sale to the public a restricted quantity of numbered tickets. This, he thought, would have the dual advantage of maintaining some sort of order at the meetings and at the same time of recouping the additional expenses incurred.

The general reaction to the idea of building a hall is not recorded, and the society did not in any case last long enough for any positive action along this line to be taken. But certainly the tickets scheme met with approval, as witnessed five days later by an advertisement in the *Yūbin Hōchi* to the following effect:

From the sixteenth next, the Meirokusha has authorized the issue, to those wishing to come and hear their speeches, of tickets to the number of thirty. The price will be eight Sen.⁴²

(iv) The *Meirokusha* and Public Speaking

As has been seen, not only did direct contact with the public form no part of the *Meirokusha* members' original intentions, but they were not even prepared to maintain the half-hearted stand they took at first in favour of educating the public.⁴³

And yet, it was also seen in the introduction to this thesis that the renown of the *Meirokusha* rests upon two things: the public lecture and discussion meetings on the one hand, and the magazine on the other. The common misconception that the public meetings preceded the magazine was also noted. This misconception, which can be traced back to Nishimura,⁴⁴ was seen to remain prevalent, particularly in Western writings. The error has in fact been pointed out by such Japanese historians as Kōsaka Masa'aki and Ōkubo Toshiaki.⁴⁵ But in a more recent article, Professor Ōkubo, taking this correction for granted, still maintains that the *Meirokusha* opened its doors to the public from January 1875, and that together with Fukuzawa's Mita Speech-making Society (*Mita Enzetsu Kai*), it pioneered speech-making in Japan.⁴⁶

The *Meirokusha* has been known as both a public speaking society and a debating society, and we may here examine how accurately it may be regarded as either.

To take first the concept of the *Meirokekusha* as a debating society - this idea does rest on real, although slender, evidence. Firstly, Mori, in his retiring speech, apparently talks of an intention to develop the rules and skills of debating within the *Meirokekusha*. Secondly, there is the more substantial evidence of two well-documented occasions on which the society held something resembling a formal debate.

The relevant section of Mori's retiring speech runs as follows:

Since the Meirokusha started giving speeches this winter, it has gradually taken on the form of a [proper] '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 number of 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.⁴⁷

It is not even certain that Mori is here talking of the rules of formal debate. Indeed, it seems more likely that he is simply expressing dissatisfaction at the general lack of discussion, or even that he is taking the opportunity to voice his personal scepticism at the whole idea of public speaking. For, as will be seen below, Mori was convinced that Japanese was an unsuitable medium for public speaking. Even so, although Mori originally pinned his hopes for spreading enlightenment on the

magazine, he does seem in this passage to have accepted this new idea of public speaking and to have seen some possibilities for putting it to good use. Later developments make it quite possible that Mori here envisaged the possibility of formal debates.

For on 1 May 1875, the *Meirokekusha* held its first real debate of which we have certain knowledge. On this day, Katō and Fukuzawa argued, the one against and the other for, the propriety of establishing a popularly elected assembly, and this debate was reported a week later in the *Yūbin Hōchi*.⁴⁸ By this time, of course, much the greater part of the society's active life had already passed: thirty-five out of the eventual forty-three numbers of the *Meirokekusha* had already been published.⁴⁹ It is possible that other debates were held after (or even before) this, but Ueki Emori makes no mention of them in his diary. As far as can be verified, in only one other instance was there a comparable attempt at a formal debate. This, exactly four months later on 1 September, was ironically enough a debate on the issue that effectively destroyed the society as a social influence - namely, whether or not to continue publishing the magazine.⁵⁰

Otherwise, what are generally referred to as the *Meirokekusha* 'debates' - on such topics as the rôle of the intellectual, the position of women, the pros and cons of establishing a parliament

and so on - were carried on over protracted periods of time, with differences of opinion recorded in succeeding issues of the magazine. On one notable occasion, the 'debate' was even begun entirely outside the *Meiropusha*. This was when Fukuzawa set out his ideas on the vocation of scholars, as discussed in Chapter Two.

It is thus clearly impossible for the *Meiropusha* to be called with any accuracy a debating society. But it is possible to go further still and to claim that some reservation must be made even in calling the *Meiropusha* a public speaking society.

Mori's mention of the fact that 'the Meiropusha started giving speeches [that] Winter' means that their first real speeches can have been held at the earliest in November 1874. This was over a year after the first tentative meetings of the society and a full nine months after the formalization of the rules. This late development, taken in conjunction with the society's first rule,⁵¹ conclusively shows that socially directed activity in the form of public speeches was no part of the *Meiropusha's* original intention. And thus it can be seen how misleading is Nishimura's statement that meetings were held 'with the intention of getting the public to hear talks' - on whatever subject.⁵² Indeed, the original, essentially private nature of the group is emphasized by Mori himself when he says that it is only since the commencement of speeches that the *Meiropusha* has developed into a proper 'society',

where his use of the English word seems to carry a new connotation of public rôle.

Furthermore, the credit for the introduction of public speaking into Japan, must be given solely to Fukuzawa rather than the *Meirokeisha* and Fukuzawa. Quite independantly of the *Meirokeisha*, Fukuzawa had been developing his plans for a debating society since early 1873. Koizumi Shinkichi⁵³ had at that time shown him a small American booklet on the rules of debating. Basing his ideas largely on this, Fukuzawa produced a Japanese work entitled *Kaigiben*, or *Speaking before an Audience*, which he published probably the following year.⁵⁴ By June 1874, Fukuzawa, together with several other *Keiō* men, who had all been practising debating for some months, had firmly established the Mita Speech-making Society (*Mita Enzetsu Kai*).⁵⁵

Fukuzawa reveals just how completely foreign to the original thoughts of the *Meirokeisha* men, including Mori, the idea of public speaking was. Writing in 1897 of the early days of the Mita group, he says:

...we gradually got things sorted out and became accustomed to the idea [of making speeches]. And as it was an essential part of our idea that we should spread this new thing throughout Japan, we had discussed the matter with friends outside the school. We hoped to find people to agree with us, but everywhere we met with no response, the idea being such a novelty. At that time I used occasionally to attend the meetings of the *Meirokeisha* group...and on the matter of speech-making they were very dubious and skeptical. None of them was willing to put it

to the test. Amongst others, Mori Arinori, despite his youth, was against it. Western type 'speeches' [Eng. *katakana*], he said, were only suitable for Western languages. Japanese could only be used for conversation and ceremonial addresses. It did not have the characteristic of being able to express ideas to a public audience...

Fukuzawa then goes on to describe the ruse by which he was able to persuade the members of the *Meirokekusha* of the feasibility of his idea:

At a later date, about ten of us were holding a meeting of the Meirokusha at the Seiyōken...and that time too the subject of 'speeches' came up. But just as before there were very few people who thought it feasible. And so, as I had previously planned, I casually started speaking: 'There is something I would like to talk to you about today, so perhaps you would give me your attention', I said. They replied that they would be very interested to hear, and so I got them to sit along both sides of the table and ...I stood at the head. It happened to be the time of the Taiwan Expedition, and I chattered glibly on with that as my general subject for about thirty minutes to an hour without stopping. Having finished, I sat down, and when I then asked them whether they understood what I had just been talking about, they all said they had understood perfectly. 'There you are then', I said, 'To say it is impossible to make speeches in Japanese is either refusing to think, or else cowardly evasion. What I just spoke in was Japanese, and every word that I said entered your ears and was understood by you. If that was not a speech, I would like to know what is!' And it is to that day that we who advocated speech-making trace back our victory over those who maintained that it was impracticable.⁵⁶

It is particularly interesting that Mori should have been so against the idea of speech-making, and Fukuzawa seems to have been

surprised too. But Mori's hostility reflects his continuing conviction of the superiority of English to Japanese as a medium of expression. We may also note here Fukuzawa's rather offhand tone in referring to the *Meiropusha*. This is indicative of his comparative coolness towards the society which has already been noted.

The idea of public meetings and public speaking was thus not only something brought to the *Meiropusha* from outside, but it was also adopted by the society (and even then not wholeheartedly) a considerable time after its establishment - in fact, after about half its active public life, as represented by the magazine, had already passed. It remains now to examine just how 'public' these meetings ever became.

The first thing to remember is that the *Meiropusha* meetings were held in a restaurant, which immediately puts a limit on the number of people who could have attended. We also know with some certainty that the number of full members capable of attending (i.e. excluding Corresponding Members) was never more than twenty-eight.⁵⁷ Fukuzawa, however, as quoted above, talks of 'about ten of us holding a meeting'⁵⁸ on one occasion, and this suggests that numbers were sometimes considerably fewer than the full twenty-eight. This, to be sure was a description of a comparatively early meeting, before public speaking was decided upon;⁵⁹ but if we then take the only other meeting for which we

have definite attendance figures, that of 1 September 1875, the number is thirteen.⁶⁰ And this was the highly important meeting when the cessation of the magazine was discussed. Clearly, when Mori talks in his retiring speech of possibly hundreds of new members, this can be regarded as nothing more than sanguine exaggeration. Such talk, together with his plans for a hall of the society's own was not a description of the actual state of affairs; nor did these projected possibilities ever eventuate. Apart from the two definite figures of ten and thirteen just adduced, the only other evidence for attendance figures is the provision which was eventually made for public participation, and in which the number given is thirty.⁶¹ This means that the maximum anticipated attendance could never have been more than a round sixty.

The final blow to the reputation of the *Meirokusha* as in any significant sense a body open to the public, comes when it is realised how short-lived the experimental sale of tickets to the public really was. On 5 April 1875 there appeared the following announcement in the *Yūbin Hōchi* (No.633):

Till now, we have been issuing tickets to those wanting to come and hear speeches at the Meirokusha meetings. For reasons of convenience, we have now stopped this practice.

The Seiyōken, Tsukiji, April 1875.

(However, those still wanting to attend may obtain tickets by asking regular members of the society.)

Tickets were thus on sale to the general public for only six weeks. The decision to stop selling tickets may have been the result of purely organizational difficulties, and it is unfortunately impossible to ascertain how this affected attendance. Nevertheless, it is clear that this measure would effectively ensure that only personal acquaintances of members could attend, thus wholly invalidating any assumption that the *Meirokusha* was truly open to the public. Certainly guest members did continue to attend. Ueki Emori, for one, continued getting tickets through his friends in the *Meirokusha*,⁶² but the numbers must have been small.

In conclusion therefore, it was never the original intention of the *Meirokusha* to hold public meetings; and it was almost a year before this idea, as introduced to the members by Fukuzawa, met with grudging acceptance. Even then, except for a brief period of six weeks - in other words, four meetings at the most - the making of speeches continued to be practised, if at all, as an entirely internal matter. Thus, even if the audience of the *Meirokusha* was extended by allowing the entry of special guests, the numbers involved must have been very small. In the light of these facts, the *Meirokusha's* influence on the public as a debating or lecture society must not be over-estimated.

In contrast with the narrow contact with the general educated public at the spoken level, however, the *Meirokusha* did make

extensive contact at the written level. The *Meiroke Zasshi* achieved considerable popularity and a general description of the magazine and its development now follows, together with some attempt to assess its significance both for the *Meirokeusha* and the *Bunmei Kaika* movement as a whole.

(v) The *Meiroke Zasshi*, or Meiji Six Magazine

The *Meiroke Zasshi* did most to promote the fame of the *Meirokeusha* during its active life; and it is on the *Meiroke Zasshi* that the fame of the *Meirokeusha* has with the greatest justice continued to rest. It will be seen at the end of this section, however, that the importance of this magazine was more limited than its reputation suggests, both from the point of view of the intentions of the *Meirokeusha*, and of the short life of the magazine itself - this quite apart from the relative insignificance of the magazine in the lives of the members themselves, as discussed in the preceding chapter. But first there follows a factual account of the magazine's development.

Mori, in his retiring speech as President in February 1875, gives the date of the magazine's first number as February 1874. One authority, Nishida Taketoshi, says that this is more likely to have been March 1874, but he gives no more definite reason than 'various considerations'.⁶³ In fact it appears from the public advertisements for the magazine in the *Yūbin Hōchi*, that it did not appear until April, when the first four volumes were published simultaneously. The first such advertisement, on 10 March,

Mori. A little surprisingly perhaps, there were also two contributions from Nishimura, who had given his assent later, after the actual vote, to the termination of the magazine.⁶⁸ One contribution, however, was a concluding article in a series which was presumably written earlier and may well have been in the hands of Mori, as editor,⁶⁹ for some time previously.

The circulation of the magazine was remarkably high, and the first twenty-five issues sold a total of 80,127 copies, or an average of 3,205 copies per issue. This was something under 80 per cent of the total number printed.⁷⁰ By modern standards this is, of course, not a remarkably high figure for Tokyo, a city at that time of some 1.3 million, and where the great majority of copies will have been sold. But compared with the circulation in the same year of the *Yūbin Hōchi*, a well-established newspaper averaging a sale of 5,396 daily, the success of the *Meiroku Zasshi* is indeed impressive.⁷¹ Furthermore, the magazine will not only have passed from hand to hand, but was almost certainly available at the then popular newspaper reading rooms. So actual readership would have been well above the average sales figure.

The immediate popularity of the magazine was no doubt greatly assisted by the initial reprinting of articles in the *Yūbin Hōchi*. This practice was soon stopped, presumably on finding that the magazine could already command a very sizeable readership. Only three articles were reprinted in this way,⁷² but these alone would have

brought the *Meiroke Zasshi* to the notice of a very wide audience, not only in Tokyo, but throughout the country.⁷³ However, there is little evidence on which to base an assessment of any influence outside the capital.

From the above it is clear that the connection between the *Meiroke Zasshi* and the *Yubin Hōchi* was very close. It was in fact printed and marketed by the *Hōchisha*, but the exact nature of this connection is unclear. One likely link, which has been suggested by Tōyama Shigeki,⁷⁴ is Kurimoto Jōun⁷⁵ who was an old *Bakufu* retainer and friendly with others of his kind in the *Meirokekusha*, particularly Fukuzawa. Kurimoto, however, did not join the *Yubin Hōchi* until late in June 1874,⁷⁶ three months after the first advertisements for the *Meiroke Zasshi*. Mori himself seems on the other hand to have had some sort of contact with the *Yubin Hōchi* while he was still in America. For it carries several articles about him as well as various letters from and references to the overseas students there, all officially under Mori's charge.⁷⁷ Most definite of all, though, for establishing a connection between Mori and the *Yubin Hōchi* is the supplement to No.51 (May 1873), which is largely devoted to a complete summary of Mori's report on American education to the Education Department (*Mombushō*). This, according to editorial comment at the end, had been passed on to the *Yubin Hōchi* at 'His Excellency Mori's request, so that its contents should be made known to the Japanese people'.

So much for the physical details of the *Meiroku Zasshi*. We may now turn to the attitude of the *Meirokusha* men towards their magazine.

While it took some time for the *Meiroku Zasshi* to materialize, there does seem to have been right from the start some intention on the part of the members to publish the society's proceedings for the benefit of the outside world. The original suggestion on this may well have come from Mori, under the influence of Joseph Henry's ideas on the mission of the Smithsonian Institution.⁷⁸ Such an assumption would certainly accord with Mori's desire to spread practical scientific knowledge among the Japanese. Be that as it may, we also know that in the early discussions of what the society was to be and do, Nishimura was anxious to settle, among other things, the manner in which they were to publish a magazine. Nishi was also interested in this idea as being the best way for the society to exert some influence outside itself.⁷⁹ When the rules were finally settled in February 1874, part of the Secretary's duties was to 'record the Society's discussions and see to their publication'.⁸⁰

The statement of intent which was later published on the inside cover of the first, and of each succeeding issue of the *Meiroku Zasshi*, was probably drafted at the same time. This statement, however, fails to live up to the expectations aroused in particular by Mori's and Nishi's very obviously genuine desire that their

society should take an active part in educating the people. It reads as follows:

We have lately assembled for the purpose of discussion. We have considered the principles of various things and discussed all kinds of news too. The former improved our learning and the latter refreshed our spirit. And so we have set down our discussions and collected them together in these pamphlets, which we intend to distribute to men of like mind. It is our hope that these small pamphlets may serve to broaden the intellect of our fellow-countrymen. 81

The weakness of this passage as a manifesto is immediately apparent. It is in reality little more than a paraphrase in rather vaguer terms of the society's first rule, and it reads more as the expression of a pious hope than as a ringing challenge. Only slightly more positive is the tone of the first advertisement for the magazine in the *Yūbin Hōchi* No.26 of 10 March 1874:

The Meiroku Zasshi: Published twice monthly.

This publication is to be put out by the society recently started by Mori Arinori ...[etc.]. Their lofty intention in meeting together is to further education in our land by debating first principles and discussing foreign ideas. They have recorded these debates and discussions in order to publish them in book form. And we believe that this will be of the greatest assistance in spreading knowledge, and hope that all men of intellect with read them.

(Sold and distributed by the Hōchisha)

In this way, the *Meirokusha* did consistently give expression to a certain educative aim. Nevertheless, it is clear that the members regarded their magazine not so much as a missionary tool but rather

more in the light of a casting of bread on the waters. When this undemonstrative nature of the statement of objectives of their magazine is taken in conjunction with both their first rule and their general lack of public contact described throughout the preceding section, there can no longer be any doubt that from the point of view of the *Meirokeusha* men themselves, the primary purpose of the society was internally rather than externally oriented, and that the *Meirokeu Zasshi* was a secondary consideration beside the twice monthly meetings. Since there is no written record of the meetings, however, the survival of the written corpus of material contained in the magazine has in large part led to a misplaced emphasis on the magazine, and consequently to an exaggeration of the missionary intent of the *Meirokeusha* as a group. This, however, is not to deny the very urgent desire of men like Mori, Nishi, Fukuzawa and Nishimura individually to influence society in a particular way. And a limited expression of this desire did find its way into both the stated aims of the *Meirokeusha* and into the *Meirokeu Zasshi*.

As with public speaking however, so in the case of the magazine, the *Meirokeusha* eventually turned in on itself. By November 1875, publication of the *Meirokeu Zasshi* ceased and with the withdrawal of the magazine after a bare nineteen months, the public influence of the *Meirokeusha* must also be said to cease. Meetings did continue to be held after this, but the nature of the

society had reverted to being that of a small in-group, and as a manifestation of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement and a public influence, the *Meiropusha* died in the winter of 1875.

The ostensible reason for withdrawing the magazine was the introduction of stiffer press laws, but the factors contributing to the *Meiropusha*'s demise were several and complex.

(vi) The End of the *Meiropusha*

There is at first some difficulty in stating categorically what was the real end of the *Meiropusha*. There was no formal announcement concerning the final withdrawal of the magazine, in November 1875, and meetings continued to be held into the new year. Then, on 16 February 1876, Ueki Emori records in his diary simply that he went to the *Meiropusha* but that speeches had stopped. He gives no further explanation, but this is the last time that he mentions the *Meiropusha*. Even so, meetings apparently did continue to be held, for we have Nishimura's assertion that:

After...[the cessation of the magazine], the *Meiropusha* actually increased its membership, and continued to function altogether for about seven or eight years. But with the establishment of the Tokyo Academy, it broke up of its own accord.⁸²

Yet another account by Shimizu Usaburō's heir, Renrō, both supports this and implies an even further extended existence. But at the same time it reveals the true nature of these meetings held after February 1876:

After the suspension of the *Meiroku Zasshi*, the speeches also came to an end. [The members] continued to meet together to talk about the old days, and to discuss scholarly matters. Finally they decided to use up the [society's] accumulated funds, and on the first day of the month they would meet together in a Western style restaurant called the Mikawaya, near Kandabashi. Sometimes too, they would meet at the Fujimiken or the Seiyoken....The talk was mostly of old times. Then gradually, the members began one by one to pass on. In 1909 only Kato, Sugi, Sera and ... [Shimizu] were still alive....[Shimizu] and Sera died in 1910 and Kato and Sugi soon followed, thus finally bringing the society to an end.⁸³

From this passage it is clear that after February 1876, the *Meirokusha* gave up any attempt to be a public influence. Even such speeches as may have been given between November and February, can hardly be credited with having had any great public influence.⁸⁴ For as already demonstrated, the audience can have been neither large nor public; and without the magazine no vehicle existed for the speeches to find a wider audience.

Thus the moment of cessation of the *Meiroku Zasshi* may fairly be regarded as the point where the *Meirokusha* ceases to be important as a public influence. And so it is the end of the *Meiroku Zasshi* that is here equated with the end of the *Meirokusha*.

The withdrawal of the magazine was formally decided upon at the meeting of 1 September 1875, and of thirteen members present, nine were in agreement and only four against withdrawal, namely: Mori, Nishi, Tsuda and Sakatani.⁸⁵ Of those not present

at the debate, a further three said later that they were in agreement with the majority decision. These were Nishimura, Katō and Nakamura.

It then becomes a question of why the overwhelming majority of members seemed so ready to acquiesce in what was to all intents and purposes the demise of their society. The sole reason universally adduced is the one based on Fukuzawa's argument that the new Press and Libel Laws (*Shimbunshi Jōrei, Zambōritsu*) made the free and honest expression of opinion impossible without the risk of punishment. This undoubtedly was the principle reason. But there are indications that it was equally just a thoroughly convincing pretext for doing what was in any case inevitable. A claim can reasonably be made that a contributory factor of some importance in the *Meiropusha's* acquiescence in the motion was a general dissatisfaction, or at least lack of momentum within the society itself.

Through 1875 there was a definite decline in impetus, and from the publication dates of the *Meiropu Zasshi* it is clear that the magazine was already faltering by mid-1875. Four issues were published in February, three in March, two in April, May and June and then none in July. This was the first time ever that a whole month had passed without one issue of the magazine. Publication resumed with two issues in August, then in September, the month of the debate on withdrawal, there was again none; and

finally the *Meiroke Zasshi* petered out altogether with one issue each in October and November.⁸⁶

A look at the contributors tells another side of the same story. After *Meiroke Zasshi* XXXI (March 1875) only seven of the original sixteen are still contributing regularly, and of these, one was Kanda, a Contributing Member - who was thus not really in touch with the society at close quarters; and another was Sugi, whose article in *Meiroke Zasshi* XXXIV was not only his final one but also the first he had written since December 1874. By number XL (August 1875) there are only four contributors left.⁸⁷

The earlier biographical sections gave some indication of why this decline in impetus should have occurred and certain pieces of information, there isolated, may here be drawn together. Fukuzawa, of course, was at the best apathetic throughout. The Mitsukuris, both close friends of Fukuzawa, contracted out very early: Rinshō completely (on the doubtful grounds of illness), and Shūhei in effect, by not contributing to the magazine (despite becoming second President). Both, furthermore, contributed to the rival magazine, *Bankoku Sōwa*. Sugi was preoccupied in campaigning for greater official regard to be paid to statistics, while Katō, a steadily less regular contributor after apparent initial enthusiasm,⁸⁸ was fully occupied as lecturer to the Emperor⁸⁹ in addition to his successive bureaucratic appointments. Even in the cases of Nakamura and Nishimura, who remained amongst the more sustained contributors,

it seems that other increasingly important preoccupations may help to explain their concurrence in stopping the magazine. Nakamura was not only fully engaged at the *Dōjinsha* but was also becoming increasingly involved in the *Rakuzenkai* and plans for the *Kumōin*; while Nishimura was not only very busy as head of the *Mombushō*'s Compilations Section and shortly also of the Tokyo Women's Normal School, but was in any case out of tune with the more 'radical' ideas expressed by such as Nishi and Mori on materialism and equality for women, for example. And not long after the collapse of the *Meiropusha*, Nishimura was to found in 1876 a society of his own which was of a solidly Confucian stamp. This was the *Shūshin Gakusha*, later to evolve into the renowned *Nippon Kōdōkai*, and two other founder members of which who may be noted were Sakatani and Sugi. Finally we may note the possible significance of the absence from the highly important meeting of 1 September of the three quite important members, Nishimura, Katō and Nakamura. Their absence may have been in each case simply unavoidable, but it may equally indicate a certain lack of importance attached to the fate of the society. Certainly their votes would accord with this assumption.

Basically, this decline of impetus from the members as a whole seems then to have been the result of their being busy elsewhere. The fact that they did not make time for the *Meiropusha* is some indication of the significance which they themselves attached to the society. But it does seem also that they were further actively discontented with the nature of the society. Evidence of this was

given earlier in this chapter in the discussion of the revised rules and their significance. At the very least, the revised rules of May 1875 show that there was continued disagreement and uncertainty about the society's nature and rôle. But this is also a matter brought up in the actual debate on withdrawal of the magazine, to which we now turn in conclusion.

As recounted above, the initiator of the move to abandon the *Meiroke Zasshi* was Fukuzawa, whose principle stated reason was that the publication of the revised Newspaper and Libel Laws made free expression of opinion impossible. Fukuzawa had in fact spoken before the *Meiroke* on the matter of press laws as early as 16 June, as we know from Ueki Emori's diary. This speech was unfortunately not published in the *Meiroke Zasshi* so that it is not possible to be certain of its import. Nevertheless, in the light of Fukuzawa's later stand, it is not an impossible inference that he was already voicing doubts about the possibility of continuing the magazine (and if such were the case, that would have been one very good reason why Mori as editor would not have included it!). For even though this speech antedates the formal promulgation of the new laws by eleven days, Fukuzawa will hardly have remained ignorant either of their impending announcement or of their content. Certainly some significance may be attached to the fact that it was the next month after both Fukuzawa's speech and the issue of the new laws in which the *Meiroke Zasshi* first failed to appear.

The formal *Meiropusha* debate on the matter, however, was not until two months later. Ōkubo talks of the 1 September meeting as coming at the end of the summer recess, as if such a break were in the normal course of events. Certainly there was a break for the month of August, if we may judge from Ueki's diary again, which has no entry for the *Meiropusha* in this month. But the *Meiropusha* had found it necessary to have no such similar break in the preceding year. It seems highly likely that the society adjourned for the express purpose of pondering the question of whether or not to continue publishing. Credence is lent to such a supposition by the fact that when the society did reassemble, Fukuzawa came with a ready prepared speech to the motion that the magazine be withdrawn. The motion was actually proposed by the then President, Mitsukuri Shūhei, and when Mori had spoken in opposition, Fukuzawa gave his speech. The debate was reported three days later in the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun*. Only Fukuzawa's speech is recorded there in detail, as quoted below, but the arguments of his opponents (principally Mori) are clear from what Fukuzawa himself says.⁹⁰ His argument runs as follows:

The Press Code and Libel Laws put out in June this year are entirely incompatible with the free publication of our opinion as scholars. If these rules are enforced to the letter, scholars will have either abruptly to change their opinions or else to lay down their pens and cease publishing.

The main purpose in setting up our Meiji Six Society, as recorded in the Society's very first rule, was for like-minded men to meet together and exchange views. It was also to discuss these views and make speeches on them, which are published as a magazine. This being so,

we have only to look at the discussions and speeches held at the Society since its inauguration to see that from now on we can hardly expect what we publish not to conflict with the law.

...

At this juncture, then, what our Society has to decide is: firstly, are our members to go back on the opinions they have held up to now, to submit to the regulations, conform to the law and publish the magazine in accordance with the ideas of the government? Or secondly: shall they infringe the regulations, violate the law and by wielding their pens freely become criminals in the eyes of the government? These are the only two alternatives...

...

... it is impossible to submit to the law [in what we publish], but at the same time it is impossible to publish freely. Which means that there is only one policy we can adopt..., that of ceasing publication of the magazine

Fukuzawa then turns to the arguments against discontinuing the magazine, which were of two kinds:

- a. that the new laws were simply to provide the government with a legal option should the necessity ever arise, but that they could be expected not to be applied strictly, and,
- b. that the *Meiropusha* was in any case not a political debating society and thus had nothing to fear.

Fukuzawa's counter-arguments are incontrovertible, and at the same time highlight the whole paradoxical situation of the *Meiropusha*.

Destroying the first objection, he says:

Some people argue that the Press and Libel Laws have been made by the government simply for its own protection, and that they thus have not the least bearing on things like the *Meiropusha*. They say that although the text of the laws may seem severe, their real inner meaning is not so at all. Let us for the moment accept this line of argument; but if we do, whether we say that they are either strict or lenient is mere speculation about the

government's intentions. For myself, I have no other means of assessment... than simply reading the text of the laws, and if the text is severe, how am I to believe it when I am told that really they are lenient?

...

... if you can guess that their intentions are lenient, then you can equally well guess that they are strict. This is not to be relied on either way.

...

Even if we try to make a clear distinction between refutation and libel, and between debate and slander, since this is impossible on the basis of the text of the laws, there is nothing for it but to make a decision in the spirit of the authorities.

...

We may draw a parallel with measuring the temperature of the air without a thermometer: we may posit a steady degree of warmth, but different people feeling it will by no means experience identical sensations.

...

Maybe it is as my opponents infer, and the government's real intentions are lenient and it merely wishes to safeguard itself. But... such a mean act as to seek to avoid harm on the one to a thousand chance of being lucky, would not be in the least in the Society's interest. For which reasons, publication of the Meiroku Zasshi should definitely be stopped.

Countering the second argument, he continues:

Other people contend that the Meirokusha as a learned society, is not concerned with discussing politics.

...

This theory is most plausible. The Meirokusha has never been a political debating society. Indeed, as is clearly stated in the rules, it exists for 'exchanging views, broadening knowledge, and illuminating consciousness.' Nevertheless, even were we honestly to set about attaining this, our explicit main intention, still we can set no limit to men's views; we cannot delimit the boundaries of awareness. And thus, when we engage in 'exchanging views and broadening knowledge', how can we expect that these discussions will not (as I anticipate they will) extend to the domain of politics? As soon as we read what has already been published in the magazine since the Society's foundation, we all know the impossibility of expecting such a situation.

...

It is quite impossible to expect scholars living in this Japan of ours seriously to avoid any and every mention of political matters, to pay attention to every

word, and to pick a careful path, step by step, exercising caution in every topic. That would be just like wanting to cross the sea without looking at the water, or to climb a mountain without looking at the trees.

Therefore, I would say that we cannot expect future articles in the *Mei roku Zasshi* not to touch on political matters. And since the reasons for this anticipation are already clear, we should swiftly put an end to publication.

Here Fukuzawa has touched on the very nub of the whole question of the nature and rôle of the *Mei roku kusha*. It was not a political debating society: Mori had insisted it was not;⁹¹ Fukuzawa says it was not; The first rule makes it clear that it was not - and yet the overwhelming bulk of the *Mei roku Zasshi* is devoted to current political issues.

What Mori had envisaged was a society which would actively spread Western technical learning and Western social morality. For the most part it did neither, but devoted itself to general speculation and theorising about current political issues.

What subsequent historians have claimed for the *Mei roku kusha* is that it took the lead in introducing new Western ideas. What it actually did much of the time was to participate in (not even initiate) general and widespread controversies about current political issues.

With rare exceptions, the *Mei roku Zasshi* was never a stimulus but always a response: the *Gakusha Shokubun Ron* was a response to Fukuzawa's *Gakumon no Susume*; the *Minsen Gi'in* debate was a response to the Itagaki Memorial (and a singularly unprogressive

one at that); the question of orthography reform was everywhere in the air;⁹² so too was that of foreign travel and residence in Japan - it had been debated since the signing of the 'Unequal Treaties'. What is more, the *Meirokekusha* as such had concrete proposals to make on not a single one of these issues. Even the various translations from Western works in the *Meirokekusha Zasshi* may be said to be a response to the general demand for information about the West. This, it is true, is a demand which the *Meirokekusha* men had themselves done much to arouse, but they did this not even principally as members of the *Meirokekusha*. Nor did they satisfy the demand principally as members of the *Meirokekusha*, as was fully documented in chapters two and three above.

The reason why the *Meirokekusha* neither conformed to Mori's expectations nor can conform to its subsequent reputation, lies in the nature of the bulk of the membership. They were all *Rangakusha-own-first-generation-Yōgakusha*, and most were also government officials. In other words they had neither the detailed specialist knowledge nor the training and experience untinged by traditional modes of thought and procedure which would have enabled them to fill either of these rôles. The extent of specialist areas of study covered by the *Meirokekusha* men was truly remarkable, but none of them penetrated very deeply in any one particular specialty (- with the possible exception of Sugi who did nothing with his specialty within the *Meirokekusha*, and of Nishi, whose use of the *Meirokekusha Zasshi* to introduce Western philosophy was conspicuously

the exception). Neither had any of them any extended experience in such areas as, say, banking, or insurance or shipping. They were thus simply not equipped to fulfil the rôle intended for them by Mori.

On the other hand, they had also had an initially traditional education, at least into the late teens, so that much of their mental furniture was necessarily traditional, and it has indeed been seen in several important cases just how unmodern their outlook was. So to talk of the *Meirokeisha* as the leading introducer of ideas from the West is misleading on several counts.

Not the least of these is the implicit acceptance of the conscious and active educational rôle of the *Meirokeisha*. The unacceptability of this idea was discussed above, but we may note in conclusion how Fukuzawa's speech too can only add to the impression that the *Meirokeisha* was principally an internally oriented body. The main thing to which he refers in discussing the fundamental purpose of the society is the getting together and exchanging of views of like-minded men. Then as a second thought he adds that 'it is also to discuss these views and make speeches on them which' he adds as a final afterthought, 'are published as a magazine.'⁹³ If active education of the public can be said to have been a preoccupation of the *Meirokeisha* group as a whole, it was very far from being its top priority. Later in the speech Fukuzawa refers to their 'explicit main intention' of 'exchanging views, broadening knowledge and illuminating

consciousness.⁹⁴ This in itself is sufficiently ambiguous to be interpreted as referring to either society at large or the *Meiroku* Society alone. But sufficient evidence has been adduced above to show that it is more likely to be the latter. Certainly in the amended rules of May 1875 there is still the same passing reference to the publication of a magazine as in the original rules,⁹⁵ but there is no elaboration about what the magazine is being published for. The only new reference to the magazine is in a provision for what to do with the money accruing from sales. Fukuzawa's whole speech is itself a claim that the magazine is peripheral to the society's main function and is thus, at need, dispensable.

History, of course, concerns actuality at least as much as intention, and there is no doubt whatsoever about the actual popularity of the *Meiroku Zasshi* as revealed in the sales figures quoted earlier. But to infer simply from this, 'by deduction' as Nishi would say, that the *Meirokusha* was the principle introducer of Western ideas in Japan is not possible. In fact, of course, as was suggested in the introduction, such a deduction has been made not from the sales figures of the *Meiroku Zasshi* alone, but also from the first account of the society given by Nishimura.

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate in what ways that account is unreliable.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have been devoted to an extended discussion of what the *Meiropusha* was not. It was shown firstly what Mori's aims were, and how the *Meiropusha* neither could nor did fulfill the rôle which he envisaged. The irony is that whilst the *Meiropusha* in fact failed to accomplish even Mori's more restricted aim of introducing specific aspects of Western technical and moral ideas, it has subsequently been credited with the even greater achievement of being the leading introducer into Japan of 'progressive' Western social and political ideas. But it was also shown secondly, that this reputation of the *Meiropusha* is out of all proportion to what that society actually accomplished, and that the *Meiropusha* was very far from being the leader of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement.

The task of giving a universally acceptable and comprehensive definition of what the *Meiropusha* was, is by no means so easy to accomplish.

Taking the 'nature' of the society first, it would be manifestly untrue to assert that the *Meiropusha*'s nature was simply and solely that of a private discussion group. But there is a tangled web of both public and private about the society's nature which it is difficult to unravel. On the one hand the society's rules indicate that private conference was the society's principal

aim. The *Meiropusha* would have been a wholly private body if it could, but the historical context forced it out into the public. Many a small discussion club publishes its proceedings, but without necessarily wishing thereby to influence public opinion or to find any further audience than a few other 'like-minded men'. In the *Meiropusha*'s case, however, the public seized on the 'proceedings', and the public role of the *Meiropusha* has been magnified accordingly.

On the other hand, some of the members, and amongst them the more important, clearly did wish the *Meiropusha* to perform a public educational function, and the magazine was to be an indispensable tool in this. Such was most obviously the view of Nishi and Mori. And yet the magazine contains a very large amount of reproduced discussion about how to educate the public, and very little which actively sets out to educate the public. Basically, the nature of the *Meiropusha* was that of a private group of *Rangakusha* friends from the *Kaiseisho*. But it was not that alone. Mori, for example, had never had any connection with that institution; neither had Sakatani, one of the most important contributors by length to the magazine; and nor had Fukuzawa, the most renowned of all the advocates of *Bunmei Kaika*. Thus the *Meiropusha* combines around a fairly solid core of ex-*Kaiseisho* *Rangakusha*, a number of other disparate elements, and it is this which makes success in a total assessment of the *Meiropusha* so elusive. In the end the problem seems to resolve itself into an essential disparity between what Mori intended to achieve in

forming the society, and the human material with which he had to work.

Which brings us to the *Meirokeusha*'s actual rôle. Again it would be manifestly untrue to say that the *Meirokeusha* was totally insignificant in the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, for again the popularity of the *Meirokeu Zasshi* belies this. What can be said, however, is that the *Meirokeu Zasshi*, and hence the *Meirokeusha* was only a very small part of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, and it was certainly neither a prime mover nor even a leader of that movement. As far as the literary introduction of knowledge about the West and Western techniques is concerned, leadership in this role might legitimately be assigned to the *Meirokeusha* men collectively, but not to the *Meirokeusha* as such. The *Meirokeu Zasshi* was symptomatic but not generative of the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. The rôle of the *Meirokeusha*, then, was as one comparatively minor agent in the *Bummei Kaika* Movement, and its fame is attributable not so much to its own activities as to the long list of outstanding men who for a brief period united under the name *Meirokeusha* - and then dispersed again.

But to say that is not quite all, and the *Meirokeusha* did play two further quite definite rôles: one in the life of Mori, and one over the broader range of *Bakumatsu-Meiji* history.

In a sense by now obvious, the *Meirokeusha* was a total failure for Mori, but it nevertheless has the rôle of a highly significant episode in his own life. Chapter one traced the emergence of

Mori's conviction of the importance of education in building the nation. The *Meirokeisha* was Mori's attempt to realise this conviction in a private capacity. Once the futility of this approach was demonstrated by the collapse of the society, Mori was able to devote himself with that much greater energy to the practical establishment of a national education system as a government official. And after a decade of work principally in the Foreign Department, part of which was spent as Ambassador to England, Mori was provided with the opportunity really to put his ideas into practice by his long-standing friend and patron, Itō Hirobumi, who appointed him as Minister of Education in the first Japanese cabinet of December 1885.

The third and final role with which the *Meirokeisha* may be credited has been pointed out by Ōkubo (cf. OKMA, 75-80, on which the following is based).

On 15 January 1879 there occurred what at first sight appears to have been a virtual re-constitution of the *Meirokeisha* in the form of the Tokyo Academy (*Tōkyō Gakushi Kai'in*), set up under the guidance of the then Minister of Education (*Mombu Taiyu*) Tanaka Fujimaro. The original investigation committee of seven, and later founder members of the Tokyo Academy were all former *Meirokeisha* men (namely: Nishi, Katō, Kanda, Nakamura, Fukuzawa and Mitsukuri Shūhei). Subsequently, most of the other *Meirokeisha* men were also amongst those elected to membership (Mori was elected in May, together with Sakatani). Both the *Meirokeisha* and the

Tokyo Academy aimed in some sense to fulfill the function of an institution such as the Royal Society or the Smithsonian, through which scholars could meet, discuss and publish. But a difference did lie in the fact that the Tokyo Academy was an officially constituted body, set up with the further very specific aim of advising the *Mombushō* in its attempts firmly to establish the national education system. Yet even in this the Tokyo Academy was strikingly similar to the *Meirokeisha*, which for all its aim (subscribed to by some at least of the members) of educating the public directly, devoted so much attention to discussing the means of education.

What Ōkubo suggests is that the *Meirokeisha* may be regarded as a sort of interim machinery, a bridge over the confused initial years of the *Meiji* period, between the *Bakufu's Kaiseisho* and the new government's Tokyo Academy. The extent of the membership common to all three is obvious justification for such a view, and the third rôle of the *Meirokeisha* may thus be defined as its being an institutional link providing a useful functional framework which both helped to maintain the cohesion of a highly important group of Western scholars, and also provided the opportunity for the addition to the group of new talent of a similar kind.

The principal focus of this thesis, however, has been on the narrower field of the rôle of the *Meirokeisha* strictly within the *Bummei Kaika* Movement. Within this field, some doubts and

confusions about the nature and role of the *Meirokeisha* were raised and examined. But even should these doubts and confusions have been satisfactorily resolved, there is no evading the fact that the society's name has become, and will almost certainly remain a symbol: '*Meirokeisha*' means 'Enlightenment' - it is a universally appropriated tag, a talisman word. To call Fukuzawa a '*Meirokeisha* man' is, as has been seen, something less than the whole truth, but to do so places him immediately. The fact that we would probably not call Sakatani a '*Meirokeisha* man' only underlines the point. '*Meirokeisha*' is too useful and entrenched a generic term for 'the men of the Japanese Enlightenment' to hope that it will ever be used with the greater precision and in the more restricted meaning, which it is hoped this thesis has shown it ought to be.

VOLUME TWO
APPARATUS
AND
APPENDICES.

TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOLUME TWO (APPARATUS AND APPENDICES)

Notes to the	Introduction.....	284
Notes to Chapter	One.....	288
Notes to Chapter	Two.....	305
Notes to Chapter	Three.....	313
Notes to Chapter	Four.....	353
Appendix One A:	The Rules of the Meirokusha.....	363
Appendix One B:	The Ammended Rules of the Meirokusha.....	366
Appendix Two:	Mori Arinori: Speech at the Election of new Functionaries on the first Anniversary of the Meirokusha.....	369
Appendix Three A:	Chronological Membership Chart.....	374
Appendix Three B:	People known to have attended the Meirokusha once or more as Guests.....	377
Appendix Four:	Chronological Bibliography of Enlightenment Writings and Translations by Members of the Meirokusha produced outside the Society through 1875.....	378
Appendix Five:	Intellectual Genealogy of the Members of the Meirokusha.....	411
Appendix Six:	The Evolution of the Bakufu's School of Western Studies, the Kaiseisho, until its Amalgamation into Tokyo University.....	412

continued

contents of volume two continued

Appendix Seven:	The Publication Dates of the Meiroku Zasshi.....	414
Appendix Eight:	The ages of Members at the Foundation of the Meirokusha, and the Distribution of their contributions to the Magazine.....	416
Appendix Nine:	Speeches known to have been given but not published in the Magazine.....	419
Appendix Ten:	Horace Mann and the case for his Influence on Mori Arinori.....	420
Bibliography of	Works cited.....	430
Alphabetical List	of Abbreviated Titles with Number References to the Bibliography.....	457
Glossary	of Characters.....	458

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: Bunkyo Shoin, 1944, (henceforth OKMA), 64.

3 Ōkubo Toshiaki: *Meirokusha no Hitobito* [The Men of the Meirokusha], 123-124 in: Ko'nishi Shiro Ed.: *Nihon Jimbutsushi Taikai* [Outline Histories of Japanese Personalities] V, Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1963 (henceforth OKMH), 151.

4 OKMA, 64.

5 Kōsaka Masa'aki: 'The Intellectual Background of Modern Japanese Thought', *Journal of World History (Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale)* III, 3, 1957, 612.

6 Kōsaka Masa'aki: *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, Trans. David Abosch, Centenary Culture Council Series, No.9, Tokyo: Pan Pacific Press, 1958 (henceforth JTM), 54.

In textual order the last sentence quoted precedes the one here given before, but has been transposed for the sake of consecutiveness without any falsification of the sense of the original. Italics, unless otherwise stated are in the original throughout.

7 Joseph Pittau S.J.: *Political Thought in early Meiji Japan 1868-1889*, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967, Harvard East Asian Series, XXIV, 52-3. This description of the *Meirokusha* seems in fact to have been taken almost word for word from Dr Blacker's book (cf. *infra* N. 11).

Introduction notes

8

Donald H. Shively: 'Nishimura Shigeki: A Confucian View of Modernization', Ch.6 of Marius B. Jansen Ed.: *Changing Japanese Attitudes towards Modernization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, 197 & 208. Reference to various chapters in this very useful book are made henceforth under CJATM preceded by the relevant author and followed by the page number.

9

Cf., for example, Nishimura Shigeki: 'Seigo Jūni Kai' [Explanations of Twelve Western Terms] in *Meiroku Zasshi* (Henceforth MZ) XXXVI. The complete run of the MZ is reprinted in Yoshino Sakuzō Ed.: *Meiji Bunka Zenshū* [Full Collection on Meiji Culture] (henceforth MBZ) XVIII, 1st Ed. Tokyo: 1928, 43-267. The present article starts on 230.

10

Craig CJATM, 151.

11

Carmen Blacker: *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 10, Cambridge Eng., 1964 (henceforth CBFY), 32. In particular, Chapter Three on "The Enlightenment" provides a most helpful and stimulating discussion of what was meant by *keimō*.

12

Edwin O. Reischauer, John K. Fairbank, Albert M. Craig: *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965, 273.

13

Shively CJATM, 209.

14

Sir George Bayley Sansom: *The Western World and Japan*, London: Cresset Press, 1950 (henceforth SWWJ), 386.

15

Gino K. Piovesana: *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought, 1862-1962: A Survey*, Tokyo: Enderle Bookstore, 1963, (henceforth RJPT), 9.

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

Introduction notes

particular with regard to the society's political progressiveness. One notable example is the post-war Marxist approach, exemplified by Tōyama Shigeki, who has devoted a very helpful article to the *Meiropusha* 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 *Meiropusha* 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 *Meiropusha* 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 *Meiropusha* 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 Asō Yoshiteru published his pioneering *Kinsei Nihon Tetsugaku Shi* [History of Modern Japanese Philosophy] Tokyo: Kintō Shoten, 1942. See for example p.3 where Asō says all that Tōyama 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 *Meiropusha* 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: Shunshūsha, 1965, 282.

This matter of how liberal the *Meiropusha* 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 *Meiropusha* with what will be claimed to be too unwarrantably extended a coverage.

introduction notes

18

Cf. *supra* 1 & 5.

19

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

20

Nishimura Shigeki: *Ōjiroku* [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 Kodō Kai, 1933 (henceforth HNSD) I, 370-1. The *Seiyōken* 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 *Meirokeisha* 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 *Meiroke Zasshi*, which, as already indicated, was the only way in which the society made any real contribution to the *Bummei 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*, Minyūsha, 1897 (henceforth KSMA); and

Kimura Tadashi: *Mori Sensei Den* [Biography of Mori Sensei] Tokyo: Kinkodo, 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 Shōwa 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 *Meiropkusha* 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.

chapter one notes

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: Hokuseido Press, 1948 (henceforth EKFY), Ch.1 *passim*. pp.2 & 15 in particular discuss how this was due to the influence of his mother.

7

Godai Tomo'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, 1863.7, 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.

9

Ueno Kagenori, 1844-1888. Kagoshima *Samurai*. Later famous as *Meiji* diplomat in Europe and America.

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 Kaiseisho* in Edo, which was essentially a school of translators and interpreters.

12

The dates are from OKMA, 11 & 13.

chapter one notes

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).

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.

15

OKMA, 12.

16

KTMD, 10.

17

KSMA, 16.

18

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

19

OKMA, 15 & 25.

20

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'.

chapter one notes

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 Lawrence 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 born 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.

25

Kōro Kikō, 23 August 1866. *Gekkan Roshia*, VII, 4, 160.

26

OKMA, 20. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.3.

27

Kōro Kikō, 24 August 1866. *Gekkan Roshia*, VII, 4, 163.

28

OKMA, 30. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.7.26.

29

OKMA, 25. Mori to Yasutake, 1866.6.

chapter one notes

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

chapter one notes

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 an organ of piety, cleansing its suppressed functions, and reasserting the original holiness of woman

36

Hayashi Takeji: '*Kindai Kyōiku Kōsō to Mori Arinori* [Mori Arinori and the Concept of Modern Education] *Chuō Kōron*, 899, September 1962, August, 1962, 212-213 & 218.

37

IHMA, 62. Ivan Hall 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 *Sōnin* rank. He held it from 1868.7.5 to 1869.3.12. OKMA, 37. Later he also served in the Military Bureau (*Gummukan*) as *Gummukan Hanji* from 1869.1.18 to 1869.4.17.

39

The *Seidokyoku* was established immediately by the Restoration government in 1868.1, under Yamauchi Yōdō, the *Daimyō* of Tosa. It was a section of the *Dajōkan* 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 *Seidoryō* 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

chapter one notes

together a month later (1868.11.4). One month later again, in 1868.12.13, Yamauchi Yodō and Akitsuki Taneki of the *Seidokyoku* 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 Chōsakyoku*. 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 *Kōgishō*. But they too were now brought into the new committee. Inatomi Eijiro: *Meiji Shoki Kyōiku Shisō no Kenkyū* [A study of Educational Thought in the Early Meiji Period] Tokyo: 1965 (henceforth MSKSK) 116.

41

Osatake Takeshi: *Ishin Zengo ni okeru Rikken Shisō* [Pre and post-Restoration Ideas on the Establishment of a Constitution] Tokyo: 1948 (henceforth OTRS) 262.

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 *Kōgishō* and its preliminaries in OTRS, 157-312.

45

Proper debates were not held in the *Kōgishō*. Members read out prepared statements.

46

The first President of the *Kōgishō* was Akitsuki Taneki but most of his duties seem to have been performed by Mori, who was appointed Acting President (*Tōbun Gichō*) from the second meeting. Kanda was appointed Deputy 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.

chapter one notes

47

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 Katō 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.

48

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

49

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 Nisshi* [The *Kōgisho* Journal] (henceforth KGN), XII.

50

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.

51

In 1869.4.7. KGN, VIIa, 9ff.

52

KGN, XII.

53

OTRS, 303.

54

OKMA, 33.

55

OKMA, 33; OTRS, 303.

56

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

57

KGN, XVII, 16.

58

OKMA, 34-5. Ono Shōgorō, *Kōgisho* Secretary and proposer of the bill on *kirisute*, actually was later assassinated in 1869.10.20. OTRS, 306.

chapter one notes

59

OKMA, 38. This was two and a half weeks after the rejection of his bill in 1869.6.2. KGN, XVIII, 1.

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.

62

cf. Mori's letter to Yasutake as quoted above, p.26.

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. *Yubin Hōchi Shimbun* [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), 1. 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.

71

Hayashi Takeji: *'Meiji Kyōiku no Shuppatsu to Zassetsu: 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.

72

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 Naibu Kanda*, Tokyo: Toko-Shoin, 1927 (henceforth MNK), 10.

73

Charles Lanman: *The Japanese in America*, New York: University Publishing Co., 1872 (henceforth CLJA), 55.

74

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

75

MNK, 10.

76

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 bummei 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.

chapter one notes

Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai Series, *Kido Kōin Monjo* [The Kido Kōin Papers] IV, 345.

From this it is clear that Mori was not only perhaps being over zealous in his supervision, but was also concerning himself with educational matters well without the scope of his instructions.

77

Arthur Sherbourne Hardy: *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, Cambridge Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Riverside Press, 1892 (henceforth LLJN), 102-103.

78

LLJN, 103. Niishima, for the same reason that he had refused a prior offer of Mori's to make him a government sponsored student, was non-committal. 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 *Shōhōkōshūsho* is discussed further below. See pp.48-9.

80

LLJN, 119-120. Niishima 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).

chapter one notes

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.

86

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 (*Shūkyō*) 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 Phillimore: *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

chapter one notes

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 *Meirokeisha*, 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

chapter one notes

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.

99

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.

102

MAEJ, LII, I. (cf. Appx.12).

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. Kaigō 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-lv. 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.

111

W.E. Griffis: *Verbeck of Japan: A Citizen of no Country*, New York: Revell, 1900, 122.

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 Satō Elshichi: *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.

chapter one notes

119

cf. Introduction, 7.

120

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.

121

MBZ, XVIII, 51-6.

122

cf. Introduction, 7.

123

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

124

MAEJ, 41-2.

125

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.

The principle source used for Fukuzawa's general biography has been his autobiography (*Fukuō Jiden*) in the English translation by Ei'ichi Kiyōka, Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1948 (henceforth EKFY). Invaluable for greater detail is Ishikawa Mikiaki: *Fukuzawa Yukichi Den* [Biography of Fukuzawa Yukichi] IV, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1932 (henceforth FYD). For Fukuzawa's own works, unless otherwise stated, reference is to the Keiō Gijuku Foundation Centenary Edition, *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū* [Complete works of Fukuzawa Yukichi] XXI, Tokyo: Iwanami, 1958-64 (henceforth FYZ). The best study in English of Fukuzawa is Carmen Blacker: *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study in the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, Cambridge: 1964. Also helpful have been two unpublished works by Mikiso Hane: *English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment 1868-1890*, (henceforth HMEL), Ph.D. Thesis, Yale, 1957, and *The Westernizers of Meiji Japan*, a paper delivered at the University of Kansas Midwest Conference on Japan, Autumn 1967.

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 to try 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 Kōan, 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 Bitchū (modern Okayama), at 15 Ogata succeeded to his father's position at the Han estate in Osaka. Here he studied medicine under Naka Tenyū. Ten years later he continued his medical studies

chapter two notes

in Edo under Tsuboi Shindō 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 rôle 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, 1, 552; CBFY, 4 & 140; Ogata Tomio: *Ogata Kōan Den* [Biography of Ogata Kōan] 2nd Ed., Tokyo: Iwanami, 1963 (Henceforth OTOK), 184.

7

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

8

EKFY, 26-28 & 37.

9

EKFY, 41.

10

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.

11

EKFY, 60.

12

EKFY, 97-98.

13

EKFY, 85.

14

EKFY, 90.

15

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

chapter two notes

- 16
EKFY, 51-53. For his brother's death cf. *supra* N.10.
- 17
EKFY, 100. For Sugi 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-ying T'ung-yü* by Tzu Ching. cf. *infra* section iv and Appx. Four.
- 21
Sailing in January 1860, the Kanrin-Marū 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, 1, 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.

chapter two notes

- 31
NYH, 683 (18).
- 32
EKFY, 212. 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.*
- 33
NYH, 649 (46).
- 34
NYH, 697 (24).
- 35
NYH, 697 (24).
- 36
NYH, 753 (20).
- 37
WGME, 400. The *Bakufu's Kaiseisho* was reopened by the new government in February 1869 under the name of *Kaisei Gakkō*. By this time (1871) it was officially known as the *Daigaku Nankō* or Southern School of the University. cf. Appx. Six A.
- 38
EKFY, 228.
- 39
NYH, 724 (62), 741 (69), 753 (20 & 22).
- 40
NYH, 754 (22).
- 41
EKFY, 228.
- 42
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).
- 43
EKFY, 229.
- 44
EKFY, 228.

*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.

49

Fukushima Uta: *History of the Enlightened Period of Meiji*, Tokyo: Taishō Kyōkwai, 1916, 165.

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 Satō 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 Hōchi*.

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 Enzetsukai* and the *Meirokekusha*. The diary he kept during this time is a useful document for dating certain events and is in this important for the history of the *Meirokekusha*, but it is not otherwise discursive or descriptive. cf. *Ueki Emori Nikki* [Ueki Emori's Diary], Kōchi 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 Enzetsukai* and the *Meirokekusha* are discussed further in Chapter Four below.

53

cf. Appx. Four.

54

cf. Appx. Four for comment on these works.

55

The restriction to these years is explained in Chapter Four.

56

MAEJ, liv.

chapter two notes

57
EKFY, 264.

58
EKFY, 198.

59
FMSG, 24.

60
EKFY, 217.

61
EKFY, 175.

62
EKFY, 231.

63
cf. *infra*: Chapter Four.

64
MBZ, XVIII, 58. Katō 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 *Meiroke Zasshi*]. However, since it has already been published, we are not printing it here and readers should consult [*Gakumon no Susume*].

65
Fukuzawa Yukichi: *Gakumon no Susume* [The Advancement of Learning], Part 4: *Gakusha Shokubun Ron* [On the Vocation of Scholars] (henceforth FGSR), Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko Edition, 1966, 39. (All subsequent FGSR page references are to this edition).

66
FGSR, 46.

67
FGSR, 40.

68
FGSR, 41.

69
FGSR, 44.

- 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: Katō 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 Sōwa*, 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,

chapter two notes

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. Katō Hiroyuki, on the other hand, renowned 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 Sōwa*, 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, Katō, both Mitsukuris, Sugi and both Tsudas (Mamichi and Sen).

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

7
Thomas Robert Hamilton Havens: 'Comte, Mill and the Thought of Nishi Amane in Meiji Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVII,2, February 1968, 217-228 (henceforth: THCM), 219.

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.

chapter three notes

Tsuda Dōji: *Tsuda Mamichi*, 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. Mamichi is also commonly read as 'Masamichi' and even 'Shindō'. 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 Kyōto 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 Dōan, and Dutch medicine under Udagawa Genshin. He became a translator for the *Bakufu's Temmondai* in 1839, and later became head of the *Kaiseisho*. DJJ, VI, 144-5.

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 Dotoku 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 Rīnshō, all later of the *Meirokeisha*, 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

chapter three notes

Fukuzawa and Mitsukuri Shūhei also went. Katsu had many friends among the *Yōgakusha* 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 Ichio 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 | (<i>Kyōjushoku</i>) |
| ii. | Junior Professor | (<i>Kyōjushokunarabi</i>) |
| iii. | Assistant Professor | (<i>Kyōju Tetsudai</i>) |
| iv. | Junior Assistant Professor | (<i>Kyōju Tetsudainarabi</i>) & |
| v. | Reading Instructor | (<i>Kutō Kyōju</i>) |

OTTM, I, 496.

21

OTTM, III, 74.

22

Katō 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.

24

CBFY, 165, N. 10.

chapter three notes

- 25 NYH,640(7) & 642(13); OTTM,III,74 & 53.The others went on to the Hague.
- 26 In *Jinsei Sampō Setsu*, 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,III,74.
- 29 OTTM,III,74.
- 30 These translations are discussed below.
- 31 MKSS,453. Nishi stayed on in Kyoto and opened his own school, as discussed below.
- 32 OTTM,III,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,III,52-3. Professor Ōkubo inclines to the opinion that it was done on the authors' initiative. Nishi's was certainly published by an independant printer, but the position is complicated in Tsuda's case by the fact that *Taisei Kokuhō Ron* was published through the *Kaiseisho*.
- 34 MKSS,453. For a discussion of the Parliamentary Procedures Investigation Committee (*Giji Teisai Torishirabekyoku*) and the *Kōgisho* cf. *supra*: Ch.1,28-32.
- 35 cf. *supra*: Ch.1,N.47.
- 36 MKSS,453. Also cf. *supra*: Ch.1,29.
- 37 MKSS,453; HKRR,I,278.

chapter three notes

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 (*Mimpō Hensan I'in*), and from 1895 he contributed many articles to the *Tōkyō 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 Kaigi* (1875), the *Shūgi'in* (1890) and the *Kizoku'in* (1896). He was made Baron (*Danshaku*) in 1900, received a Doctorate of Laws (*Hōgaku Hakushi*) 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 Kokuhō 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 (*Daijōkan*).

chapter three notes

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 nozomu Ron* (On my Desire for Freedom of Publication), MZ,VI.

49

cf. especially *Seiron*, Pt.3 and *Moto wa Hitotsu ni Arazaru 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

Fūfu Dōken Ben (On the Distinction of Rights in the Matter of Equality between Man and Wife), MZ,XXXV and *Fūfu 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

chapter three notes

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 Chokuyu*) 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

Undoubtedly the best is the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by T.R.H. Havens: *Nishi Amane (1829-1897) in Japanese Intellectual History*, Berkeley: University of California, 1965 (henceforth THNA); Havens'. THCM (cf. *supra*: N.7) is also helpful, as are: Roger F. Hackett: 'Nishi Amane: A Tokugawa-Meiji Bureaucrat', *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVIII, 2, February 1959, 213-225; and to a lesser extent: Gino K. Piovesana: 'The Beginnings of Western Philosophy in Japan: Nishi Amane, 1829-97', *International Philosophical Quarterly*, 11, May 1962, 295-306; and RJPT. (The latter in particular has to be used with caution as it contains many inaccuracies.)

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.

chapter three notes

- 66
NYH,675(26).
- 67
cf. Appx. Four.
- 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.
- 74
Kuwaki Genyoku: *Nishi Amane no Hyaku-ichi Shinron*, Tokyo:
Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai,1940, Rajio Shinsho No.14, 27.
- 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.

- 79 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 *Mei-roku Zasshi*, being in six parts and thus comprising about a fifth of his total contribution to the magazine.
- 86 *viz.*: *Hakkyū Sōkōgi Ichi Dai* (One Point to be raised against the [Proposal for a] Popular Assembly [made by] the ex-Sangi [Itagaki *etc.*]), MZ,III, April 1874; *Himitsu Setsu* (Theory on Secrets), MZ,XIX, November 1874; & *Mōra 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 Soshō 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. *infra*) 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 Bismarck 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).

- 103
TMNM,6-8.
- 104
Hiyane Antei: *Nihon Shūkyō Shi* [History of Japanese Religion], Tokyo: Kyōbunkan,1951,377.
- 105
TMNM,91.
- 106
E.W. Clarke: *op.cit.* (*supra* N.101),14.
- 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 supplement 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 *Meiroke Zasshi*, XXXIX of June 1875, and being the last of a series, could have been written some time earlier. His penultimate contribution was to *Meiroke Zasshi*, XXXVII of May 1875.
- 116
'Saigaku Ippan' [A Fragment of Western Learning], *Meiroke Zasshi*, X, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XXIII & XXIX.
- 117
'Zenryō naru Haha o tsukuru Setsu' [How to make good Mothers], *Meiroke Zasshi*, XXXIII.

118

Meiroke Zasshi, XXX. He in fact argues that the two essential bases are science (*geijutsu*) and religion (*kyōhō*) '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 paid 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], *Meiroke Zasshi*, XXXV.

120

cf. *infra*: Ch.4.

121

NYH, 856(200).

122

TMNM, 73.

123

Parts 1 & 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.

131

cf. Appx. Five.

132

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

133

Koga Dōan, 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 *Kimbō Okusoku* [Speculations on Coastal Defense]. He also ran a private school called the *Ryūmonjuku*. DJJ,11,531-2; NYH,513(1); SYD,54.

134

For Sakatani see below, Section three.

135

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 *Kaiseisho*. It was finally abolished after 88 years in May 1869. NYH,715(12).

136

NYH,638(59).

137

cf. Ch.2.

138

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

139

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

140

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 (*Kyōiku 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.

141

Also known as the *Sansajuku* or, Triple Fork Academy, due to its position at a triple junction of streams forming the Ōgawa river. NYH,741(69) & 753(10); SYD,55.

142

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.

143

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

- i. Fukuzawa's *Keiō Gijuku* (English).....323;
 - ii. Naruto Yoshitami (Jirōkichi)'s *Narutojuku*(English).....141;
 - iii. Seki Shimpachi's *Kyōritsu Gakusha* (English & trad.).....111; &
 - iv. Fukuchi Gen'ichiro's school (English & French).....78.
- SYD,54-5 quoting the *Shimbun Zasshi*,V,1871.6.

144

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

145

SYD,55.

146

MBZ,XVIII,95.

147

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 *Mei roku Zasshi*. cf. Osatake Takeshi's notes (*kaidai*) in MBZ,XVIII,x.

148

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.

149

MBZ,XVIII,359.

150

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

151

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

152

NYH,724(62).

153

cf. *supra*: Ch.1.

154

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

155a

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.

155b

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.

156

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.

157

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 *Sōnin* 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 *Genrō'in*. In 1888 he received an honorary Doctorate of Laws (*Hōgaku 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 Hōritsu Gakkō*). He was awarded the Order of Merit, First Class, and after his death in 1897 was promoted Baron.

160

Etō Shimpei, 1834-1874, prominent *Bakumatsu* and early *Meiji* bureaucrat. Etō 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.

162

A.T. von Mehren: *Law in Japan: The Legal Order in a Changing Society*, II, Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963, I, 24.

163

JLME, 581.

164

cf., Appx. Four, 1870.

165

Kaigo Tokiomi and Naka Arita Eds.: *Nihon Kyōkasho Taikei: Kindai Hen*, I-III, *Shūshin*, i-iii [Outline of Japanese Textbooks: The Modern Period, I-III, Ethics, i-iii] (henceforth NKTK, I, II or III respectively) Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1961-2, I, 596-7.

166

Similar ethics textbooks produced by other members of the *Meirokusha* were: Nakamura's *Saikoku Risshi Hen* (1869); Sugi's *Seihōryaku* (1871); and Fukuzawa's *Dōmō Oshiegun* (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).

171

cf. Appx. Four, 1875.

172

Both were members of the *Kaiseisho*. 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 Etō Shimpei, 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*

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 XXe. Siècle*.

175

NYH,853(154). The titles of Rinshō's translations of the works listed in this paragraph are respectively: *Keizai Genron* (Basic Economics); *Bankoku Kōhō* (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 Sōkan suru no Ron' (On the mutual Interrelationship of a people's freedom and the Climate of their Country) Pts. I & II, *Mei roku 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). *Mei roku Zasshi*, VII, MBZ,XVIII,88.

179

'Riboruchii no Setsu' (An Explanation of Liberty) Pts. I & II, *Mei roku 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. DNB,XI,372-3.

182

Exactly when Rinshō left the *Meiropusha* 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 *Meiropu 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 Fukkoku Mimpō Kaishaku*, 1877, a translation from a treatise on French civil law; and
- ii. *Shizen Shinkyō oyobi Dōtokugaku*, 1880, a translation on 'natural law and morality', which was published as one volume of the *Mombushō's Hyakka Zensho* (Encyclopaedia). NYH,855(194) & 9]8(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 *Meiropusha* output.

189

Donald H. Shively: 'Nishimura Shigeki: A Confucian View of Modernization' in: Marius B. Jansen Ed.: *Changing Japanese Attitudes towards Modernization*, Princeton University Press, 1965, Studies in the Modernization of Japan, 1, (henceforth Shively: CJATM), 193-214. The ensuing discussion of Nishimura relies largely

on this paper. The main Japanese biography otherwise used is Yoshida Kumaji: *Nishimura Shigeiki*, Tokyo: Bunkyo Shoin, 1942, Nihon Kyōiku Sentetsu Sōsho, XX (henceforth: YKNS), with occasional reference to the official biography, *Hakuō Nishimura Shigeiki Den*, Nippon Kodokai Ed., Tokyo, 1933 (henceforth: HNSD). 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 Kodokai Ed.: *Hakuō Sōsho*, II, [The collected Writings of Hakuō (= Nishimura Shigeiki)], Tokyo, 1909 & 1912, (henceforth: HKSS).

190

The others being Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō* 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 *Keizai Yōshi* [Essential Economics], 1874.

194

viz.: *Kyūshokisei Kōgi* [Lectures on moral Training], 1874, a translation of Laurens P. Hickock: *A System of Moral Science*, Schenectady, 1853. Shively: CJATM, 207, N. 13.

195

viz.: *Kyōiku Shi* [A History of Education], 1875. cf. Appx. Four.

196

Shively: CJATM, 207.

197

Shively: CJATM, 201.

198

Shively: CJATM, 240.

199

Shively: CJATM, 227.

200

Shively: CJATM, 235.

201

Shively: CJATM,211.

202

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.

203

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

'When 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 a way 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

204

MBZ,XVIII,16.

205

MBZ,XVIII,191.

206

MBZ,XVIII,192.

207

MBZ,XVIII,204-5.

208

MBZ, XVIII, 256.

209

MBZ, XVIII, 256.

210

A good example of the first is his 'Kaika 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 *Meiroku Zasshi*, I; and of the second, his three articles of a projected series of twelve titled 'Seigo jū-ni Kai' (Explanation of Twelve Western Words) in *Meiroku 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, XVIII, 230 & 231.

212

cf. *supra*: Introduction, 8-9.

213

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

214

MKSS.

215

cf. Appx. Eight.

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 'Yoshirō') 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.

219

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 阪谷 and not 酒屋. The adoption of the alternative reading 'tani' instead of 'ya' was a later innovation.

220

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

221

Kusaka Makoto, d.1854, student of Dutch medicine. Elder brother to Kusaka Genzui, a well-known Chōshū advocate of *jōi*. 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.

222

Sakatani refused offers from Tsuwano, Tsuyama, Okayama and Hiroshima (where he eventually did accept a job after the Restoration). (DNJJ,1,114).

223

SYD,9.

224

SYD,10.

225

SYD,10-11. The *Kōjōdō* (also known as the *Kōjōkan*) came to rank as one of the three great fief schools of Japan, together with the Chōshū *Meirinkan* and the Mito *Kōdōkan*. The name *Kōjōdō* (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.

226

SYD,11; DNJJ,1,113

227

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 '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 (*shinshi*)
- 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 Chūshin; Kō Tokkei*);

to discipline anger and curb desires; to transfer to the good and reform excesses (*Chōfun Chitsuyoku; Senzen 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 *Seidō* (*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. DJJ, 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 *Chinzei Hakkō* (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 JIJ, 1, 389.

236

JIJ, 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 Gakusha*, 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

JIJ, 1, 390.

241

'Shitsugi Issoku' (A Tentative Suggestion), MBZ, XVIII, 107.

- 242
 'Shitsugi Issoku' (A Tentative Suggestion), *Mei-roku Zasshi*, 10.
- 243
 'Seishin o Yashinai Issetsu' (On nourishing the Spirit),
Mei-roku Zasshi, XL & XLI.
- 244
 'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ni wa mazu Seitai o sadamubeshi no Gimon'
 (That we should decide on the form of the state before we set up an
 Assembly), MBZ, XVIII, 121.
- 245
 'Sonnō-jōi Setsu' (On revering the Emperor and expelling the
 Barbarian), MBZ, XVIII, 264.
- 246
 'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron' (On a modified form of Parliament),
 MBZ, XVIII, 189. The untranslatable play on the word '*hensoku*' in
 this title is discussed below.
- 247
 'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ni wa...' (cf. *supra*:N.244.), 121.
- 248
 'Minsen Gi'in o tatsu ni wa...' (cf. *supra*:N.244.), 120-122.
- 249
 'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', MBZ, XVIII, 189.
- 250
 'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', MBZ, XVIII, 189.
- 251
 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...'
- 252
 'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', I, MBZ, XVIII, 186-8.
- 253
 'Minsen Gi'in Hensoku Ron', II, MBZ, XVIII, 189-90.

- 254
eg. in 'Son'i Setsu' (On respecting Difference), *Meiroku Zasshi*, XIX.
- 255
'Seikyō no Utagai Zoku' (Reflections [lit.: doubts] on Government and morality, Continued), *Meiroku Zasshi*, XXV, MBZ, XVIII, 176. (The first part of this article is in *Meiroku Zasshi*, XXII).
- 256
'Seikyō no Utagai Zoku', MBZ, XVIII, 177.
- 257
'Seikyō no Utagai Zoku', MBZ, XVIII, 176.
- 258
MBZ, XVIII, 241.
- 259
The *Hakurokudō Sho'in Keishi*. cf. *supra*: N.227.
- 260
Also less frequently known as Shundō.
- 261
I.B. Taeuber: *The Population of Japan*, Princeton, 1958, 40, N.9.
- 262
Ten articles in thirteen contributions.
- 263
Tsukatani Akihiro: 'Sugi Kōji no Gakumon to Shisō: Meiji no wasurareta Shisōka-Zō' (The learning and Thought of Sugi Kōji; Portrait of a forgotten Meiji Thinker) (henceforth: TSA) in: *Shigaku Zasshi*, LXXVI, 8, 72-86.
- 264
Tanaka Tarō: 'Sugi Kōji-ō Ryakuden oyobi Jiseki' (Short Life and Works of Sugi Kōji), *Tōkeigaku Zasshi*, CCCLXXVIII, 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 Kōenshū* [The collected lectures of Sugi Sensei], 1902, 312, as quoted in TSA, 85.

- 267
DJJ, III, 445.
- 268
DJJ, III, 445.
- 269
Sugita was a well-known scholar of Dutch learning, who also taught Kanda and Katō. cf. Appx. Nine.
- 270
Okudaira was the lord of Nakatsu, Fukuzawa's native *han*.
- 271
One other future member of the *Meirokusha* whom Sugi had met by this time was Mitsukuri Shūhei. TKS, 3.
- 272
NYH, 578.
- 273
TSA, 81.
- 274
One *Nimbuchi* was the amount of rice for one man's total expenditure (ie. 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 Daisaburō), 1841-1920. Baron and Vice-Admiral. Studied 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, I, 25; DNJJ, 17; NYH, 640 & 642; *Tokugawa Akitake Tai-ō Kiroku* [Record of Tokugawa Akitake's sojourn in Europe], I, 509; *Shibusawa Ei'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 Entwicklung*, 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 Iwasaburō: 'Ko-Sugi Kōji-Shi to Hompō no Tōkeigaku' (The late Mr. Sugi Kōji 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, III, 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, III, 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 *Dajōkan* by which name it also continued to be known. It was in charge of both the legislature and

executive (*Sa'in* and *U'in*). The President was the *Dajōdaijin* who advised the Emperor and had general powers of decision on all matters of government. A. Fraser: *The Evolution of the Council in the Japanese Government, 1868-1890*, unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Australian National University, 1961.

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 Quételet. Sugi 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 independent statistical institutes cf. *infra*.

293

Quoted in TSA, 75.

294

cf. *supra*: N.291.

295

Quoted in TSA, 78.

296

The *Tōkei'in* was in fact a new name for the expanded *Dajōkan Seihyōka*. TSA, 78.

- 297
DJJ, III, 445.
- 298
TSA, 78.
- 299
Shimmi Seihyō, cf. Appx. Four.
- 300
DJJ, III, 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 Sugi'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*, III, 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 Sugi bases his argument on economic facts.

310

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).

311

MNK,5.

312

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.

313

It is possible that he was fearful of attack from the watchful *shishi*, anxious to maintain the pure heretige 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.

314

MNK,5.

315

Recorded in Seikei's *Bairi Yōkō*. cf. MKSS,456.

316

NYH,578.

317

MNK,5.

318

Nameiy: Nishimura, Tsuda Sen, Nishi and Sugi.

319

cf. Appx. Four.

320

Quoted in NYH,636.

321

cf. *supra*: Ch. i.

322

cf. Appx. Four.

323

Yanagawa Shunsan (also read Shunzō), 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 Shi*, 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, XVIII, *kaidai*, 11; MJSZ, 11, 16-7 & 24-5; JTM, 71

324

cf. Appx. Four.

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), *Mei roku Zasshi*, XIX, MBZ, XVIII, 148.

329

MNK, 5-6.

330

In: 'Shitsugi Issoku', *Mei roku Zasshi*, X, MBZ, XVIII, 107.

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 *Mei-roku Zasshi*.

332

For an opposite view cf. OKMA, 140. Suzuki Masashi, however, who argues for a complete *volte-face* is more convincing. Suzuki Masashi: 'Meiji Kanryō to Kindai Shiso: Mori Arinori o meguru Kōsatsu' (The Meiji Bureaucracy and modern Thought: A Study of Mori Arinori), *Rekishū Hyōron*, 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 Jijoden*, 1915 (henceforth: KHJD), 13.

334

Ōki Chūeki, *Bakumatsu-Meiji* scholar of Dutch medicine. Son-in-law and senior pupil of Tsuboi Shindō, 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 Shinyū, eldest son of Shindō, 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. Katō is justly remembered as the pioneer of German studies in Japan. But whilst attaining considerable proficiency at reading, Katō never went abroad and could not converse in German as well as, say, Shiba Ryōkai, 1839-79, compiler of the famous *Wa-yō Doitsu Jiten*, [Japanese-German Dictionary] (*Kyūhan to Shijimbutsu*, 14). As Katō 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 Katō'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 Katō's early liberal views.

341

MBZ, VII, *kaidai*, iv.

342

Katō Hiroyuki: 'Mukashi no Rangaku no Hanashi' (A Talk on Dutch Studies in the Old Days) in: *Meiji 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 Katō'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 cf. Appx. Four.

349

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

350

Mei roku Zasshi, IV, MBZ, XVIII, 69-70.

351

The full text is reproduced in Miyakoshi Shin'ichirō: *Nihon Kensei Kiso Shiryō* [Historical Materials on the Founding of the Japanese Constitution], Tokyo, 1939, 145-51.

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

cf. 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

cf. *supra*: N.356. This at the tender age of seven!

359

NYH, 879(6)

360

cf. *supra*: Nakamura. It may be mentioned in passing that Tsuda, with Nakamura, was a Christian, and a close friend of Niishima Jō. 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)

361

OKMK,46.

362

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

363

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

364

Kashiwabara was already a direct *Bakufu* retainer by birth (The *Daimyō* of Takamatsu was a Matsudaira).

365

The more important of Kashiwabara's works were:
Jika Teiko (Pocket Textbook of Otology)
Byōsha Suchi (Essential Knowledge for Invalids)
Gyūbyō Shinsetsu (New Ideas on Cattle Sickness)
Yobyō Shinsetsu (New Ideas on Sheep Sickness)
Kakuchi Mokyū (Introduction to Physics)
Ro-Shi Kagaku Shinsetsu (Mr. Ro... 's New Chemistry)
Chigaku Kimmō (Introduction to Geology)

366

cf. Appx. Three A.

367

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

368

'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 'Sunday'. Such a thing was of course all right for religious observance by religious people, but after all, 'there are at least 50 Sundays 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.' !

369

Kashiwabara is listed as a Corresponding Member resident in Shizuoka in the May 1875 membership list. AYNT,274.

370

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

371

The proper title of the *Shibata Jisho* was the *Ei-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 *Meiropusha* 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 *Yomiuri Shimbum Shi*. NYH,845(78).

372

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.

373

cf. Appx. Three A.

374

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

375

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

376

DJJ gives the *Sōnin* rank of *Gondai-shokikan* but this rank did not exist in the *Gaimushō* until 1877.

377

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 fusty old Confucianist, compared with Mori and Fukuzawa as idealist innovators.

378

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 Renrō, MBZ, XVIII, *kaidai*, v.) Writing of Shimizu in his autobiography Fukuzawa said: 'He was certainly an unusual man for his rank in society.'

379

NYH, 569(53)

380

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

581

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

582

NYH, 652-3(2).

583

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

584

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

385

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

386

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

387

Reported in the *Moshiogusa*, IX, 1868.5.13. cf. the full reproduction in: Ono Hideo Ed.: *Moshiogusa Kōkō Shimbun*, Tokyo: Meiji Bunka Kenkyū Kai, 1926, 79.

388

Amongst the former were basic materials for *cloisonné* work, the techniques of which he was interested in improving, as well as such things as porcelaine 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,III,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 Koan 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 *Meirokeisha'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
Nishi'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 *Meirokei 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.

chapter four notes

- 11 Nishimura, MZ, I, 57-8.
- 12 Nishi, MZ, I, 51.
- 13 Nishi, MZ, I, 51.
- 14 Nishi, MZ, I, 51.
- 15 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.

- 16 Nishi, MZ, I, 55.

- 17 The original rules of the *Meirokusha* are quoted in full in: *Sekai Rekishi Jiten* [Dictionary of World History] XXII, *Shiryō Hen: Nippon* [Source Materials: Japan] Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1955, 449-50. They are given in translation here as Appx.One A.

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 *Meirokekusha's* organization is based, except where otherwise footnoted, on the Rules of the *Meirokekusha* and the Amended Rules of the *Meirokekusha*, translated in full in Appendices One A and One B.

20a

It appears, however, that Mitsukuri Shūhei, 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 *Meirokekusha*, 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 Hōchi* 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 Nichinichi Shimbun*, first published respectively on 16 and 29 March 1872. NTMSZ, 27-8. Quoted below p.31.

chapter four notes

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 *Kaiseisho* (now the *Kaisei Gakkō*). 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.

E.W. Clarke: *Life and Adventures in Japan*, N.Y., 1878, 138-43. Also: *Meiji Shiyō* [Essentials of Meiji History] 1, 438; and: *Mombu Daini Nempō* [Second Annual Report of the Education Department], Tokyo: 1874, 33.

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 *Kaiseisho*). 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 *Yūbin Hōchi*, 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 Renrō.
- 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 *Meiropusha* should not in any way be liable to the charge of being a political organization.

chapter four notes

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 Tōkyō Keizai Shimbunsha Ed.: *Meiji Taishō Kokusei Sōran* [Survey of National Resources and Statistics of the Meiji-Taishō 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.

45

Kōsaka Masa'aki: *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, Tokyo: Pan Pacific Press, 1958, 64; & OKMA, 66.

46

Ōkubo Toshiaki: 'Meirokusha to Meiroku Zasshi' [The *Meirokusha* and the *Meiroku Zasshi*], in *Nihon Kosho Tsushin* [Japanese Literary Antiquities News] 278, 15 June 1967, 2.

47

cf. Appx. Two.

48

YHS, 339, 8 May 1875.

49

cf. Appx. Seven.

50

Discussed below in Section Six.

51

cf. *supra* pp.13-15.

52

cf. Introduction, 7.

53

Koizumi Shinkichi, 1853-1894. Banker and economist. At that time at Keiō, later to succeed Fukuzawa as president, in 1889.

chapter four notes

54

1874 is only a tentative date. The exact date is unknown. FYZ, XXI, 536.

55

FYD, II, 188-201.

56

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

57

cf. Appx. Three A.

58

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], Katō, Sugi and Mori. cf. FYZ, I, 59.

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.

60

OKMK, 46.

61

cf. *supra* p.19.

62

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

63

NTMZ, 23.

64

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

65

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 *Yubin Hōchi*, 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

chapter four notes

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 Shimibun 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.

67

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 Katō 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.

71

The population figure is for Tokyo in 1888. cf. Taeuber: *The Population of Japan*, 47. For the *Yūbin Hōchi* circulation figure, cf. *Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankokai* Ed.: *Meiji Zenki Sangyō Hattatsu Shi Shiryō* [Materials on the History of the Development of Industry in the Early Meiji Period] *Bessatsu* [Supplement] XXVI (1) Tokyo: 1967, 118. This source gives the total circulation of YHS for 1874 as: 2,064,318. The same source actually gives a slightly larger figure than Mori for the MZ, namely: 81,725.

72

The first instalment of Nishi's article on religion, *Kyōmon Ron*, and Sugi's résumé of ideas by 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 *Hogozei o hi to suru Setsu*, from MZ, 5, was reprinted a fortnight later in YHS, 320.

chapter four notes

73

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.

74

TSMZ, 118.

75

cf. Ch.2, N. 57 for Kurimoto Jōun.

76

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

77

e.g. the supplement (*Furoku*) to YHS, 33 carries a letter from Tomita Tetsunosuke (later a *Meirokeisha* 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.

78

cf. Ch.1, p.38.

79

cf. *supra* pp.9 & 11.

80

cf. Appx. One A, rule thirteen.

81

for original text see: MBZ, XVIII, 44.

82

cf. Introduction, 10.

83

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

84

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-

87

cf. Appx. Eight.

88

cf. Appx. Eight.

89

Katō lectured the Emperor and Empress right through the *Meirokusha* 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', *Meiroku 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.

94

cf. *supra*: p.273.

95

cf. Appx. One A, rule 13 & Appx. One B, rule 11.

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 weal, 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

appendix one a

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 MEIROKUSHA

as of: May 1875. in: Asō 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 TWOMORI ARINORISPEECH 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 Presidentship, 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 Shuhei, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Sugi Koji, Mitsukuri Rinsho and myself. But of these, Mitsukuri Rinsho 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.

appendix two

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 Kōji 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 Hōchisha 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, 262 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

appendix two

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

Name	Date Joined	Comment	Ref.
f x Mori Arinori	} c. Aug. 1873	society first mooted by Mori to Nishimura. Mori became first President.	HNSD, I, 370.
f x Nishimura Shigeki			
f x Fukuzawa Yukichi	} c. Sept. 1873	contacted by Nishimura and held first meetings at the <i>Seiyōken</i> , a Western style Restaurant.	HNSD, I, 370
f x Nakamura Masanao			
f x Katō Hiroyuki			
f x Tsuda Mamichi			
f x Nishi Amane			
f x Mitsukuri Shūhei			
f x Mitsukuri Rinshō	} presumably by 1 Feb. 1874	These two are not listed by Nishimura, but are given as founder members in Mori's retiring speech. Rinshō left fairly soon 'because of illness'.	cf. Appx.2.
f x Sugī Kōji			

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMBERSHIP CHART (CONT.)

Name	Date Joined	Comment	Ref.
x Shimizu Usaburo	} presumably by, or shortly after 1 Feb. 1874.	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.	
Sera Tai'ichi			
Hatakeyama Yoshinari	} by 10 Dec 74	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.	YHS, 531 & Appx.2. TSMZ, 118.
Sugita Gentan			
x Sakatani Shiroshi			
x Tsuda Sen			
x Kanda Kohei	} by 10 Dec 74	These were the five Corresponding Members referred to in Mori's retiring speech.	YHS, 531 & Appx.2.
Takagi Saburo			
Tomita Tetsunosuke			
W.E. Griffis			
x Kashiwabara Taka'aki		Griffis left Japan in Jul 74.	WGME, 8.

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMBERSHIP CHART (CONT.)

Name	Date Joined	Comment	Ref.			
Tanaka Fujimarō	} by 10 Dec 74, probably on 1 Dec	} These are eight of the ten Casual Members referred to in Mori's retiring speech. The remaining two have not been identified.	} YHS, 531. TSMZ, 118.			
Kuki Ryuichi						
Furukawa Masao						
Akiyama Tsunetarō						
Nagayo Sensai						
Maejima Hisoka						
Koyasu Takashi				} 16 Dec 74	} Akiyama, Kuki, Furukawa & Tanaka later became Regular Members.	} AYKT, 273
x? Shjibata Shōkichi						
Ōtsuki Fumihiko	} by May 1875	} These men are given as Regular Members in the list attached to the revised rules of May 75.	} AYKT, 273-4.			
Asa'i Seibun						
Tsuji Shinji						
Hida Shosaku						

f = Founder Member

x = Contributor to MZ

APPENDIX THREE BPEOPLE KNOWN TO HAVE ATTENDED THE MEIROKUSHAONCE OR MORE AS GUESTS

Name	Source	Comment
Fukuchi Gen'ichirō	TSMZ, 118.	Litérateur and politician.
Kamei Koremi	" "	Former Daimyō of Tsuwano.
Furusawa Shigeru	" "	Popular rights leader.
Numa Morikazu	" "	Popular rights leader.
Date Munenari	" "	Former Daimyō of Uwajima.
Shimaji Mokurai	" "	Famous Buddhist scholar.
Matsuda Michiyuki	" "	Beaurocrat.
Ueki Emori	UEN.	Popular rights journalist.
E.H. House	TSMZ, 118.	American journalist and author. Editor of The Tokyo Times.
Brown (An American)	UEN, 16 Jun 75.	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 <i>Colloquial Japanese or Conversational Sentences & Dialogues in English and Japanese</i> 1862. (SJJ, 1212) S.R. Brown was certainly known to Griffis. (cf. WGME, 160 & 263).

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

N I S H I :

Igiri[su] Bunten [English Grammar Book]

伊吉利文典

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 Ritsuzō. 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(66).

1860

F U K U Z A W A :

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

增訂華英通語

This was a special Japanese edition of the Chinese-English dictionary of words and phrases, the *Hua-ying T'ung-yü*, 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 'v' sound by the *kana* symbol for 'u' with a *nigori*. NYH,623(29). It is reproduced in full in FYZ,1.

Bankoku Seihyō [World Statistics]

万国製表

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 1860.11. 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*,11.

S H I M I Z U :

Engirishi Kotoba [English Words]

之人知りし言葉

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

1861

K A N D A :

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

オランダ美政録

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]

農商(建國)辨

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 calander.]

K A T Ō :

Tonarigusa [Neighbouring Growth (lit.: grass)]

隣草

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 Vein]. Cf. MBZ, VII, *kaidai*, II. Katō's first published argument in favour of constitutionalism was *Rikken Seitai Ryaku* qv. *infra* 1868.

1861

TSUDA MAMICHI :

Tengai Dokugo [Monologues]

天外獨語

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 *Jōi*. Advocates a Confucian style democracy (*mimponshugi*) not unlike Yokoi 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]

性理論

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 *kitetsugaku* (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 :

Eibei Tsūgo [Common Phrases in England and America]

英米通語

An expanded edition of *Engirishi Kotoba* (qv. *supra*: 1860).

1865

F U K U Z A W A :

Tōjin Ōrai [The Advent of Foreigners]

店 人 往 來

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 *Bunkiyū* (1861-3)

K A T Ō :

Seiyō Kakkoku Seisui Kyōjaku Ichirampyō [The Relative Power of all Western Countries at a Glance]

西 洋 各 國 盛 衰 強 弱 一 覽 表

A minor work of Katō'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]

交 易 問 答

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. NYH, 692 gives the same title under Tsuda Mamichi, but this seems to be an error.

1865

NISHI :

Bankoku Kōhō [International Law]

万国公法

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 Kōhō* of 1874.

1866

F U K U Z A W A :

Seiyō Jijō [Conditions in the West]

西洋事情

Seiyō Jijō 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.

N I S H I :

Bankoku Kōhō [International Law]

万国公法

A translation of Vissering's lectures on *Volkenrecht* 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.

1867

F U K U Z A W A :

Seiyō Jijō

西洋事情

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]

西洋旅案内

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 Ishokujū [Daily Life in the West]

西洋衣食住

A straightforward description with illustrations of Western foods, clothing, furniture *etc.* CBFY, 8.

Jōyaku Jū-ikkoku Ki [Points about the eleven Treaty Countries]

修約十一國記

EKFY, 375.

1867

K A N D A :

Keizai Shōgaku [Elementary Economics]

經濟小學

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 *Seiyō 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 Tsūran [A General Survey History]

百代通覽

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

F U K U Z A W A :

Kummō Kyūri Zukai [Illustrated Explanations of Scientific Principles]

訓蒙窮理圖解

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

Heishi Kaichū Benran [Handbook for Soldiers]

兵士懷中便覽

EKFY,375.

K A N D A :

Oranda Seiten [The Dutch Constitution]

和蘭政典

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.

Sūgaku Kyōiku Hon [Mathematics Instruction Book]

数学教育本

ISNB,946.

Seiyō Keizai Shōgaku

西洋經濟小学

cf. *supra*: *Keizai Shōgaku*, 1867.

1868

K A T Ō :

Rikken Seitai Ryaku [Outline of Constitutionalism]

立憲政体略

A small pamphlet of 26 pages. The first Japanese work positively to advocate constitutional government. In effect an expansion of *Tonarigusa* qv. *supra*: 1861. Argues for popular government and individual rights. (Yoshino Sakuzō suggests that in fact this, like several other works by Katō, shows signs of considerable assistance from Yanagawa Shunsan. MBZ, VII, *kaidai*, iv.) Also discusses various forms of government and stresses the importance of the division of powers. TSKH, 76.

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

Taisei Kokuhō Ron [Western National Law]

泰西國法論

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 Hōgaku Yōryō*, which is a short descriptive essay on Western law, and the first original Japanese work on this subject. Ōkubo ranks *Taisei Kokuhō Ron* with Nishi's *Bankoku Kōhō*, Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō*, Kanda's *Seihōryaku* and Katō's *Rikken Seitai Ryaku*, as one of the most important early 'enlightenment' works. Where Nishi's work dealt with international law, *Taisei Kokuhō 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 *Mimpō* for 'Civil Law'. It was published in 1868.9 by the *Kaiseisho*, 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

F U K U Z A W A :

Seiyō Jijō
西洋事情

The last four volumes (cf. *supra*: 1866). Subtitled *Ningen no Tsūgi* [Universal Human Principles]. Principally consists of selected translations from Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (fp. 1765-9). In addition contains selected translations from Francis Wayland: *Elements of Political Economy* (1837). MBZ, IV, 519.

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

世界國畫

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

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

英國議事院談

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 Kōsai Shimatsu [Relations between Ch'ing China and England]

清英交際始末

NYH, 726(85).

Shōchū Bankoku Ichiran [A Pocket View of the World]

掌中萬國一覽

KBKS, V, 67.

1869

F U K U Z A W A cd.:

Yōhei Meikan [Clear Lessons from the Western Military]

洋兵明鑑

NYH,726(85). (KNSS,IV,13 gives 1868)

Keimō Tenari no Fumi [Elementary Book of Penmanship and
Reading]

啓蒙手習文

EKFY,376.

M I T S U K U R I R I N S H Ō :

Keizai Genron [Basic Economics]

經濟原論

A translation of Arthur Latham Perry: *Elements of Political Economy*, 1865. Rinshō did this translation in conjunction with Ogata Gi'ichi and Yanagawa Shunsan.

1870

K A T Ō :

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

眞政大義

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 Katō shows some reluctance to accept the idea of establishing a parliament immediately, thus pressaging his later more explicit *shosaron*. This was also the first Japanese work to introduce the concepts of Socialism and Communism. TSKH,78-9. (KHJD gives the date as 1869)

N I S H I :

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

百学連環

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]

ことばの柱石

1870

N I S H I M U R A :

Yochi Shiryaku [Outline World Geography]

輿地言略

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

Bankoku Shiryaku [Short History of the World]

萬國史略

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.

M I T S U K U R I R I N S H Ō :

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

私蘭西法律書刑法

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 (*Kokusaihō*, also called *Bankoku Kōhō*); 1874, Civil Procedure (Litigation) (*Soshō*), Criminal Procedure (*Chisaihō*), and Commercial Law (*Shōhō*); and 1876, Constitutional Law (*Kempō*). NYH,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

K A N D A :

Seihōryaku [Outline of Natural Law]

性法略

A translation of Nishi's notes on the lectures given by Vissering at Leyden on *Naturregt*. 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. NAZ,11,699. *Seihōryaku* was also used as a primary school text-book. CBFY,149.

Seigaku Zusetsu narabi Zu [Astronomical Charts and Diagrams]

星学図説並図

Seigaku Zu'i [Collection of Astronomical Charts]

星学図彙

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

M I T S U K U R I R I N S H Ō :

Bankoku Shinshi [A new History of the World]

万国新史

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]

私蘭西法律書民法

cf. *supra*: 1870. Published by the *Daigaku Nankō* (*Kaiseisho*) in sixteen volumes (*satsu*).

1871

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ cd.:

Taisei Kanzen Kummō [Western Moral Instruction]

泰西勸善訓蒙

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: 1res. et 2es. Lectures.

Leçons 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, I, 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, III, 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.

1871

NAKAMURA :

Saikoku Risshi Hen [Tales of Success In the West]

西國立言志編

A translation of Samuel Smiles: *Self Help*. First published in full in 13 parts (sub-divided into a total of 324 sections) by the *Dōjinsha* in July 1871. This, together with Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō* and Uchida Masao's *Yochi Shiriyaku* (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. HMNM,78. 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 Nempyō [Chronology of Western History]

西史年表

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 Seihyō [Statistical Tables for 1871]

辛未政表

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

1872

F U K U Z A W A :

Gakumon no Susume [The Advancement of Learning]

学問のすすめ

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 *keimō* works, by 1880 the total of individual numbers sold had reached c.700,000 (of which 240,000 were of Pt. 1). 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]

童蒙教草

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. EKFY,376. It was also used as a primary school textbook. CBFY,149.

Katawa Musume [The disfigured lady]

かたわ娘

A satire on current Japanese ideals of beauty which enjoined such practices as shaving the eyebrows and blackening the teeth. EKFY,376.

K A N D A :

Oranda Shūhō [Dutch Provincial Law]

和蘭州法

1872

K A N D A cd.:

Oranda Yūhō [Dutch Rural Law]

和蘭邑法

This and the preceding entry are both translations of Dutch legal codes. NYH,795(117).

Oranda Shihōshoku Seihō [Dutch Legal Procedure]

和蘭司法職制法

TSNB,946.

K A T Ō :

Kokuhō Hanron [Outline of State Law]

國法汎論

A partial translation of Johann Caspar Bluntschli: *Allgemeines Staatsrecht Geschichtlich Begründet* (General State Law on Historical Foundations), 1852. Published by the *Mombushō*. The first of Katō's major translations from German which influenced him in taking a more statist line and to renounce his earlier faith in natural rights. Probably Katō's most influential single work. TSKH,84-5. Published in eleven parts (*kan*) between 1872 & 1874. NYH,798(160). (*Allgemeines Staatsrecht...* was the first part only of Bluntschli's *Lehre 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,VII,553.

M I T S U K U R I R I N S H Ō ;

Taisei Shikan [Mirror History of the West]

泰西史鑑

KNSS,IV,15 (original untraced)

M O R I :

Religious Freedom in Japan: A Memorial and Draft of Charter.
Privately printed in Washington. See further text, 40ff.

1873

FUKUZAWA:

帳合文法

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* 簿算学. The word finally adopted was *boki*, as used in the *Ginkō Boki Seihō* 銀行簿記精法 [Detailed Rules of Banking and Bookkeeping], put out in 1873 by the *Ōkurashō* (being a translation of an untraced English work by one A.A. Shand). NYH, 824(107).

Kairekiben [Understanding the New Calander]

改曆辨

From 1 January 1873, Japan adopted the Western solar calander. 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 calander worked and what were the reasons for adopting it. EKFY, 376.

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ:

Dōmōkyō no Michisuji [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 Kumō* (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

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ cd.:

Fukukoku Seiten [On the Government of France]

仙國政典

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

Furansu Hōritsu Sho: Kokusaihō [French Legal Codes: International Law]

蘭西法律書國際法 (万国公法)

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

Kyōdō Setsu [On Education]

教道説

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 Kummō

泰西勸善訓蒙

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

NAKAMURA :

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]

西國童子鏡

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

NISHIMURA :

Kachū Keizai [Home Economics]

家中經濟

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

SHIBATA :

Ei-Wa Ji'i [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

F U K U Z A W A :

Kaigiben [Speaking before an Audience]

會議辨

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

K A T Ō :

Kokutai Shinron [A New Theory of the State]

國體新論

The final work of Katō'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.

M I T S K U R I R I N S H Ō :

Bankoku Kōhō [International Law]

萬國公法

Distinguish from his *Kokusaihō* 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. 1, 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,837(29); BMGC; DAB.

Fukkoku Minsen Gi'in Senkyo Hō [The Election Laws for the French National Assembly]

仏國民選議院選舉法

Rinshō's revision of Ōi Kentarō's translation. NYH,853(160).

1874

MITSUKURI RINSHŌ cd.:

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

仏蘭西法律書 治罪法 商法 訴訟法

cf. *supra*: 1870.

Gakkō Tsūron [All About Schools]

学校通論

A translation of James Pyle Wickersham: *School Economy: A Treatise on the Preparation, Organization, Employments, Government and Authorities of Schools*, 1870. (fp. Philadelphia, 1864). MSKSK,220; LCPC,CLXII,1946.

Taisei Shizen Shinkyō [Natural Religion in the West]

泰西自然神教

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

Tōkeigaku [Statistics]

統計学

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

Taisei Kanzen Kummō

泰西勸善訓蒙

Pt. 3. cf. *supra*: 1871.

1874

NAKAMURA :

Seihai Zassan [A Miscellany of Western Tales]

西釋雜纂

A *kambun* reader of translations of selected anecdotes and didactic stories, published by the *Dōjīnsha*.
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.

Chichi 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 :

Keizai Yōshi [Essential Economics]

經濟要旨

Published by the *Mombushō*.

Kyūsho Kisei 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.

1874

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

Hyōki Teikō [Outline of Statistics]

表紀提綱

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 *Seihyō 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 Sugi Kōji titled *Keisei Gakuron*. Tsuda and Sugi had been friends from early days and Tsuda very probably gave his statistics notes to Sugi very soon after he got back from Holland. OTTM, III, 78, N. 11) Mitsukurī 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]

如是我觀

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 Usaburō, 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.

T S U D A S E N :

Nōgyō Sanji [Three Agricultural Matters]

農業三事

An adaptation of a work by an Austrian Oberring(?) (*kana*: *ō-i-bu-ri-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

F U K U Z A W A :

Bummeiron no Gairyaku [Outline of Civilization]

文明論之概略

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.

K A T Ō :

Seiyō Kakkoku Rikken Seitai Kiritsu Shi [A History of the Establishment of Constitutional Government in Western Countries]

西洋各國立憲政体記立史

A translation of Freiderich Carl Biedermann: *Die Entwicklung des Staatswesens in Deutschland, England und Frankreich. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Staats- und Verfassungsrecht*,*Leipzig, 1859. The second of Katō's major translations from German, published in six parts (*kan*) between 1875 and 1876. A less widely read work than *Kokuhō Hanron* (qv. *supra*: 1872), but a major source for the arguments of Katō's *shōsōron*. TSKH,85-6.

M I T S U K U R I R I N S H Ō :

Bankoku Seitai Ron [Political Systems of the World]

萬國政体論

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. LCPC,LXX, 1943.

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

1875

MITSUKURI 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 Hirobriar(?) (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 Kanda 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 *Yōshoshirabesho* [Bureau for examining Western Books]. Entry is made open to anyone of *samurai* rank.
- 1863 *Yōshoshirabesho* 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 Bugyō*).
- 1868 Briefly closed down during the Restoration.

- 1869 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 Nankō*, *Tokō* 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*.
- 1876 *Daigaku* formally established as Tokyo University [*Tōkyō Daigaku*].

APPENDIX SEVENTHE PUBLICATION DATES OF THE MEIROKU ZASSHI

Volume No.	Date of printing given in the magazine	Date of start of sale as advertised in <i>Yūbin Hōchi</i>	YHS No.
1	--	2 Apr 1874	307
2	--	"	"
3	--	"	"
4	--	"	"
5	--	15 Apr	315
6	--	"	326
7	May 1874	17 May	346
8	"	31 "	359
9	Jun	12 Jun	369
10	"	28 "	385
11	"	4 Jul	389
12	"	17 "	402
13	"	--	--
14	Jul	7 Aug	417
15	Aug	--	--
16	--	22 Sep	461
17	Sep	30 "	469
18	Oct	25 Oct	491
19	"	4 Nov	499
20	Nov	29 "	521
21	"	14 Dec	534

THE PUBLICATION DATES OF THE MEIROKU ZASSHI (CONT.)

Volume No.	Date of printing given in the magazine	Date of start of sale as advertised in <i>Yūbin Hōchi</i>	YHS No.
22	Dec	19 Dec	539
23	"	--	--
24	"	--	--
25	"	--	--
26	Jan 1875	--	--
27	Feb	13 Feb 1875	567
28	"	19 "	592
29	"	26 "	598
30	"	8 Mar	608
31	Mar	15 "	613
32	"	25 "	623
33	"	6 Apr	633
34	Apr	--	--
35	"	--	--
36	May	--	--
37	"	--	--
38	Jun	--	--
39	"	--	--
40	Aug	--	--
41	"	--	--
42	Oct	--	--
43	Nov	--	--

APPENDIX EIGHT

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

MZ. No.	Age in 1873	Total Pages*	Tsuda M.	Nishi	Sakatan i	Sugi	Mori	Nakamura	Nishimura	Kanda	Katō	Mitsukuri R.	Kashiwabara	Fukuzawa	Shimizu	Mitsukuri S.	Shibata	Tsuda Sen
1	7½			x					x									
2	3½		x	x			x				x							
3	6¼		x	x		x	XX		x									
4	4			XX		x					x	x						
5	7		x	x		x					x	x						
6	7		x	x			x				x						x	
7	5		x			XX	x				x	x			x			
8	5½		XX	x			x									x		
9	5		XX	x								x						
10	5		x		x	x		x										
11	4		x		x		x	x										
12	5		x	x				x										
13	4		x		x						x							
14	4¼		x	x		x						x						
15	5		x		x		x	x										
16	5¼		x	x		x		x										

*after the MBZ reprint.

MZ. No.	Total Page Count.	Tsuda M.	Nishi	Sakatani	Sugi	Mori	Nakamura	Nishimura	Kanda	Katō	Mitsukuri R.	Kashiwabara	Fukuzawa	Shimizu	Mitsukuri S.	Shibato	Tsuda Sen
40	5		x	x													
41	4 ⁴	x		x													x
42	5 ⁴	x	x					x									
43	5 ⁴			x				x									
TOTAL	29	25	20	13	11	11	11	11	9	8	5	4	3	2	1	1	1
																	154

x = 1 article

APPENDIX NINESPEECHES KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BUT NOT PUBLISHED IN THE MAGAZINE(These speeches are given under the date cited in: *Ueki Emori Nikki*)

Date	Speaker	Topic
16 Jun 75	Brown (an American)	not given.
	Kanda	on compiling dictionaries.
	Fukuzawa	on the new press laws.
17 Sep [sic]	Fukuzawa	not given.
	Nakamura	"
	Sakatani	"
1 Oct	Katō	on the Restoration.
	Sakatani	on translations.
	Tsuda Sen	on pisciculture.
16 Oct	Nakamura	on the likelihood of a federated Asia.
1 Nov	Nishimura	on an English book on 'general education'.
	Tsuda Sen	on agriculture.
(date unknown. cited in THNA, 224,N.50)	Nishi	on foreign tariffs.

APPENDIX TENHORACE 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 Quincy 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 resistlessly 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 *Meiropusha*. 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 rôle 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,

appendix ten

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

appendix ten

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

appendix ten

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?

appendix ten

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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郵便報知新聞

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ABBREVIATED TITLES WITH NUMBER REFERENCES TO THEBIBLIOGRAPHY (pp. 430-456)

AYKT	4	JLME	65	OKMH	145
BJMC	8	JRME	85	OKMK	146
CBFY	7	KBKS	84	OKND	150
CGLF	103	KGJ	98	OTOK	138
CJATM	74	KGN	86	OTRS	156
CLJA	101	KHJD	78	OTTM	154
DAKH	2	KNSS	192	RJPT	164
DJJ	19	KSKS	89	SWWJ	168
DNJJ	20	KSMA	76	SYD	95
DOSO	23	KTMA	83	TASK	197
DSBY	22	KTME	93	TDTM	196
ESS	171b	MAEJ	114	TMNM	185
FGSR	29	MARF	117	TSKH	182
FMSG	14	MBZ	207	TSMI	190
FYD	67	MJIJ	119	TSMZ	191
FYZ	32	MJK	63	UEN	198
GLE	34	MJSZ	133	WGME	35
HKRR	158	MKKK	149	YHS	208
HKSS	126	MKSS	144	YKNS	206
HNSD	125	MNK	77		
HMEL	39	NAZ	153		
HRZ	124	NKTK	75		
IHMA	38	NRDJ	127		
ISJJ	73	NTMZ	134		
ISNB	72	NYH	159		
JIJ	118	OKMA	148		

GLOSSARY OF CHARACTERS

- Abe Masahiro
 阿部正弘
 Akamatsu Daisaburō (Noriyoshi)
 赤松大三郎
 Akamatsu Noriyoshi (Daisaburō)
 赤松則良
 Akitsuki Taneki
 秋月種木
 Akiyama Kōtarō (Tsunetarō)
 秋山恒太郎
 Arima
 有馬
 Asakusa
 浅草
 Asai Seibun
 浅井晴文
 Ashikaga Takauji
 足利尊氏
 Ashimori
 足守
 Bakufu
 幕府
 Bakumatsu
 幕末
 Bankoku Kōhō
 万国公法
- Bankoku Sōwa
 万国叢話
 Bansho Shirabesho
 蕃書調所
 Bansho Torishirabesho
 蕃書取調所
 Benrikōshi
 弁理公使
 Bessatsu
 別冊
 Bitohū
 備中
 Boki
 簿記
 Bugyō Sho
 奉行所
 Bummei Kaika
 文明開化
 Bummeiron no Gairyaku
 文明論之概略
 Bunkyū
 文久
 Bushidō
 武士道
 Chichi Keimō
 到知啓蒙

glossary

- Chihōkan Kaigi
 地方官會議
 Chindai-fu
 鎮台府
 Chokunin
 勅任
 Chu Hsi
 朱熹
 Chūgai Shimbun
 中外新聞
 Daienki
 代煙記
 Daigaku Honkō
 大学本校
 Daigaku Nankō
 大学南校
 Daigaku Tōkō
 大学東校
 Dai'ichi Gakku Igakkō
 第一学区医学校
 Daijō
 大輔
 Daikan
 代官
 Daimyō
 大名
 Dairikōshi
 代理公使
 Daishokikan
 大書記官
 Dajōkan
 太政官
- Danshaku
 男爵
 Date Muneki see Date Munenari
 Date Munenari
 伊達宗城
 Date Munenori
 伊達宗徳
 Denshūsho see Kaigun Denshūsho
 Dōjinsha
 同人社
 Dōshisha
 同志社
 Echizen
 越前
 Edo
 江戸
 Eta
 穢多
 Etō Shimpei
 江藤新平
 Fujiwara
 藤原
 Fukoku Kyōhei
 富國強兵
 Fukuichi Gen'ichirō
 福地源一郎
 Fukugichō
 副議長
 Fukui
 福井

Fukuoka Kōtei

福岡孝弟

Fukuzawabon

福澤本

Fukuzawa Eigakujuku

福澤英学塾

Fukuzawa Einosuke

福澤英之助

Fukuzawa Yukichi

福澤諭吉

Furansu Gumpōsho Honyaku-Gakari

佛蘭西單法書
翻譯掛

Furigana

振り仮名

Furoku

付録

Furukawa Masao

古川正雄

Furusawa Shigeru

古沢滋

Gaikoku Bugyō

外國奉行

Gaikokukan Gonhanji

外國官權判事

Gaikokukan Ichidaiyakkan

外國官一才官

Gaikokukata

外國方

Gaimushō

外務省

Gakko Torishirabe Goyōgakari

学校取調御用掛

Gakumonjo

学問所

Gakumonjo Kyojukata

学問所教授方

Gakumon no Susume

学問のすすめ

Gakusha Shokubun Ron

学者職分論

Ganri

元理

Genrōin

元老院

Gifu

岐阜

Giji Teisai Torishirabekyoku

議事体裁取調局

Godai Tomo'atsu

五代友厚

Gondai Shokikan

權大書記官

Gummukan Hanji

軍務官判事

Gun

郡

Gunjin Chokuyu

軍人直諭

Gunjin Kunkai

軍人訓誡

Haihanchiken

廢藩置縣

Haitōron

廢刀論

glossary

Hakodate

函館

Hakodate Bugyō

函館奉行

Hakurokudō Shoin

白鹿堂書院

Han.

藩

Hanji

判事

Hannin

判任

Hanseki Hōkan

版籍奉還

Hatakeyama Yoshinari

畠山義成

Hatamoto

旗下

Hayashi Michisaburō

林道三郎

Hayashi Takeji

林竹二

Heigakkō

兵學校

Hen

篇

Hensoku (gaku)

變則學

Hida Shōsaku

肥田昭作

Hinin

非人

Hiragana

平仮名

Hirata Atsutane

平田篤胤

Hirata Tōsuke

平田東助

Hiroshima

広島

Hitotsubashi

一ツ橋

Hitotsubashi Keiki

一ツ橋慶喜

Hōchisha

報知社

Hōgaku Hakushi

法學博士

Hokkaidō

北海道

Honkō see *Daigaku Honkō**Hotta Masayoshi*

堀田正睦

Hua-Ying T'ung-Yü

華英通語

Hyakka Zensho

百科全書

Hyaku-ichi Shinron

百一新論

Hyakugaku Renkan

百學連環

Hyōgo

兵庫

glossary

Ichidai Gakkō

一才学校

Igakusho

医学所

Inoue Kaoru

井上馨

Inoue Kowashi

井上毅

Ishikawa Ōsho

石川桜所

Itagaki Taisuke

板垣退助

Ito Gemboku

伊東玄村

Iwakura Tomomi

岩倉具視

Jiji Shimpō

時事新報

Jinsei Sampō Setsu

人世三寶説

Jitō

地頭

Jitsumyō

実名

Jiyū no Ri

自由之理

Jōi

攘夷

Jukuchō

塾長

Jutsu

術

Kagoshima

鹿児島

Kaidai

解題

Kaigō Tokiomi

海後宗臣

Kaigun Denshūsho

海軍伝習所

Kaigun Sōrensho

海軍操練所

Kaikoku Heidan

海國兵談

Kaisei Gakkō

開成学校

Kaiseisho

開成所

Kakurō

閑老

Kambun

漢文

Kamei Koremi

龜井玄監

Kan

卷

Kana

仮名

Kanda

神田

Kanda Kōhei

神田孝平

Kanda Naibu

神田乃武

glossary

Kanji

漢字

Kanjō Bugyō

勘定奉行

Kanrin-maru

威臨丸

Kantō

関東

Ka Reinosuke

何禮之助

Kashiwabara Kenkō

柏原謙好

Kashiwabara Taka'aki

柏原孝章

Katakana

片仮名

Katei Sōdan

家庭相談

Katō Hiroyuki

加藤弘之

Katsu Kaishu (Awa)

勝海舟

Katsu Rintarō (Katsu Kaishu)

勝麟太郎

Kawamoto Kōmin

川本幸民

Keibushō

刑部省

Keibushōhanji

刑部省判事

Keiki see *Hitotsubashi Keiki**Keimō*

啓蒙

Keimōshugisha

啓蒙主義者

Keiō

慶應

Keiō Gijiku

慶應義塾

Ken

県

Kenri

権利

Kido Kōin (Takayoshi)

木戸孝允

Kimura Guntarō

木村軍太郎

Kimura Settsu no Kami

木村摂津守

Kirisute

切捨乙

Kitetsugaku

希哲学

Kizoku'in

貴族院

Kobata Eishū

木幡榮周

Kobayashi Michitaka

小林道隆

Kōdōkai see *Nihon Kōdōkai**Koga Dōan*

古賀洞庵

- Kōginin
 公議任
- Kōgisho
 公議所
- Kōgisho Gi'in
 公議所議員
- Kōgisho Hōsokuan
 公議所法則案
- Kōgisho Nisshi
 公議所日誌
- Koide Hidezane
 小出秀柱
- Kōjiro Tanesuke
 神代種亮
- Kōjōdo
 興讓堂
- Kokugaku
 國學
- Kokuhōron
 國法論
- Kokutai
 國體
- Kōro Kikō
 航署紀行
- Kōtō
 皇統
- Kuki Ryūichi
 九鬼隆一
- Kumnōin
 訓盲院
- Kuntan
 訓点
- Kurimoto Jōun
 栗本鋤雲
- Kusaka Genzui (Makoto)
 久坂玄瑞 (誠)
- Kyogaku
 虛學
- Kyōgakusha
 共學社
- Kyōjuminari
 教授見習
- Kyōjushoku
 教授職
- Kyōjushokunarabi
 教授職並
- Kyōjutetsudai
 教授手位
- Kyōjutetsudainarabi
 教授手位並
- Kyōmonron
 教門論
- Kyōto
 京都
- Kyōwa Seiji
 共和政治
- Kyūshū
 九州
- Kyū'usha
 旧雨社
- Li Hung-Chang
 李鴻章
- Maejima Hisoka
 前島密

glossary

Matsuda Michiyuki

松田道文

Matsudaira Naritami

松平齊民

Matsue

松江

Matsuki Kōan (Terashima Munenori)

松木弘安

Matsumae

松前

Meiji

明治

Meirokusha

明六社

Meiroku Zasshi

明六雜誌

Metsuke

目付中

Mimbushō

民部省

Mikanaya

三河屋

Mimasaka

美作

Mimpō

民法

Mimpō Hensan I'in

民法編纂委員

Mimponshugi

民本主義

Minkan Zasshi

民間雜誌

Minsen Gi'in

民選議院

Minsen Gi'in Ron

民選議院論

Mita

三田

Mita Enzetsu Kai

三田演說會

Mito

水戸

Mitsubishi

三菱

Mitsui

三井

Mitsukuri Gempo

箕作阮甫

Mitsukuri Rinshō

箕作麟祥

Mitsukuri Shōgo

箕作省吾

Mitsukuri Shūhei

箕作秋坪

Miyasaki

宮崎

Mizuhoya Usaburō (Shimizu Usaburō)

水保彌

Mombu Nempō

文部年報

Mombushō

文部省

Mombushō Shōjo

文部省小丞

glossary

Mori Arinori

森有礼

Motoda Eifu

元田永孚

Moto'ori Norinaga

木居宣長

Nagasaki

長崎

Nagayo Sensai

長與尊齋

Naichi Ryokō Ron

内地旅行論

Naka Ten'yū

中天游

Nakahama Manjiro

中濱万次郎

Nakamura Masanao

中村正直

Nakane Hansen

中根半仙

Nakatsu

中津

Nakayashiki

中屋敷

Namura Kakai

名村花溪

Nara

奈良

Naruto Juku

鳴門塾

Naruto Yoshitami

鳴門義民

Nengō

年号

Nigori

濁り

Nihombashi

日本橋

Nihon

日本

Niigata

新潟

Niishima Jō

新島襄

Nijō

二條

Nimbuchi

人扶持

Nippon Kōdōkai

日本弘道会

Nishi Amane

西園

Nishi Shōsuke (Amane)

西園助

Nishimura Shigeki

西村茂樹

Nisshin Shinjishi

日新真事誌

Numa Morikazu

沼間守一

Numazu Bugyō

沼津奉行

Numazu Heigakkō

沼津兵学校

Ogata Kōan

緒方 洪庵

Ōi Kentarō

大井 憲 太郎

Okayama

岡山

Ōki Chūeki (Tsuboi Tameharu)

大木 仲 益

Ōki Takatō

大木 喬 任

Ōkubo Ichio

大久保 一 翁

Ōkubo Toshimichi

大久保 利 通

Okudaira

奥平

Ōkuma Shigenobu

大隈 重 信

Okuno Shōzan

奥野 小 山

Ōkurashō

大藏 省

Onjusha

御 儒 者

Ono Tomogorō

小野 友 五 郎

Ōsaka

大阪

Ōsaka Semmon Gakkō

大阪 專 門 学 校

Ōshio Heihachirō

大塩 平 几 郎

Ōtori Keisuke

大鳥 圭 介

Ōtsuki Bankei

大槻 磐 溪

Ōtsuki Fumihiko

大槻 文 彦

Ōtsuki Gentaku

大槻 玄 沢

Rakuzenkai

楽 善 会

Rangaku

蘭 学

Rangakusha

蘭 学 者

Ri

理

Rigaku

理 学

Rikugunshō

陸 軍 省

Rin

厘

Risshisha

立 志 社

Rōjū

老 中

Ryūgakusei

留 学 生

Sabashi Tomisaburō

佐 橋 富 三 郎

Sado

佐 渡

Sado Jimmyō Jisho

佐渡人名辞書

Saikoku Risshi Hen

西國立志編

Saishōron

妻妾論

Sakakibara

榊原

Sakatani Shiroshi (Rōro)

阪谷素(朗廬)

Sakoku

鎖國

Sakuma Shōzan

佐久間象山

Samejima Hisanobu

鮫島尚信

Samurai

士

Sanjō Sanetomi

三修實美

Sano

佐野

Satō Issai

佐藤一齋

Satsu

冊

Satsuma

薩摩

Satsuma Kaiseisho

薩摩開成所

Seido

聖堂

Seidochōsakyoku

制度調査局

Seidokyoku

制度局

Seidoryō

制度寮

Seigo Jūni Kai

西語十二解

Seihō Ryaku

性法略

Seihyō Gakuron

製表學論

Seihyōka

製表課

Seihyōkashi

製表課誌

Seitaisho

政体所

Sei'in

正院

Seikannon

征韓論

Seikō

成功

Seiron

情論

Seisoku (gaku)

正則(學)

Seiyō Igakusho

西洋醫學所

Seiyō Jijō

西洋事情

- Seiyō Zasshi*
 西洋雜誌
Seiyōken
 西洋軒
Sen
 錢
Sendai
 仙臺
Sera Tai'ichi
 世良太一
 -*Shi*
 氏
Shiba
 芝
Shibata Hōan
 柴田方庵
Shibata Jisho
 柴田辭書
Shibata Shōkichi
 柴田昌吉
Shibusawa Ei'ichi
 渋澤榮一
Shihōshō
 司法省
Shika Igaku Zasshi
 齒科醫學雜誌
Shimabara
 島原
Shimaji Mokurai
 島地默雷
Shimane
 島根
- Shimbun Zasshi*
 新聞雜誌
Shimizu Usaburō
 清水卯三郎
Shimizu Renrō
 清水連郎
Shimonoseki
 下關
Shin
 眞
Shinritsu Kōryō
 新津綱領
Shinsenza
 新錢座
Shintō
 神道
Shishi
 志士
Shizuoka
 靜岡
Shizuoka Denshūsho
 靜岡伝習所
Shōbemushi
 小弁務使
Shōbogaku
 掌簿學
Shōgun
 將軍
Shōhei Gakkō
 昌平學校
Shōheikō
 昌平校

glossary

Shōheizaka Gakumonjo

昌平坂學問所

Shōhōkōshūsho

尚法講習所

Shōji

障子

Shōsanji

小參事

Shōsōron

尚早論

Shūgi'in

集議院

Shūshin Gakusha

脩身學社

Shūtōkan

種痘館

Sōnin

奏任

Sonnō

尊王

Sugi Kōji (Shundō)

杉享二(純道)

Sugita Gempaku

杉田玄白

Sugita Gentan

杉田玄端

Sugita Hakugen (1) (1763-1833)

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

杉田成卿

Sumpu

駿府

Sung

宗

Suruga

駿河

Taisei Kokuhōron

泰西國法論

Taiyō

太陽

Takagi Saburō

高木三郎

Takenouchi Yasunori

竹内保徳

Tanaka Fujimarō

田中不二磨

Tateyama

立山

Tekijuku

適塾

Temmondai

天文臺

Temmonkata

天文方

Temmonkatatetsudai

天文方手伝

Tenrijindō

天理人道

- Tenshi
 天子
- Teppōzu
 鐵砲洲
- Terashima Munenori (Matsuki Kōan)
 孝島宗則
- Tetsugaku
 哲學
- Tezuka Ritsuzō
 手塚律藏
- Tōbun Gichō
 当分議長
- Tōkeigaku
 統計学
- Tōkei'in
 統計院
- Tōkeiryō
 統計寮
- Tōkeishi
 統計司
- Tokugawa
 德川
- Tokugawa Akitake
 德川昭武
- Tōkyō
 東京
- Tōkyō Daigaku
 東京大学
- Tōkyō Gakushi Kai'in
 東京学士会院
- Tōkyō Gakushi Kai'in Zasshi
 東京学士会院雜誌
- Tōkyō Joshi Shihan Gakkō
 東京女子師範学校
- Tōkyō Kummōin
 東京訓育院
- Tōkyō Nichi-nichi Shimbun
 東京日々新聞
- Tomita Tetsunosuke
 富田鉄之助
- Torishirabegoyogakari
 取調御用掛
- Tosa
 土佐
- Tōyama Shigeki
 遠山茂樹
- Tōyō Dōtoku Seiyō Gijutsu
 東洋道德藝術
- Tozama
 外様
- Tsubo
 坪
- Tsuboi Shindō
 坪井信道
- Tsuboi Tameharu (Ishun) (Ōki Chūeki)
 坪井為春
- Tsuda Dōji
 津田道治
- Tsuda Mamichi
 津田真道
- Tsuda Sen
 津田仙
- Tsuda Shin'ichirō (Mamichi)
 津田真一郎

Tsuji Shinji

辻新次

Tsukiji

築地

Tsūshiryaku

通史略

Tsūshō

通称

Tsuwano

津和野

Tsuyamu

津山

Tzu Ching

子卿

Uchida Masao

内田正雄

Uchi Gun

宇智郡

Udagawa

宇田川

Udagawa Genshin

宇田川玄真

Ueki Emori

植木枝盛

Ueki Emori Nikki

植木枝盛日記

Ueno

上野

Ueno Kagenori

上野景範

Umada Naganari

馬田永成

Uraga

浦賀

Uwajima

宇和島

Yakuin

訳員

Yamagata Aritomo

山縣有朋

Yamaji Kaikō

山路謙孝

Yamaji Yazaemon

山路彌左衛門

Yamamoto Seikai

山本晴海

Yamato

大和

Yamauchi Yōdō

山内容堂

Yanagawa Shunsan (Shunzō)

柳川春三

Yashiki

屋敷

*Yedo see Edo**Yen*

円

Yōgaku

洋学

Yōgakusha

洋学者

Yōgakusho

洋学所

glossary

Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun

橫濱每日新聞

Yokoi Shōnan

橫井小楠

Yokoyama Mago'ichirō

橫山孫一郎

Yoshida Kensuke

吉田賢輔

Yoshida Kiyonari

吉田清成

Yoshida Shōin

吉田松陰

Yoshino Sakuzō

吉野作造

Yōshoshirabesho

洋書調所

Yōyōsha Dan

洋々社談

Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun

郵便報知新聞

Yūibutsuron

唯物論

Zen

禪

Zōshikan

造士館

Zuihitsu

隨筆