MEIROKU ZASSHI

Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment

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INTRODUCTION

> We companions have recently gathered together, sometimes to discuss reason and sometimes to discourse on foreign news. On the one hand, we have polished our scholarly faculties while, on the other, we have refreshed our minds. The transcriptions of these discussions have mounted to become a volume that we are printing and distributing to gentlemen of like mind. We shall be happy if, its small size notwithstanding, the volume promotes enlightenment among our countrymen.

With these sentiments, the Meirokusha (明六社), or the Meiji Six Society, announced in February 1874 its purpose in publishing the *Meiroku Zasshi* (明六雑誌), the magazine that has been generally regarded as the most luminous of several early journals of opinion that spread knowledge of the West during the first years of the Meiji Period. The Meirokusha was a select group of pioneer Japanese scholars in Western studies (*Yōgakusha,* 洋學者) who joined the society to discuss the issues of the day and to disseminate their views among their less well informed countrymen. A full appreciation of the Meirokusha and its significance would require volumes.[1] This introduction is an attempt to review in only the most general terms the origin and purposes of the society and its journal, the major interests of the journal's most significant contributors, their views on the great public issue of a popularly elected assembly, and the termination of the society's enlightenment activities hardly two years after its inception.

The Meirokusha was established on the prompting of Mori Arinori, the young, education-minded official of samurai extraction from the former domain (*han,* 藩) of Satsuma (薩摩). In the summer of 1873, the sixth year of Meiji, Mori returned to Tokyo after serving as Japan's first diplomatic representative in

Washington, D.C., with the intention of establishing a society of scholars modeled after the literary and scientific societies of the West. Through the introduction of one Yokoyama Magoichirō (横山孫一郎), Mori won the assistance of Nishimura Shigeki, a prestigious scholar soon to join the Education Ministry, in persuading eight other leading authorities on the West to join with himself and Nishimura as the ten charter members of the Meirokusha: Nishi Amane, Tsuda Mamichi, Katō Hiroyuki, Nakamura Masanao, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Sugi Kōji, Mitsukuri Shūhei, and Mitsukuri Rinshō.[2]

Preliminary discussions were protracted until the members finally agreed in February 1874 on the society's regulations and on the previously quoted statement of purpose that appeared on the reverse of the title page in each issue of their journal. While the regulations gave promotion of education as the society's objective, the Meirokusha clearly intended to use the word education in the broadest sense. The regulations also provided for meetings on the 1st and 16th days of each month, for four types of membership, for the election of officers, and for keeping records and accounts.[3] After the great enlightener Fukuzawa Yukichi refused the society's presidency, Mori Arinori himself assumed the chair. The secretary and the treasurer were, respectively, Sera Taiichi and Shimizu Usaburō.

The Meirokusha was formed in one of the most stimulating and optimistic eras of modern Japanese history. Japan had passed through a decade of strife and uncertainty since concluding the first unequal treaties with the West, and the anachronistic Tokugawa bakufu (徳川幕府) had been replaced during the Meiji Restoration of 1868 by the new imperial government dedicated to progressive reform aimed at strengthening the nation so that it might stand on the same level as the nations of the West. The spirit of the new day was epitomized by the popular slogans "civilization and enlightenment" (*bummei kaika,* 文明開化) and "a prosperous country and a strong army" (*fukoku kyōhei,* 富國強兵). Accepting the Western concept of progress as expounded by Buckle and Guizot, the more Western-oriented among Japan's leaders assumed that their people had reached a level of semi-civilization in their advance from savagery to civilization. Moreover, if Japan were to achieve the prosperity and strength necessary for the

nation to compete on equal terms with the West, they believed it essential to raise the Japanese people to the level of civilization and enlightenment achieved by the West. To this end, between 1868 and the founding of the Meirokusha, the last institutional vestiges of feudalism were destroyed to make way for the emergence of a modern state as the proud domains returned their powers to the new central government, the legal props of the old class structure were destroyed, and a host of outmoded customs were swept away. In place of the old, the government moved to establish the structure of a national state supported by a new national land tax and a new conscript army. It also proclaimed a program to provide education for every Japanese and reforms to encourage a strong, stable economy.

The names of the ten charter members of the Meirokusha are practically synonymous with the term *keimō gakusha* (啓蒙學者), scholars who illuminate the darkness. Nishi Amane undoubtedly spoke for the group when he wrote in the first article of the *Meiroku Zasshi* that the enlightened few in Japan should "guide the people tenderly by the hand from ignorance to the level of enlightenment, just as one gently removes all the weeds without pulling up the seedlings."[4] The men of the Meirokusha were also practical scholars who combined in their thought the spirit of their country's practical studies (*jitsugaku,* 實學) with the utilitarianism and positivism of the nineteenth-century West. Tsuda Mamichi stressed that the Japanese could not call theirs a civilized society until the minds of their countrymen had been illumined by practical, scientific studies."[5] Although individual Meirokusha members identified with particular areas of interest, they are also called the Japanese encyclopedists because they were often as interested in determining the broad limits of knowledge as in acquiring deep understanding within a specific sphere. Being publicists for civilization and enlightenment, their writings and lectures dealt with such diverse themes as the separation of church and state, the position of women, economic policy, chemistry, and language reform. As converts to science and its methods, they crusaded against everything that smacked of bigotry and superstition in Old Japan.

Averaging thirty-nine years of age and ranging in 1873 from Mitsukuri Rinshō at twenty-seven to Mitsukuri Shūhei at forty-

eight, the original ten were from the generation of Japanese who, as young men, were startled into an appreciation of Japan's utter weakness when the American Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry suddenly appeared with his black ships in Edo (江戸) Bay to request the reopening of Japan. They were also from the first generation of Japanese scholars who were able to direct their attention to the whole of Western civilization, as distinguished from those in Dutch studies (*Rangaku,* 蘭學) whose Western knowledge before the reopening of Japan had been largely limited to the Dutch language and to such information on Western medicine, astronomy, and gunnery as they could acquire through the Dutch trading post at Nagasaki (長崎). All save Mori Arinori had gained experience in Western studies while serving the Tokugawa bakufu directly or indirectly, seven as members of the Institute of Barbarian Letters (Bansho Shirabesho, 蕃書調所), the school for Western studies that the bakufu established in 1856. Most were born into samurai families of fairly modest rank. Mori alone was from one of the great exterior domains (*tozama han,* 外様藩) that engineered the Meiji Restoration, and only Nishimura Shigeki held positions of administrative importance during the old regime. Even as they were valuable to the bakufu because of their knowledge of the West, the Meiji government sought their expertise after 1868, notwithstanding their previous association with its former enemy. It is commonly stated that only two of the original ten, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Masanao, resisted government service. The nature and degree of attachment of the remaining eight to government varied greatly, however.

The most important contribution of the Meirokusha as a group to enlightenment was undoubtedly its journal, the *Meiroku Zasshi.* While the average circulation of 3000 for each issue during the journal's first year seems small in a nation of thirty million, Japanese historians point out that the circulation of such a leading Tokyo newspaper as the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (日日新聞) was then only 8000. Presumably, the *Meiroku Zasshi* reached the intellectual elite of the capital. It was also sold in Ōsaka (大阪) after the sixteenth issue. Printed by the Hōchisha (報知社), the publisher of the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun* (郵便報知新聞), the journal was first advertised in March 1874 to appear twice monthly, perhaps because the members expected that materials prepared for their thrice

monthly meetings would suffice for two issues.[6] While Mori stated in his first anniversary address that the number had been increased to thrice monthly in November 1874, the frequency of the issues obviously varied with the productiveness of the members. Six issues appeared before the journal was first dated in May 1874, leading to the conjecture that it was probably inaugurated in March when it was first advertised. Production reached a peak of five issues in June 1874, but it slackened during the summer and New Year seasons. Measuring 4 1/2 by 6 3/4 inches, the issues averaged twenty pages each and were printed with wood blocks on double sheets bound butterfly fashion in traditional (*wahon,* 和本) manner.

Except for Sakatani Shiroshi, whose writing was heavily loaded with Chinese phrases, the contributors to the *Meiroku Zasshi* strove for a prose style that would be more widely understood than the highly artificial traditional literary styles, yet sufficiently dignified to retain the respect of scholars. Their articles, therefore, are usually written in terse, dignified prose transcribed in a mixture of Chinese ideographs and the *katakana* syllabary that fell far short of anything so radical as writing Japanese as it is spoken (*gembun itchi,* 言文一致). Nevertheless, Nishi Amane and Shimizu Usaburō clearly anticipated that the Japanese spoken and written forms would eventually become one.[7]

The members of the Meirokusha were as much transmitters as they were original thinkers. Too definite a distinction, therefore, should not be drawn between their articles in the *Meiroku Zasshi* in which they are given as authors or as translators. The translations convey ideas that the translators themselves held valid for their day while the other articles and speeches commonly transmit themes that the authors would never have claimed as uniquely their own. Thus, Katō Hiroyuki and Nishi Amane both promoted separation of church and state, the former as a translator and the latter as an author. Where translations in the journal can be compared with the originals, they prove to be very faithful. The translations of Nakamura Masanao, however, carry the imprint of Nakamura the Confucian scholar, and there were occasions when translators introduced new material, as when Katō Hiroyuki inserted in his translation of Joseph Parrish Thompson that the superiority of Western civilization could be ascribed to the deeply

rooted Western tradition of monogamy or when Mitsukuri Rinshō put in his rendering of Montesquieu that, whereas Western peoples had achieved full liberty, the Asians had not gained any liberty since antiquity.[8] While the sources of Nakamura's outline of Western history and Sugi Kōji's essays on social intercourse are not given, both were probably paraphrasing from one or a few Western sources, although Nakamura is given as translator while to Sugi is attributed full authorship.

Nishimura Shigeki was guilty of exaggeration when he claimed in his memoirs that the Meirokusha was the first to publish a journal and to inagurate public lectures. Fukuzawa Yukichi probably first introduced public lecturing at his private school, Keiō Gijuku (慶應義塾), in the summer of 1874, several months before the Meirokusha adopted the lecture technique as a vehicle for spreading enlightenment. According to Fukuzawa, when he proposed that the Meirokusha also undertake public lectures, there was doubt in the society, especially on the part of Mori Arinori, that Japanese was appropriate for oration. At the succeeding meeting, Fukuzawa asked the others to gather around a table and launched into a discourse on the settlement of the Formosan crisis between Japan and China that was published in the second November issue of the journal. When he had concluded, none denied that he had spoken successfully, and the Meirokusha was committed to public lectures.[9]

Mori had previously startled his countrymen by suggesting that they shift from Japanese to English as the more appropriate language for modern usage.[10] Although he chided others in the society for their failure to modify their language to meet the requirements of speech-making, his misgivings regarding the appropriateness of Japanese for oral communication apparently disappeared as the Meirokusha meetings became crowded with guests who came to hear. Indeed, so popular were the Meirokusha lectures that Mori suggested in his first-anniversary address that the society issue tickets to its lecture sessions and employ the proceeds from the sale of the *Meiroku Zasshi* to support construction of a hall, which could be rented to others for a variety of purposes when not needed by the society. The Meirokusha never pushed ahead with the lecture hall, and it experimented only briefly in February and March 1875 with offering tickets. Thereafter, non-members were allowed

to attend the lecture meetings by introduction of members. Judging from the fact that the Meirokusha membership probably never greatly exceeded thirty and that Mori proposed to build a hall of only 70 *tsubo*, about 840 square feet, it would appear that the society's meetings were never large by Western standards. Members would commonly meet in a Western-style restaurant, the Seiyōken (精養軒), in the foreign settlement of Tsukiji (築地), deal with the society's business in the forenoon, eat between 12:00 and 1:00, and then turn to speeches and discussion.[11]

It was also at the first anniversary meeting of the society that Mori Arinori resigned its presidency in favor of Mitsukuri Shūhei. Three months later, in accordance with its revised regulations, the Meirokusha replaced its president with six directors: Mitsukuri Shūhei, Nishi Amane, Nishimura Shigeki, Tsuda Mamichi, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and Mori Arinori.[12]

The *Meiroku Zasshi* Contributors

Fukuzawa Yukichi was clearly the most celebrated of the dozen contributors to the *Meiroku Zasshi*. Fukuzawa's refusal of the society's presidency, however, was an indication of the rather prickly relations that existed between him and others in the society. About fifteen years earlier, when he was still but a lowly samurai from Nakatsu (中津) *han*, Fukuzawa had registered as a day student at the Bansho Shirabesho so that he might use the institute's fine collection of Western books, but he never returned to the school when he was not allowed to borrow a valuable dictionary.[13] Thereafter, he acquired knowledge of the West, founded his famous school, Keiō Gijuku, and became the most famous publicist of Western studies independently of the Bansho group. Whereas the Bansho scholars tended to join the new government after the Meiji Restortaion, Fukuzawa opted to remain in private life surrounded by his group at the new Keiō campus in the Mita (三田) district of Tokyo. Contemporaneous with the *Meiroku Zasshi*, he and his Keio followers published their own journal, the *Minkan Zasshi* (民間雜誌), or the *People's Journal*, in which they

On Education

Mitsukuri Shūhei

Our children will surely become ill and die if we fail to give attention to their care during childhood. Moreover, if we do not educate them thoughtfully, they will invariably grow up so bigoted and stupid that they will be unable to compete even among barbarians. These are truisms most easy to understand. When it comes to caring for children, there is a natural instinct among parents, regardless of wealth and sophistication, to feel that they must earnestly protect their young. Is it not really strange and regrettable, however, that there are not a few who without reflection ignore the factor of education?

From infancy until they are six or seven, children's minds are clean and without the slightest blemish while their characters are as pure and unadulterated as a perfect pearl. Since what then touches their eyes and ears, whether good or bad, makes a deep impression that will not be wiped out until death, this age provides the best opportunity for disciplining their natures and training them in deportment. They will become learned and virtuous if the training methods are appropriate, stupid and bigoted if the methods are bad. Just as a young tree once bent at planting cannot be straightened when it grows up, what deeply penetrates children's minds during this sensitive and keen period cannot be changed after they grow up, even though one may desire to do so. How can we avoid giving attention to this age that is the dividing point at which it is determined whether an individual throughout his life will be wise or stupid, good or bad?

The countries of Europe and America have naturally left nothing undone in establishing schools everywhere and developing every method for the education of their children. With the advance of modern culture, however, the theory is increasingly widespread that education in the home clearly surpasses that in the schools. The theory runs as follows: A family resembles a country, and for parents to educate their children is their clear responsibility from the point of view of natural ethics (*tendō jinri*).[17] Parents at home are able to guide children at any time during infancy when the young are most receptive. Teaching what they desire to teach

and transmitting what they desire to transmit, the father by his strictness and the mother by her tenderness carry on together without the injury of outsiders disturbing and tempting the children. Once the children leave home, it will be impossible for them to avoid disturbing and tempting evils even though their education is in a place of upright customs. Since the affection of even good teachers and good friends naturally is vastly different from the guidance of parents, the home should be regarded as the best school and the parents as the best teachers for educating small children.

This principle applies, however, only to the comparatively wealthy middle and upper class families since there are few parents even in the enlightened countries, not to mention unenlightened countries, who train their children sufficiently at home. There are times when even such [advantaged] parents can only entrust the training of their children to others for the reason that they are prevented by their occupations from performing their family duties. Under present conditions in society, however, parents take for granted that their children should be entrusted to others, and they seem not to recognize that their children's education is their principal parental responsibility. The homes being without parental training, the children of the rich consequently become accustomed to arrogant and extravagant ways by associating only with ignorant and blind servants, while the children of the poor learn mean and dirty habits by mingling with ignorant and stupid children. How can these children avoid becoming ignorant and stupid when they thus waste their days in profitless and harmful activities?

When the children grow up ignorant and delinquent because their parents were prevented by their occupations from training them, not a few parents freely admonish the children or even go so far as to reproach the children's friends and teachers without recognizing that they, the parents, themselves are the guilty. While they may be extremely mistaken, however, they should not be harshly blamed. Should you ask why, it is because they do not know how to educate their children since they, after all, did not themselves receive training from their parents.

What then should we do about the situation? Needless to say, even though we want to halt the illness, the cure cannot be ac-

complished in a day when the disease has penetrated to the marrow of the bone. Therefore, I do not now suddenly hold the parents wholly responsible for the education of their children. If parents just recognize the training of their children to be their responsibility and if they attentively exhaust their powers to this end, then I hope that their children will also understand their responsibility to educate the succeeding generation and that this may ultimately become a family tradition and regional custom. What I desire still more deeply is only that, by actively establishing girls' schools and devoting our energies to educating girls, we may train these girls to understand how important it is for them to educate the children to whom they give birth.

Napoleon I once observed to the famous woman teacher Campan,[18] "Since all the old methods of education really seem to be worthy of respect, what do we lack for the good upbringing of the people?" When Campan replied "Mothers," the emperor exclaimed in surprise, "Ah, this is true! This single word suffices as the guiding principle of education." These are indeed meaningful words.

In a later number, I shall explain the necessity for girls' schools.

Speculators[19]

Sugi Kōji

False expectations arise when nations fall into economic difficulties and people are stupid. When King Louis XIV of France died leaving a debt of one billion livres (about Yen 600 million), this burden was placed on the people, and finances were extremely confused. Speculators then began to operate in France and spread to neighboring countries, bringing indescribable harm to the people. The Scotsman John Law, who had studied Italian banking methods, habitually dreamed of grand designs. Seeing France in extreme poverty, helplessly bewailing her misfortunes, Law thought that he would take advantage of the situation to devise a plot. Thus, he went to France and explained to the government that he had a method for paying off the national debt. If his

method were followed, he [promised] to completely erase the debt within a few years. The government having acceded to his proposal, Law established a bank, promised those joining the company that he would increase their capital with expanding profits, and took in large amounts of treasure by exchanging the company's paper (*tegata*)[20] for gold and silver, which he spent as he collected. Thereupon, he announced that he had acquired a gold mine in Mississippi of French America and collected large sums of bullion after forming the Mississippi Company.

In England, a fellow by the name of [John] Blunt proposed to reap vast profits from the South Seas. Petitioning the government, he formed a company and collected large sums by exchanging paper for gold. Blunt's intent was the same as Law's even though their enterprises differed. Since they resorted to false schemes without any validity whatsoever, their notes ceased to circulate after their value suddenly collapsed, and untold numbers of people lost their wealth and fell into poverty.

Thus bank notes are only paper if they are not trusted. Since this is a law of nature, the injury of excessive bank notes is either a corresponding jump in commodity prices or total bankruptcy. These speculators ultimately brought unimagined harm to the people as they inversely mistook paper for the root and bullion for the branches, thereby opposing a law of nature. It was said that the face value of the South Sea Company's inconvertible paper was £300 million (about Yen 1.5 billion) while the French Mississippi Company's notes amounted to Livres 2 billion (or about Yen 1.2 billion). Because their proposals arose from false expectations, I would call these charlatans speculators. Are not speculators indeed to be feared!

On Religion Part Five[21]

Nishi Amane

Some have asked, "Having heard the decree that the people should not be compelled to believe,[22] will the government, with complete indifference, allow the people to believe as they please?"

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

On Changing the Character of the People

Speech of February 16, 1875

Nakamura Masanao

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1]Hōchisha, 報知社. The publisher of the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun* (郵便報知新聞), the Hōchisha also printed and distributed the *Meiroku Zasshi*.

[2]*Ken-inryō*, 検印料. This was apparently a stamp that approved or licensed publication.

[3]*Tsubo*, 坪, about thirty-six square feet.

[4]*Zōhan no kenri*, 藏版ノ權利.

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

[6]Mori is anticipating the censorship that would eventually bring the Meirokusha to halt publication of the *zasshi*.

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

[8]*Jinzai*, 人材.

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

[10]Temüjin, 鐵木眞, Jenghiz Khan.

[11]Manchu-Ch'ing, 滿洲清, the rulers of China from 1644 to 1912.

[12]Kashiwara (橿原) in Yamato (大和) was the palace of the first Japanese emperor, Jimmu (神武).

[13]Heian (平安) in Yamashiro (山城), the present Kyōto, was founded by Emperor Kammu (桓武) in 794 A.D.

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

[15]Owari, 尾張, the home province of Oda Nobunaga (織田信長) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豐臣秀吉).

[16]Mikawa, 三河, the home province of Tokugawa Ieyasu (德川家康).

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

[18]Land of the Dragonflies, Akitsushima, 蜻蛉洲, a poetic name for Japan.

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

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

[11]A poem that Motoori Norinaga wrote on a portrait that he had painted of himself. See Matsumoto Shigeru, *Motoori Norinaga, 1730–1804* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 1690.

[12]*Jitō*, 地頭, officers established during the early middle ages to oversee the administrations of manorial estates.

[13]Break horns, *tsuno o kuzusu*, 角ヲ崩ス, a phrase from the comic play *Dontarō* (鈍太郎).

[14]According to the famous story by Chuang Tzŭ (莊子), the Taoist philosopher of the fourth and third centuries B.C., King Fuss of the Northern Seas and King Fret of the Southern Seas occasionally met in the land of Chaos, the ruler of the central region. Observing that, unlike other beings, Chaos possessed no apertures for seeing, hearing, eating, and the like, Fuss and Fret decided to try boring holes into him. Each day they bored a hole into Chaos until he died on the seventh day. The word for chaos (*konton*, 混沌) also refers to the period in human affairs when men were still unenlightened and uneducated. Nishi, of course, was committed to the idea that men and society could and should be actively improved, an outlook that was alien to Chuang Tzŭ's thought. For Chuang Tzŭ's story, see Arthur Waley's *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (Garden City, 1956), pp. 66–67.

[15]For Sakatani's discussions on secular ethical teachings (*seikyō*, 政教), see Issues Twenty-Two and Twenty-Five.

[16]On this reference to Fukuzawa, see footnote one of the previous issue.

[17]*Ken*, 權, includes a strong sense of power that is not so commonly associated with the English word "right."

[18]*Danjo shubun*, 男女守分. This phrase is very close to *fūfu yūbetsu* (夫婦有別) of Mencius, which Tsuda Mamichi criticized in his article of that name in Issue Twenty-Two.

[19]*Fūfu dōtai*, 夫婦同體.

[20]*Han*, 藩.

[21]*Bakufu*, 幕府.

[22]*Metsuke*, 目付, censors.

[23]*Jishu jiyū*, 自主自由.

[24]*Kyōhō*, 教法.

[25]*Seihō*, 政法. The term *hō* (法) may also be translated as "law." Whether it is taken to mean morality or law, Sakatani clearly did not contemplate depriving concubines of all recognition under the law.

MEIROKU ZASSHI Issue Thirty-Three March 1875

Creating Good Mothers

Speech on March 16, 1875

Nakamura Masanao

When I previously discussed reforming the character of the people,[1] I explained that we cannot renew the minds of the people and raise them to a high level unless we rely on the two main divisions of education. One is "religious" and "moral" education; the other, education in "science" and the "arts." Even though both are invariably essential, the former is the root; the latter, the branches. It cannot be said that we are late if we introduce education in science and the arts to children at five or six years, when their mental powers are gradually beginning to develop. Prenatal education is most essential in moral and religious training. Then if the kind words, good conduct, and superb example [of the mother] continuously saturates the child's eyes and ears and envelops his body, he will unconsciously and unwittingly acquire ingrown moral and religious principles before his intellect gradually begins to develop. Take the strength of the body, for example. If the mother is strong in body during pregnancy, her offspring will invariably be strong (providing the child receives proper rearing after birth). If prenatal nourishment is inadequate, any amount of care and skilled medical treatment can only promote normal growth without adding anything special [to make up the inherent deficiencies]. Judging from the experience of the body, this principle surely cannot be doubted. The psychological effects are still more surprising once this principle is applied to the mind and the spirit. After all, the spiritual and mental goodness of the child will generally reflect that of the mother. Even later tastes and habits of the child often resemble those of the mother.

Thus we must invariably have fine mothers if we want effectively to advance the people to the area of enlightenment and to alter their customs and conditions for the good. If the mothers are superb, they can have superb children, and Japan can become a

splendid country in later generations. We can then have people trained in religious and moral education as well as in the sciences and arts whose intellects are advanced, whose minds are elevated, and whose conduct is high. Not having had adequate prenatal educational nourishment, I am at middle age unable sufficiently to realize my ambitions, only sadly languishing in shabby quarters [Japan] and envying the enlightenment of Europe and America. I have a deep, irrepressible desire that later generations shall be reared by fine mothers.

Now to develop fine mothers, there is nothing better than to educate daughters. Let us take the case of a woman endowed with moral and religious education who is married and gives birth to a child. The child during his mother's pregnancy will have been filled with a stout spirit and strong morals and breathed the atmosphere of pious virtue. Having basked in the sun of Divine Providence (*Tendō*),[2] his eyes and ears will be the gates to wisdom; and his inner heart will penetrate his still unformed, delicate body. It is then not excessive even to say that the foundations for his virtues of bravery, endurance, and perseverance of a later day were laid while he was still playing in his cradle and receiving his mother's milk. To fear harm from equal rights for men and women is no more than to fear that the uneducated woman will sit on her husband. This anxiety would not exist if women honored Divine Providence, respected noble sentiments, admired the arts, appreciated science, and helped their husbands, and if husbands and wives mutually loved and respected each other.

Aside from the matter of equal rights, the training of men and women should be equal and not of two types. If we desire to preserve an extremely high and extremely pure level among human beings as a whole, we should accord both men and women the same type of upbringing and enable them to progress equally. Pure-hearted women should invariably go side by side with pure-hearted men. Of course, men and women should observe virtuous principles equally and without distinction. Love is the most important of the many human virtues. To quote the famous words of the poet [Robert] Browning, "True love surpasses knowledge." It may also be said that, if you look at men in the world generally, the man of surpassing wisdom is the man whose sincere love is most deep while the man of deep love is the man of deep wisdom.

A wife possessed of a feeling of deep love will bring her husband ease and happiness and encourage him to exert himself in enterprises useful to the country. Not only in the West but even in China wise men recognize this fact. There is the chapter on *Ch'ien K'un* at the front of the *Book of Changes*[3] and the poem entitled *Kuan Chü* at the beginning of the *Book of Songs*.[4]

It has also been said that the uprightness of men and women is the great principle of the universe. A man like King Wên, who received prenatal training from his mother, T'ai Jên, was later wise in conduct and enjoyed the benefits of his wife's assistance.[5] The scholars of China, however, have not seriously considered these facts and only honor men's rights. I have recently come to recognize this as a great error. Some men of the present generation say that women will be conceited if they are allowed to read. Whether a woman is conceited or not may be related to education. I am not sure what may be the outcome should the education of women be limited to the arts and material matters. Will they become conceited if they are given training in morals and religion? Even in the West, there is an interesting idea that the arts should follow virtue in the training of women. When the English poet [Robert] Burns discussed the elements of a good wife, he divided her character into ten parts. Burns rated affectionate (that is, loving) character at four parts, sound opinions at two parts, and intellect at one part. He valued beauty (beauty of face and elegance of appearance) at one part. Together, these amount to eight parts, and the remaining two parts he accorded to the wife's property, her social contacts, and her superiority in education and the arts. He recommended that men divide these last attributes according to their own views while giving attention to one consideration. That is, none of these lesser factors are adequate individually to comprise ten percent of the whole.[6] Actually, as expressed in Burns' words, women place primary emphasis on affectionate disposition. Furthermore, their affectionate dispositions are entirely based upon or arise from love. It is said that the loving are invariably genial, that the genial are invariably happy, and that the happy are invariably beautiful. Intellect can be developed and great things accomplished as a consequence of the virtues born of love. To produce fine children by having mothers of affectionate disposition should be an easier undertaking than what I

have previously described as reforming the present character of the people. How shall we acquire such mothers who virtuously practice prenatal training? I have just taken up the first steps in this small essay, and I hope that my readers will give the problem their serious consideration.

An Essay on *Zoku*[7] Speech on March 16

Nishimura Shigeki

The word *zoku* is given the meaning of robbery in the *Kuang Yün*, the *Chi Yün*, and the *Yün Hui*.[8] In the *Yü P'ien*,[9] it is to threaten men, and *zoku* refers to killing men[10] in the commentary on the *Book of History*. In the commentary on the *Tso Chuan*, *zoku* is injury.[11] While the meaning of the word *zoku* was generally of this nature, the Chinese of later generations have used *zoku* to indicate an enemy of the Son of Heaven. Even if the person is not an enemy of the Son of Heaven, the Chinese may call him *zoku* when he opposes the cause they themselves hold just. For example, in the *Hou Ch'u Shih Piao*, it is said that *zoku* and the Han were incompatible.[12]

In the *Nihon Shoki*,[13] *zoku* combined with *ryo*,[14] or captive, is read *ata*. *Ata* has the meaning of *ataru*, and it refers to all those who are one's contenders. The combination of *zoku* and *ro* in Chinese would form a boastful word that suggests esteeming oneself and despising others. Since there was probably no word in Chinese that corresponded to the Japanese *ata*, the combination of the two borrowed characters of *zoku* and *ro* really did not have the true meaning of the word *ata* even though we contrived to use them as such. We can understand this when we read the ideographs 强盗海賊 (*gōtō kaizoku*) for robbers and pirates in the *Wamyōshō*[15] without their Japanese readings. In the *Heike Monogatari* and the *Taiheiki*[16] and elsewhere, the person who contends against the emperor is called an enemy of the dynasty, or *chōteki*.[17] Even though the word is an unnatural combination of ideographs, we

can say that it is rather close to the meaning. In later generations, we have generally referred to the enemies of sovereigns as *zoku* In a work like the *Nihon Gaishi*,[18] *zoku* is used to designate those who were never called by that name in the original documents. This probably was because the author [Rai Sanyō] did not himself know that he was following the false custom of China.

Zoku is not a word that points to the enemy of the emperor as it means to rob or to injure others. Generally to call the enemies of the emperor *zoku* is a mean usage that arises from excessively honoring the emperor, a practice in despotic lands. Our people scoff at the arrogance and self-complaisance of the Chinese. It is strange, however, that, so far as the word *zoku* is concerned, we have adopted the erroneous usage of the Chinese without correcting it.

The majority of our people think that they are following correct usage when they refer to the enemies of the dynasty as *zoku*, but I feel that they are thereby effacing the word's true meaning. It can be said that we are entirely following correct usage when we refer to a dog as a dog or a cat as a cat. How can we say that we are accurate if we refer to a dog as a cat? If we now call *zoku* a person who has not committed the act of *zoku*, how is this any different from calling a dog a cat?

Nevertheless, it should not be said that the enemies of the Son of Heaven are never *zoku*, robbers. There are some who should and some who should not be called *zoku*. Such persons as those who want to compete with the emperor for power, to halt tyranny, to relieve the ruler's suffering, or to oppose the government because of different views all should not be called *zoku*. But we should call *zoku* those who steal men's property, kill innocent persons, or bring injury to the people. Therefore, there are persons who should be called *zoku* among those who are enemies of sovereigns as well as among those who assist rulers.

The rebellion by America against England and the more recent rebellion by the South against the North in the United States were examples, respectively, of opposition to a ruler and to a government. Should our people be obliged to record these episodes they would surely refer to the American rebels as *zoku*. In the histories of England, however, the American rebels are called Americans, and the rebel states of the South are called Confederates in