

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
YUKICHI FUKUZAWA

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With a Foreword by
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Fukuzawa at sixty-three (1898).

priest. "But," she would say, "if your father were still living, you would be a priest of some temple by now."

Years later, when I came to understand better, I realized that this wish of my father's was a result of the feudal system of that time with the rigid law of inheritance: sons of high officials following their father in office, sons of foot-soldiers always becoming foot-soldiers, and those of the families in between having the same lot for centuries without change. For my father, there had been no hope of rising in society whatever effort he might make. But when he looked around, he saw that for me there was one possible road to advancement—the priesthood. A fish monger's son had been known to become a Buddhist abbot.⁶

I believe I am not far from the truth. Feudalism is my father's mortal enemy in thinking that this may have been my father's reason for directing me to the priesthood. I am filled with heart-pity

when I think that he should have lived the forty-five years of his life in the fetters of the feudal system, and died before any of his desires had been fulfilled. He had determined to put his son in a monastery so that he might have some wider field of thought and life which had been denied to himself. When I think of this, I realize his inward suffering and his unfathomable love, and I am often moved to tears. To me, indeed, the feudal system is my father's mortal enemy which I am honor-bound to destroy.

But despite my father's wish, I did not become a priest. Nor did I do any studying at home as he would have encouraged me to, for there was nobody to force me to do so. My brother, who had taken my father's place in the family, was still a young man; my mother was obliged to do all the house-work, feeding and clothing the five of us children by

⁶ Note on p. 338.

herself, as she did not have enough means to hire a servant. Naturally, our education was neglected in the busy rush of daily work.

It was not unusual for the young sons of the Nakatsu clan to study Chinese classics such as Lun-yü, the sayings of Confucius, and Ta-hsieh, a book of ethics, but such studies were never really encouraged by anyone. I suppose there is no child in the world naturally fond of study; so perhaps I was not the only one to take advantage of a parent's leniency, and to profess a dislike of books.

However, when I was fourteen or fifteen, I found that many of the boys of my age were studying these classics; and I became ashamed of myself and willingly started to school. It

was embarrassing in the beginning, for I was a young man of fifteen beginning with the oral reading of Mencius, while other boys of my age were discussing the books of Chinese philosophy (Shih-ching and Shu-ching).

The system followed there was that the advanced students gave lessons in oral reading to the new students early in the morning, and then later they all had an open discussion of the subject. Perhaps I was somewhat talented in literature, for I could discuss a book with the older student who had taught me the reading of it earlier in the morning, and I was always upsetting his argument. This fellow knew the words well, but he was slow to take in the ideas they expressed. So it was an easy matter for me to hold a debate with him.

I changed school two or three times, but I studied most under the care of a master named Shirashi. Under his guidance I made rapid progress, and in four or five years I

⁷ Note on p. 338.

had no difficulty in studying a good part of the Chinese classics.

Shiraishi Sensei placed special emphasis on the classics, and so we gave much of our time to the study of *Lun-yü*, *Mencius*, and other books of ancient sages. Especially, as our master was fond of Shih-ch'ing and Shu-ch'ing, we often listened to his lectures on these books. Also *Mêng-ch'ü*, *Shih-shuo*, *Tso-chuan*, *Chan-kuo-ts'ü*, *Lao-tzu*, and *Chuang-tzu*. As for historical books, we had Shih-chi, Ch'ien-hou *Tsan-shu*, Chin-shu, Wu-tai-shih, Yuan-ming Shih-tieh, etc.⁸

Of all the books I read at Shiraishi's school, *Tso-chuan* was my favorite. I read *Tso-chuan* eleven times over.

While most of the students gave it up after reading three or four volumes out of the fifteen, I read all—eleven times over—and memorized the most interesting passages. Thus in the course of time I became *zeizai*, or senior disciple who had the privilege of giving occasional lectures.

Shiraishi Sensei belonged to the school of Kamei⁹; in fact, he worshipped that master of sound philosophy, and rather despised the delicately literary, and did not encourage the writing of lyric poetry among us. There was, at that time, a certain poet and satirist, Hirose Tansō¹⁰; of him our master would disparagingly say that he could not write a line of perfect Chinese and was but a trifling poet in Japanese. Likewise, of another literary contemporary, Kai Sanyō,¹¹ he would say, "If his writings are called 'literature,' then anybody's scribbles might be literature too. A man may stammer, but his meaning will be understood!" Following our master, we disciples soon learned to think little of those he denounced.

My late father was like Shiraishi, for although he was in

⁸ Chinese was the scholar's language in Japan just as Latin was in Europe.
⁹ Note on p. 338. ¹⁰ p. 339. ¹¹ Ibid.

Osaka, and Sanyō lived in Kyōto, not far away, they never exchanged courtesies. My father, however, did become a friend of another scholar, Noda Tekiho. I do not know what kind of man this Tekiho was, but if my father made a friend of him while avoiding Sanyō, this Tekiho must have been a scholar of true worth. At any rate, as Kamei Sensei had established his own theory in opposition to the Chu-tzu School, his disciples were often at odds with scholars of other groups.

Besides these studies at school, I was very clever with my hands, and I loved to try inventing and devising things. When something

fell in the well, I contrived some means to fish it out. When the lock of a drawer failed to open, I bent a nail in many ways, and poking into the mechanism, somehow opened it. These were my proud moments. I was good at pasting new paper on the inner doors of the house, which are called *shō-ji*. Every so often when the old lining of the *shōji* turned gray with dust, it had to be taken off and new white paper pasted on the frame. I used to do all this work for our own house, and sometimes one of our relatives hired me out to help him do the work in his house. I was proud to do all I was asked, for I was quick and clever at little jobs of every kind.

As I grew older, I began to do a greater variety of things, such as mending the wooden clogs and sandals—I mended them for all my family—and fixing broken doors and leaks in the roof. As we were poor, it was necessary that some member of the family should look to keeping the house in repair. I bought a large needle and changed the covering of the *tatami*—the thick mats that are used to cover the floors. Also I knew how to split bamboo and put hoops around buckets and tubs.

rather than come and urge me to take office. You are not acting like a friend."

Kanda was an old friend, so I spoke **Reward the bean-curd man first**—my mind to him without fear of being misunderstood. Yet several times after this, I was called to take office. Once

Hosokawa Junjirō came to propose to me that I take charge of the government schools—this was before the Mombushō (the Ministry of Education) was established.

"You have already done special service for the country," he went on. "The government has recognized it. So it offers you a signal position of honor."

I replied again in my unfailing attitude: "What is remarkable about a man's carrying out his own work? The cartman pulls his cart; the bean-curd maker produces bean-curd; the student reads his books. Each one follows what is his obligation. If the government wants to recognize the ordinary work of its subjects, let it begin with my neighbor, the bean-curd maker. Give up any such ideas about my special work."

It may seem that I was unreasonably stubborn, but the whole reason of my stand was that I believed the new government to be carrying the ancient policy of exclusiveness and antagonism against Western culture, and I feared that the change from shogunate to imperial régime would bring no good to the country.

I was much mistaken in this, fortunately, and the government gradually turned to liberalism, bringing on the fine development we see today. I am most grateful that my fears were not realized. But in those days I could not see that the future would bring better times to us. I was judging only from what I actually saw, and had decided that biased and foolhardy men from various clans were getting together to make a worthless government which might even

bring disaster to the country. So I was standing apart, determined to do something in my own way for Japan. To show that my belief was not groundless, I can cite an instance.

Soon after the Restoration—in either the first or second year of the Meiji era—an English prince arrived to pay a formal visit at the Tokyō castle. It seems there was much discussion as to

the ethics of conducting a foreign visitor into the imperial presence. It was decided that some ritual of purification of the English prince would be proper before he crossed the bridge (Nijūbashi) over the moat to the castle. And this became the basis of a ridiculous incident.

At that time the acting minister from the United States was Mr. Portman.¹⁰ It seemed that the President of the United States was not in the habit of personally reading the reports of the ministers in foreign lands unless they contained very pertinent or unusual matters. Now, when Mr. Portman heard of this purification of the English prince, he realized it would be a good episode to base his message on and thus have it reach the President. So he headed his report with the remarkable title, "The Purification of the Duke of Edinburgh." It continued something like this:

"Japan is a small secluded country, very self-respecting and very self-important. It is customary, therefore, for its inhabitants to regard foreigners as belonging to the lower order of animals. Actually, when the English prince arrived to be received by the Emperor, they held a ceremony of purification over the person of the prince at the entrance to the castle. This ritual of purification traces its history to ancient times when water was used in cleansing the bodies of persons entering sacred precincts. In the middle ages when paper was

¹⁰ Note on p. 361.

invented, they simplified the ceremony by substituting paper for water. In this reformed rite, they use a streamer of paper at the end of a staff called *gohei*. The body of the subject is swept by this staff and so is cleansed of all impurities and pollution. Such being the ancient rite in the land, they employed this method on the person of the Duke of Edinburgh, because in the eyes of the Japanese, all foreigners, whether of noble lineage or common, are alike impure as animals."

So ran the clever report of the American minister. I heard about it from Seki Shimpachi, then serving as interpreter at the American embassy. Seki told me minutely of this incident, repeating as closely as he remembered the words of the original message. He laughed over it, thinking it a good joke on our government. But I did not laugh; I felt like crying over this revelation of our national shame.

About that time the former American Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, arrived with his daughter on a tour through Japan. He was a noted statesman in America, having been Secretary under Abraham Lincoln, and at the time of the

assassination he had also been attacked. Mr. Seward had never been congenial with the English, but had always shown friendship for Japan. But now on his tour in the country itself, he declared that after seeing the condition of things, he could not say much more in commendation of Japan. He was sorry, he said, but Japan with her inflexible nature could hardly be expected to keep her independence.

In truth I could see that the officials of the government knew nothing better than the dregs of the Confucian philosophy with which to guide their actions. They were simply lording it over the people with arrogance and pretense, and there was little that pointed to the establishment

of the new culture. Now that I had the corroboration of the foreign statesman, I was truly discouraged.

Yet I was Japanese and I could not sit still. If I could do nothing toward improving the condition of politics, I could at least attempt something by teaching what I had learned of Western culture to the young men of my land, and by translating Western books and writing my own. Then perhaps through good fortune I might be able to lead my countrymen out of their present obscurity. So, helpless but resolute, I took my stand alone.

I have never told anyone of the dire, helpless state of my mind at that time. But I am going to confess it now. Watching the unfortunate condition of the country, I feared in reality that we might not be able to hold our own against foreign aggressiveness. Yet there was no one in all the land with whom I could talk over my anxiety—no one anywhere, east, west, north or south, as I searched. I seemed alone in my anxiety and I knew I did not have the power to save my country.

If in the future there should come signs of foreign aggression and we were to be subjected to insult from foreigners, I would probably find some way to extricate myself. But when I thought

of my children who had longer lives to live, again I was afraid. They must never be made slaves of the foreigners; I would save them with my own life first. At one time I thought even of having my sons enter the Christian priesthood. If in that calling they could be independent of others in their living, and if they could be accepted as Christian priests, I thought, my sons would be spared. So, in my anxiety, though I was not a believer in that religion, I once contemplated making priests of my boys.

As I look back today—over thirty years later—it all seems

a dream. How advanced and secure the country is now! I can do nothing but bless with a full heart this glorious enlightenment of Japan today.

It was during the first year of Meiji, or the fourth year of Keiō (1868), that I moved my school from Tepōzu to Shinsen in Shiba. Now that it had taken on somewhat the status of a regular school, I gave it the name Keiō-gijyū¹¹ after the name of the era, this being a few months before the announcement of the change. Students who had scattered during the unsettled times were now returning, and the school again prospered. As the number of students increased, a more systematic supervision became necessary. So I drew up a book of regulations and, finding it impractical to have every student make a copy of it, I had the manual printed and distributed.

Among other items, it included one on Our innovation the collection of monthly fees which—collecting tuition—was an innovation in Keiō-gijyū. Until then in all the schools of Japan, probably

in imitation of the Chinese custom, the students gave some gift of money on entering as a private formality. After this they reverted the master as Sensei and about twice a year, at the Bon festival in summer and at the end of the year, they brought presents to him. These gifts were sometimes money, sometimes articles, always presented in the old convention of wrappings and *noshi* (ceremonial seals). They represented tuitions, in quantity or value, according to the financial status of the students' families.

It seemed to us that no teacher would really give his best under such a system. For teaching is a man's work, too. Why then should not a man accept money for his work? We

¹¹ Note on p. 361.

would openly charge a fixed amount for our instruction no matter what other people might say about it. We composed a new word *jūgyōryō* for tuition and ordered each student to bring two *bu* every month. These collected fees were divided among my older pupils who had been appointed to do the teaching. At that time a teacher boarding in the school could live on four *ryō* a month; so if we had this amount for each from the tuition collected every month, we would have sufficient to keep ourselves alive. Any amount over and above that was to be used for the maintenance of the buildings.

Of course by now there is nothing unusual in this business of collecting tuition; every school follows it. But when we first announced it, such an innovation startled everybody.

We threw off all the dignity of the old master and simply told the students to bring the two *bu*—"Don't bring the money wrapped up or with the ceremonial labels on it. And if you don't have the exact amount, we will make the change for you." Yet some would, at first, hand in the tuition wrapped in paper, tied in *mizuhiki* (ceremonial cords). Then we would tell them the wrapping was inconvenient in examining the money, and we would purposely open it there and hand back the wrapping. Such were our rude ways, and no wonder they startled the good people around us. But now it is amusing to see that our "rude" manners have become the custom of the country and nobody gives a second thought to them.

In anything, large or small, it is difficult to be the pioneer. It requires an unusual recklessness. But on the other hand, when the innovation becomes generally accepted, its originator gets the utmost pleasure as if it were the attainment of his inner desires.

It was our fortune that the school in Shinsen was not burned in the combat of the Restoration. By and by our

A pitched battle within our sight

classrooms and the details of administration were somewhat organized, but affairs in society around us were far from peaceful. In May of the first year of Meiji (1868), there occurred the fierce battle of Ueno.¹² A few days before and after this event, all theaters and restaurants and places of amusement were closed, and everything was in such a topsy-turvy condition that the whole city of "Eight Hundred and Eight Streets" seemed in utter desolation. But the work of my school went right on.

On the very day of the battle, I was giving lectures on economics, using an English text book.¹³ Ueno was over five miles away, and no matter how hot the fighting grew, there was no danger of stray bullets reaching us. Once in a while, when the noise of the streets grew louder, my pupils would amuse themselves by bringing out a ladder and climbing up on the roof to gaze at the smoke overhanging the attack. I recall that it was a long battle, lasting from about noon until after dark. But with no connection between us and the scene of action, we had no fear at all.

Thus we remained calm, and found that in the world, large as it was, there were other men than those engaged in warfare, for even during the Ueno siege and during the subsequent campaigns in the northern provinces, students steadily increased in Keiō-gijuku.

At that time all the schools formerly supported by the government of the one remaining Shōgun had been broken up and all their link in Japan's teachers scattered. The new régime civilization had no time yet to concern itself with education. The only school in the whole country where any real teaching was being done was

¹² Note on p. 361. ¹³ Ibid.

Keiō-gijuku. Once I had an occasion to address the school:

"In former times during the Napoleonic wars, the history of Holland was brought to a sad climax. Not only her homeland but even her provinces in the East Indies were in jeopardy, and there was no territory over which she could hoist her flag. But there remained one spot on the face of the earth where Holland was still mistress. That was Dejima in Nagasaki, for that was Holland's concession in Japan. The sieges of Europe did not extend their influence this far, and there from the top of a high pole, Holland's national flag was proudly fluttering in the breeze from Nagasaki Bay. Holland was never completely erased from the face of the earth. Thus the Dutch often boast of their country.

"As I see it, our own Keiō-gijuku stands for Western studies in Japan as much as Dejima did for Dutch nationalism. Whatever happens in the country, whatever warfare harasses our land, we have never relinquished our hold on Western learning. As long as this school of ours stands, Japan remains a civilized nation of the world. Let us put our best efforts into our work, for there is no need of concerning ourselves with the wayward trend of the society."

Such was my manner of encouraging the young pioneers. As to the administration of the school itself, there were many difficult problems I had to solve. After the wars, as I have said, the number of new entrants increased considerably, but the students who came were most difficult to manage.

Many of them had come directly from New students are the battlefields. Some had been fighting since the previous year, and now age; scribbling that the wars had ceased, came to our school to seek a new career instead of going back home. Among them was

a certain young warrior from the Tosa clan who wore a pair of swords in red lacquered sheaths. Even though he did

not carry a gun, he was a typical soldier with all the fiery spirit ready to draw at the least provocation. This fellow was once seen wearing a woman's pink dress. When I asked him where he got it, he declared proudly that he had taken it as booty in the battle of Aizu. I was puzzled at first how to deal with him.

In my simple list of regulations drawn up soon after we moved to Shinsenza, I ordered that there was to be no borrowing or lending of money among the students; the hours of retiring and rising were to be fixed; all meals were to be taken at regular times in the refectory. Then all scribblings, not only on the walls and paper doors, but on the desks and lamp shades, were to be strictly prohibited. Such were the simple rules, but I had to see them enforced after they were issued.

Whenever I found a scribbling on a paper-lined door, I would cut out that portion of the paper with a knife and order the men of that room to repaste the hole with new paper. When I found scribbling on the shade of an oil lamp, I summoned the owner of the lamp. Sometimes a student would protest: "I didn't do it; somebody made those marks on my lamp." But I would say, "You are a fool to let others tamper with your own lamp. For the penalty of playing the fool, you must repair the lamp, for I am not going to allow any lamps with scribbling on them in this dormitory."

I never hesitated in enforcing the least detail of the rules. Once I found that one of the students—I don't remember the name—had a pillow, on the wooden base of which there were some indecent phrases scribbled.

"You know very well," I said to him, "that even on private belongings no scribbling is allowed. I suppose you won't deny this. I could shave off the surface of your pillow, but I won't do that. I intend to break the whole thing up. You will have to get a new one."

I smashed the pillow under my foot and stood there stern and defiant as if ready to meet any attack he would make. But the student did not move. I am rather large in stature, but I know nothing of *jūjitsu*—in fact, I am one who has never struck a person in all my life. On this occasion I put up a show of ferocity, a piece of bluffing based on my size, and the fellow was utterly cowed.

After this, all the other hard-boiled young men grew less rampagous and the dormitory became more orderly. Gradually the really studious ones began to take the lead. They worked hard and helped to improve our general atmosphere. And we stayed in Shinsenza until the fourth year of Meiji (1871).

Already the wars had ceased and the country was turning toward peace and progress, but the new government was still busy organizing itself, and for five or six years education was left alone. And ours remained

The Ministry of Education is established

the only center in the country where Western learning was being taught. Indeed, I think it was until after the completion of *haihanchiken* (the abolition of the clan system and the organization of the prefectural government)¹⁴ that Keiō-gijuku remained the only school in European studies. After that, the Ministry of Education was established and the government began to give more attention to the public education. Our own school went on in the same way, the number of students being always between two and three hundred.

The chief subject of instruction in my school was English. Chinese, which was the basis of all previous education in Japan, was pushed to the second place. While elsewhere the boys had to know Chinese before taking up English, we

¹⁴ Note on p. 362.

were teaching English first and Chinese later. So it happened that there were many students who could not read Chinese at all though they were reading English with ease.

There was Hatano Shōgorō,¹³ for instance, who at first had difficulty in reading even his letters from home. But he was gifted and had a spirit keen for literature. He went on and quickly mastered the Chinese classics and became, as everyone knows today, an accomplished scholar.

The final purpose of all my work was to create in Japan a civilized nation as well equipped in 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. It was natural that I should be disliked by the older type of Japanese as if I were working for the benefit of foreigners.

In my interpretation of education, I try to be guided by the laws of nature and I try to co-ordinate all the physical actions of human beings by the very simple laws of "number and reason."¹⁴

In spiritual or moral training, I regard the human being as the most sacred and responsible of all orders, unable in reason to do anything base. Therefore, in self-respect, a man cannot change his sense of humanity, his justice, his loyalty or anything belonging to his manhood even when driven by circumstances to do so. In short, my creed is that a man should find his faith in independence and self-respect.

From my own observations in both Occidental and Oriental civilizations, I find that each has certain strong points and weak points bound up in its moral teachings and scientific theories. But when I compare the two in a general way

¹³ Note on p. 362. ¹⁴ Ibid.

as to wealth, armament, and the greatest happiness for the greatest number, I have to put the Orient below the Occident. Granted that a nation's destiny depends upon the education of its people, there must be some fundamental differences in the education of Western and Eastern peoples.

In the education of the East, so often saturated with Confucian teaching, I find two things lacking; that is to say, a lack of studies in number and reason in material culture, and a lack of the idea of independence in spiritual culture. But in the West I think I see why their statesmen are successful in managing their national affairs, and the businessmen in theirs, and the people generally ardent in their patriotism and happy in their family circles.

I regret that in our country I have to acknowledge that people are not formed on these two principles, though I believe no one can escape the laws of number and reason, nor can anyone depend on anything but the doctrine of independence as long as nations are to exist and mankind is to thrive. Japan could not assert herself among the great nations of the world without full recognition and practice of these two principles. And I reasoned that Chinese philosophy as the root of education was responsible for our obvious shortcomings.

With this as the fundamental theory of education, I began and, though it was impossible to institute specialized courses because of lack of funds, I did what I could in organizing the instructions on the principles of number and reason. And I took every opportunity in public speech, in writing, and in casual conversations, to advocate my doctrine of independence. Also I tried in many ways to demonstrate the theory in my actual life. During my endeavor I came to believe less than ever in the old Chinese teachings.

So, today, when many of the former students of Keiō-gijyuku have gone out into the world, if I hear that they are

practising the sciences of number and reason in whatever business they may follow, if I hear that they are upright in character, sharing in the principle of independence—that is the chief pleasure I find enlivening my old age.

It is not only that I hold little regard for the Chinese teaching, but I have even been endeavoring to drive its degenerate influences from my country. It is not unusual for scholars in Western learning and for interpreters of languages to make this denunciation. But too often they lack the knowledge of Chinese to make their attacks effective. But I know a good deal of Chinese, for I have given real effort to its study under a strict teacher. And I am familiar with most of the references made to histories, ethics, and poetry. Even the peculiarly subtle philosophy of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu I have studied and heard my teacher lecture on them. All of this experience I owe to the great scholar of Nakatsu, Shiraiishi. So, while I frequently pretend that I do not know much, I sometimes take advantage of the more delicate points for attack both in my writings and in my speeches. I realize I am a pretty disagreeable opponent of the Chinese scholars—"a worm in the lion's body."

The true reason of my opposing the Chinese teaching with such vigor is my belief that in this age of transition, if this retrogressive doctrine remains at all in our young men's minds, the new civilization cannot give its full benefit to this country. In my determination to save our coming generation, I was prepared even to face single-handed the Chinese scholars of the country as a whole.

Gradually the new education was showing its results among the younger generation; yet men of middle age or past, who held responsible positions, were for the most part uninformed as to the true spirit of Western culture, and whenever they had to make decisions, they turned invariably

to their Chinese sources for guidance. And so, again and again I had to rise up and denounce the all-important Chinese influence before this weighty opposition. It was not altogether a safe road for my reckless spirit to follow.

The years around the Restoration period were most active ones in my writing and translating. But as I have already written minutely of these in the preface to my collected works (Fukuza-

wa Zenshū),¹¹ I need not now repeat. All of my books were done entirely on my own initiative without orders from or consultation with others. I never showed the manuscripts to any of my friends, to say nothing of asking prominent scholars for prefaces and inscriptions. They might be devoid of grace and form—I perhaps should have sought an old scholar for a graceful foreword—but I preferred, then, to have my books stand on their own merits. Naturally they remained unapproved by men of the old school, whether true or false. Still all my books proved very successful with the great tide of new culture sweeping the whole country.

In the fourth year of Meiji (1871) Keiō-

The school is gijyuku was moved from Shinsenza to moved to Mitā Mitā, the present site of the school. This is an important event in our history and merits some special record.

In May of the previous year, I had suffered a severe attack of fever, and this probably made me sensitive to natural surroundings. I began to notice the air in Shinsenza as it was a very low and damp location. I decided to move my residence, and was about to buy a house in Jigura when the members of the school began to suggest that if Fukuzawa were to move away, why, the school should go with him.

¹¹ Note on p. 362.

We then remembered that there were many unoccupied estates of feudal clans¹⁸ in the city which would be suitable for a school site as well as for my residence. So every day some members of the school walked around looking for a vacant property that would be suitable for our use.

After a long search, they decided that the estate of the Shimabara clan in Mita, Shiba, was the best. It was on a hill overlooking the great bay of Tōkyō with good air and a fine view. We were unanimous in the selection, but of course the property still belonged to the Shimabara clan. The only way to get it was to request the prefectural government to confiscate it from the clan, and then to lease it to us in turn.

We accordingly sought the governor, also asked Sano Tsunetami and several other officials of our acquaintance for their aid. One day I called on Prince Iwakura though it was very unconventional to ask a nobleman for an impromptu interview. Yet he saw me and I was able to tell him about the condition of the school, and I confided to him my hope of leasing the estate of the Shimabara clan. Prince Iwakura gladly acceded to my request. While things were thus going along well, it happened that the prefectural government of Tōkyō had a problem which they were obliged to ask me to solve.

The city of Tōkyō was still using a system of military patrol and soldiers of various clans marched along the streets with guns on their shoulders. The practice was very unsightly—it made Tōkyō seem to be continually in a battle area. The government was planning to adopt a Western police system, but being unable to secure exact information on its organization, one of the officials called on me one day to ask me privately to make a study. His attitude seemed to imply some favor in return.

¹⁸ Note on p. 362.

"I saw the opportunity and said, 'That will be no trouble at all. I shall set about it with all haste, but there is a request I should like to make of the government. I have already told the governor privately that I wish to lease the Shimabara estate in Mita. Will you remember this when I complete the study?'"

Thus I put into action a little scheme for the transaction of the property. The official understood.

I collected several English books on civic government and translated the portions dealing with police systems, making a book out of it which I presented to the prefectural office.¹⁹ Very soon, upon the basis of my translations with due changes for the existing conditions, a modern police, known as *jūmō*, was created. This was later renamed *jūn-sa*, and the new system fitted quite adequately the conditions of the city in peace time. Thus the prefecture came to owe me some obligation.

Our request concerning the estate was soon acted upon. The clan was ordered to offer up the property, and I in turn received an order to take over the use of the land. About ten acres of the ground was leased to us, but I purchased the buildings on the ground at one *yen* a *tsubo* (six feet square), or in all about six hundred *yen*. It was in the spring of the fourth year of Meiji that we moved our school to the new location.

We used the former palace for class rooms, and the former ladies' apartments for a dormitory. The ground was so extensive and we felt so free that there was nothing we could say against our new home. Later on when we needed more room, I took at low cost the unoccupied houses of several clans in the neighborhood, and turned them into an annex for the dormitory. Thus our school became very

¹⁹ Note on p. 362.

When I first called at the residence of my lord Okudaira in Shiodome without those "things on my waist," the officials insisted that I was disrespectful to his lordship to enter the estate thus incompletely dressed. Once some of our members, Obata Jinzaburō and others, had an uncomfortable experience when they were accosted by some bullies on the street for not carrying swords.

But I had determined upon the abolition of these things and I used to make this sarcastic remark: "It is only the fool who in this enlightened age would carry around the instruments of murder at his side. And he who carries the longer sword is so much the bigger fool. Therefore the sword of the samurai should better be called the 'measuring scale of stupidity.'"

Wada dares the ruffians

Many of my colleagues shared this idea. One of them, Wada Yoshirō, who later became the head of the junior department of the school (Yochisha), once carried off a very daring joke on these interfering ruffians. Wada was a very gentle, kindly person who looked after the little boys in his charge as if they were all his own children. And the boys came to love him and his wife with the regard of sons for their parents. He was genuinely tender-hearted, but he was also a fighter. Having been born in the Wakayama clan, he was expert from an early age in all the military arts, had a wonderful physique, and was especially skilled in the art of *jūjitsu*.

One evening—I think it was after we moved to Mita—he with a few friends had gone for a walk without the swords as usual. While they were walking along Matsumoto-chō in Shiba, they came face to face with a group of the bullies swaggering along—a considerable number this time—with their long swords sticking out from their sides as if the road were too narrow to hold them.

Thereupon Wada, deliberately striding along the middle of the road, began to void urine as he came. It was a ticklish situation, whether the ruffians would move apart to the sides of the road or set upon Wada for a fight. But Wada was prepared for any emergency; he could have handled five or even ten of them in an encounter. His boldness must have got the better of them; the bullies turned aside and passed by without a word. This may seem a very drastic measure, hardly thinkable in these modern times, but it was not so unusual in that age of turmoil. It rather helped our school in holding its own against the numerous enemies who were ready to fall upon us.

I force a farmer and ruffians but even among the samurai to go on horse- farmers and townsmen that I had to back

It was not only among the samurai was taking my children to Kamakura and Enoshima for a holiday, we met a farmer coming on horseback as we were passing along the seashore. As soon as he saw us, he jumped off the horse.¹

I caught hold of his bridle and said, "What do you mean by this?"

The farmer bowed as if in great fear and began to apologize in his voluble way.

"No, no," I said. "Don't be a fool! This is your horse, isn't it?"

"Yes, your honor."

"Then why not ride on your own horse? Now, get back on it and ride on."

The poor fellow was afraid to mount before me.

"Now, get back on your horse," I repeated. "If you don't, I'll beat you. According to the laws of the present govern-

¹ Note on p. 364.

ment, any person, farmer or merchant, can ride freely on horseback without regard to whom he meets on the road. You are simply afraid of everybody without knowing why. That's what's the matter with you."

I forced him to get back on the horse and drove him off.

This made me reflect what fearful weight the old customs had with the people. Here was this poor farmer still living in fear of all persons, never realizing that the new law of the land had liberated him. What could be done with this country of ours when there were so many people as ignorant as this! I keenly felt an anxiety that was perhaps uncalled for.

I had another interesting and convincing experience in that period. It was in the fifth year of Meiji (1872) when I was invited to visit Lord Kuki, whom I had

known intimately for some time, of the clan of Sanda in Settsu. I was glad to accept the invitation, for recovering as I was from illness, I had wanted to go to the hot springs of Arima which happened to be in that district.

I first went to Ōsaka and from there I was to travel some thirty-seven miles over to Sanda with a night's stopover in Nashio on the way. In Ōsaka I always called at my old master's home, for even though Ogata Sensei had passed away, I was always received by the affectionate old widow. So this time again I went to see her, and told her of my holiday trip to Sanda, and of my visit to the hot springs of Arima. The good lady insisted on lending me a litter as she feared to let me walk in my weak condition.

However, once started on the road, I found I was able to walk much more easily than the lady had expected. Besides, it was in the beautiful season of spring. I told the litter-bearers to go on ahead, and began to walk by myself. After a while I began to feel the lack of someone to talk with, so

I stopped a man who looked like a farmer and asked him the way. Probably there was something of the samurai manner in my speech and, without realizing it, I may have sounded commanding. The farmer replied very politely and left me with a respectful bow.

"Well, this is interesting," I thought. I looked at myself and saw that I was not carrying anything but an umbrella; I was very plainly dressed too. I thought I would try again, and when another wayfarer came up, I stopped him with an awful, commanding voice:

"I say, there! What is the name of that hamlet I see yonder? How many houses are there? Whose is the large residence with the tiled roof? Is the owner a farmer or a merchant? And what is his name?"

Thus with the undisguised manner of the samurai, I put all sorts of nonsensical questions on the stranger. The poor fellow shivered at the roadside and haltingly answered, "In great awe I shall endeavor to speak to your honor . . ."

It was so amusing, I tried again when another passerby came along, this time taking the opposite attitude.

"*Moshi, moshi*," I began. "But may I ask you something, please? . . ."

I used the style of an Ōsaka merchant, and began the same nonsensical questions. I knew all the dialects of Ōsaka, having been born there and lived there as a student. Probably the man thought I was a merchant on the way to collect money; he eyed me haughtily and walked on his way without giving me much of an answer.

So I proceeded, accosting everyone who came along. Without any allowance for their appearance, I spoke alternately, now in samurai fashion, now merchantlike. In every instance, for about seven miles on my way, I saw that people would respond according to the manner in which they were addressed—with awe or with indifference.

Finally I became disgusted. I would not have cared if they were polite or arrogant so long as they behaved consistently. But here it showed that they were merely following the lead of the person speaking to them. It was quite natural that the petty officials of the provinces should grow domineering. The government had been called oppressive and despotic, but it was not the fault of the government. People themselves invited oppression. What should I do about it? I certainly could not leave them as they were. Could I teach them? That could not be done easily or quickly. Even though the situation was the result of the unfortunate government of hundreds of years in our history, yet these poor farmers knew nothing else but to bow and make apologies to the persons accosting them. Not only that but they would grow arrogant the instant one talked to them modestly. They were exactly like a rubber doll. What hope for their future?

Still the times do change. At present the onetime "rubber dolls" have developed into fine enterprising citizens. Many of them have learned sciences and are practising modern business and industry. And when they are drafted for military duty, they willingly go through "fire and water" for the cause of their country. Nowadays there would not be a single one in the land who could be cowed by this Fukuzawa however much he wielded his umbrella or used the most pretentious diction of the old samurai. That, to me, is the greatest blessing of modern civilization.

After all, the purpose of my entire work has not only been to gather young men together and give them the benefit of foreign books but to open this "closed" country of ours and bring it wholly into the light of Western civilization. For only thus may Japan become strong in the arts of both war and peace

and take a place in the forefront of the progress of the world.

I was not satisfied merely to advocate it by word of mouth. I felt that I must practise it in my actual life, and that there would be no excuse if there was the least disagreement between my words and my conduct. Hence my self-discipline and my household economy so as never to be dependent on other men. At the same time I did not hesitate if I saw anything that was necessary in advancing the cause of civilization whether it met with the general approval or not.

Some of these radical innovations I have described, such as collecting tuition, discarding the swords, and using public speaking as an entirely new form of communication.*

Also, in my writing I broke with old-time scholarly style and adopted the simplest and easiest of styles. This was indeed distasteful to the scholars of the time. But fortunately both my own works and my translation were accepted eagerly by the public—like "water to the thirsty" or "a shower after a drought." The number of copies sold was really surprising.³

I know that no scholar or writer, no matter how great he may be, could either write or translate a book that would sell as mine did if he had not happened to hit the right time and occasion. After all, my success was not due to my ability, but it was by reason of the time that I came to serve. I am not sure whether other scholars of the age were unskilled in writing, or whether they were so absorbed in the prospect of gaining high posts in the government that they overlooked their own business. Whatever the situation may have been, I seemed to be alone in the field of writing for popular causes, and it became the sole basis of my livelihood and later of my reputation.

* Note on p. 364. • Ibid.

Therefore on opening my school I was not obliged to draw on its small income for a personal salary, and was able to use all the tuition for the teachers. Moreover, I was often able to contribute to the school from my own income.

Whether because I am simply free from care or lacking in personal ambition, I have not an overwhelming regard for the school. Though I am always worrying over every detail of it and trying my best to improve it, I always recall that I am not dependent on it and that I have no real obligation to preserve it for the future. With this determination I have little to fear in the world and I can try anything new in the school by simply consulting my colleagues. Hence the air of independence and the practice of things not generally acceptable to the world in our institution.

Then again, while I have always remained a private citizen, avoiding all political connections, I have often expressed my own ideas on political matters both in speech and in writing, and they were sometimes in opposition to the government. But I really do not have any dissatisfaction with the present government. Even though there are officials who were reckless anti-foreign advocates at one time or who have tried to bring discomfort to me, now that society has been reorganized I should never think of bringing up old memories. I am willing to let them proceed in full favor so long as they carry out the new liberal policy. Yet I have been provoked by certain officials who made a broad distinction between the government and the people, and tried to discriminate against private schools even to the point of placing obstacles in our way.

This kind of petty politics was a nuisance. But I do not intend to dwell upon my grievances here, because that would be too long a story, and also would make me use some disagreeable language. Since the opening of the National Diet, there has been less of this petty spirit among the officials,

and I think we shall have more and more accord between government and people in the future.

My temper In that troubled age I had some experiences through seeking to prolong the lives of certain condemned men. **would not let in-** justice pass un- **challenged** This was done only for my own pleasure and no political motives were involved in it. Perhaps I might call it

an extreme hobby of mine, or I might say I was urged on by my benevolence or by my temper which had been touched to the quick. Anyway, I gave fully of my time and endeavor toward saving some lives.

A certain chancellor in charge of the Yedo headquarters of the Sendai clan was named Ōwara Shindayū. He had been an intimate acquaintance of mine since the period before the Restoration. Though not himself a scholar, he was fond of giving assistance to the young students of Western learning.

He was indeed a gentleman of exceptional character, for unlike most of the men in high official positions, he did not spend his time in gay amusement with the *geisha* or patronizing wrestlers and the like. He probably had a comfortable income from his office as chancellor of a great clan, but he was never known to dissipate it in temporary whims. His chief pleasure was in being generous to the students of his clan. I should be safe in saying that there was hardly one among them who had not shared his table or partaken of his resources. One of these beneficiaries was Tomita Tetsunosuke.

At the outbreak of the Restoration, the Sendai clan had taken sides with the old government of the Shōgun, but they were soon defeated and the leader of the movement, Tadaki Tosa, a chancellor, had taken his own life. Some time afterwards, the country at peace again, a certain faction in the

easily have reminded him of his own little graft. My bargain was almost blackmail. Anyhow, with the former episode in mind, the chancellor felt obliged to give me twenty ryō.

I sent fifteen ryō of this amount to my mother in our native town and saved my family from its financial straits for the moment. Back in those earlier days of struggle, I often carried out some pretty raw tricks which I rather blush for today. Yet at that time I felt not the least scruple of conscience. Rather, I thought it foolish not to take the money when I could. And as in a hunt, I was proud to catch a "goose" rather than a "sparrow."

It is difficult now to account for my Man is a parasite—shameless attitude toward my clan. I site feeding on had come from a good family and had society been reared by the best of mothers. I had indeed made up my mind never to be covetous of the worldly goods of others. Yet why should I have been without shame in using craft against my clan?

I am wondering now if I was not like the "worm" in society—a kind of parasite feeding on the customs of the time—which had grown fat in the continued good season. This worm had always worshipped the lord of the clan, and had regarded him as a kind of superman. To this worm the lord's possessions were like the resources of nature—to be exploited and made use of by all men. I suppose a revolution in society was necessary to rouse me from this illusion. The fall of the Tokugawa régime of three hundred years' standing gave me the cue, and for the first time I realized that my lord was as human as I, and that it was shameful to treat him as I had. I was not the least surprised to see myself undergoing the transition, refusing even the stipend that the clan had willingly offered me. I did not stop to reason this out at the time, but I am convinced now that the fall of the feudal government was what saved me from my slavish attitude.

Transition
of regard
to taking
money
from the
clan

Applying this personal experience to Impossible to expect China to advance—a greater problem, I might say a few words about present-day China. I am sure that it is impossible to lead her

government is left to stand as it is. However great statesmen may appear—even a hundred Li Hung-changs—we cannot expect any marked improvement.

But if they break up the present administration and rebuild the whole nation from the foundation up, probably the minds of the people themselves would change, and these new minds may acquire the initiative to direct their way toward a new civilization. I cannot guarantee that this will work out as well for China as our Restoration did for us, but for the purpose of insuring a nation's independence, they should not hesitate to destroy a government even if it is only for an experiment. Even the Chinese should know whether the government exists for the people or the people exist for the government.

Turning aside now from the wandering account of my financial experiences, Untold reasons for the peace in our clan—I would like to tell a few things about my clan of Nakatsu, for I have some very pleasant memories. In other clans

argument often grew into actual conflict over the question as to whether the members should swear allegiance to the Emperor or preserve their faith in the old government. After the Restoration there were instances of the winning faction forcing the leaders of the defeated side to take their own lives, or shedding blood over the question of how the clan should be reorganized. This was the case in many clans—perhaps eight or nine out of ten.

In our Nakatsu clan there would have been disturbances indeed if I had shown political ambition and advocated any

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING

The First Essay, 1872

BY FUKUZAWA YUKICHI

INTRODUCTORY NOTE. This essay was Fukuzawa's first attempt at expressing his own ideas and its influence on the thinking of the Japanese people was unprecedented. Because newspapers and magazines had not yet gained wide circulation, this essay was brought out in pamphlet form, and the public took to it "like the thirsty to water." Some 200,000 copies were sold. Happy with the success of the first essay, Fukuzawa went on to publish a series of seventeen essays, all called "Encouragement of Learning," between 1872 and 1876.

Previous to this essay, Fukuzawa had written some widely read books, such as *Seiyō Jijō* (Things Western), and he had already been recognized as a man well informed on Western civilization. But with the publication of "Encouragement of Learning," Fukuzawa established himself as a thinker and an intellectual leader of new Japan. There followed a torrent of publications from his pen which led the nation in its great evolution to modernity.

It is interesting to note that this first essay contains practically everything that Fukuzawa was to discuss in his subsequent works, such as the meaning of education and learning, the dignity of an individual, freedom and independence, etc. And, very significantly, the very first line of the first essay, "Heaven never created a man above another . . .," is the most quoted of Fukuzawa's sayings. The language used in this essay is very quaint. For instance, the word *Heaven* as used here has no religious meaning at all. Today the word *Nature* would be used, but in 1872 the Japanese word for *Nature* had not come into general use. Also, Fukuzawa

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was not writing for the intellectuals alone but for the general populace of Japan as well. Fukuzawa once said that he always tried to write so clearly that an uneducated woman from the countryside would understand the words when they were read to her from the next room through the paper door. And so he chose to use everyday expressions of that time in order to reach the general people who knew nothing other than feudalism.

In spite of the quaintness and the outmoded expressions, the basic ideas in this essay are as fresh and virile to men of today as they were to those of 1872. There were many other scholars who advocated new thoughts, but Fukuzawa was foremost in force and clarity of expression and above all in reaching a wide circle of people. It is certain that there has never been in all the history of Japan an essay which compares with this one in its influence on the Japanese people.

February 20, 1960

EIICHI KIVOOKA

Encouragement of Learning

"Heaven never created a man above another nor a man below another," it is said. Therefore, when men are born, Heaven's idea is that all men should be equal to all other men without distinction of high and low or noble and mean, but that they should all work with body and mind, with dignity worthy of the lords of creation, which they are, in order to take all things in the world for the fulfillment of their needs in clothing, food, and dwelling, freely but without obstructing others, so that each can live happily through life.

However, taking a wide view of this human world, we find wise men and ignorant men, rich men and poor men, men of importance and men of little consequence, their differences like those of the cloud and the slime. Why should all this be? The reason is apparent. In the *Jitsugōkyō* it is said, "If a man does not study, he will have no knowledge. A man without knowledge is a fool." The distinction between the wise and the foolish comes from whether they have studied or not.

In society there are difficult tasks and easy tasks. Those who undertake difficult tasks are called men of high standing and those who undertake easy tasks are called men of low standing. All the tasks in which one must use his mind and which involve much worry are difficult, and those in which one labors with hands and legs are easy. And so, physicians, scholars, government officials, or big merchants and big farmers who employ many serving men are to be called men of high standing and importance.

When a man is high in standing and importance, his house will naturally be wealthy and, from the viewpoint of lowly people, he will appear to be high beyond their reach. But looking into the root of it all, we will find that the difference comes merely from whether the man has learning or not, and that there are no Heaven-made distinctions. The proverb says, "Heaven does not give riches to men, but gives it to the labor of men." Therefore, as I have said before, a man is not born with rank or riches. Only those who strive for learning and are capable of reasoning will become men of rank and riches while those without learning will become poor and lowly.

Learning does not mean knowing strange words or reading old, difficult literature or enjoying poems and writing verses and such accomplishments, which are of no real use in the world. These accomplishments give much pleasure to the human mind and they have their own values, but they are not to be valued and worshiped as much as the usual run of scholars has tried to make out. Since time immemorial, there have been very few scholars in Chinese classics who were good household providers or merchants who were accomplished in poetry and yet clever in business. For this reason merchants and farmers become concerned when their sons take to learning seriously, thinking that their fortunes will eventually be ruined. This is natural in anxious parents, and proves that this kind of learning is far removed from and quite useless to daily life.

Therefore, this kind of learning without real use should be left to other days and one's best efforts should be given to real learning that is near to men's everyday use—for instance, the forty-seven letters of the alphabet, the composition of letters, bookkeeping, the abacus, and the use of scales. Advancing farther, there will be

many subjects to be taken up: Geography is a sort of story of and guide to Japan and all the countries of the world; Natural Philosophy is the study of the nature and the function of all things under the heavens; History is a detailed chronology and studies the conditions of every country in the world, past and present; Economics explains the management of a household and of a country and of the world; Ethics gives the natural principles for a man's conduct of himself and with his fellow men and shows how he should behave in society.

For the study of these subjects, one should read the translations of Western books. In writing one may let the Japanese alphabet suffice in most cases. If there should be a youth with a promise in scholarship, let him learn the "letters written sideways" and let him grasp the fundamentals in even one field or one subject, and according to these let him investigate the principles of things near him, and thus let him fulfil the need of every day. Such is Jitsugaku (Scientific Knowledge or Real Learning) for all men, which should be generally implied without distinction of high or low in society. Only after this, should men pursue the separate ways of samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant, and the household business of each. In this way a man may attain his independence, a house its independence, and the nation too will attain independence.

In the pursuit of learning, the important thing is to know one's proper limitations. The nature of a man as he is born is not bound or restricted; a man as an adult man and a woman as an adult woman should be free and unrestrained in their actions. However, by stressing freedom alone without regard to one's proper limitations, one is most liable to fall into waywardness and licentiousness. What is meant by limitations is to conform to the reason of Heaven and humanity and to attain one's own freedom without infringing upon that of other men.

The boundary line between freedom and waywardness lies in whether one infringes on others or not. For instance, when one is using one's own money, it may seem that one is free to indulge in wine and women and to abandon oneself to licentiousness. But it is not so by any means. One man's licentiousness will become the temptation of many men, causing the general degeneration of

the society and the disruption of education. Even if the money he spends is his, his sin cannot be pardoned.

The problems of freedom and independence exist with a nation as much as they do with an individual man. Since ancient times, Japan has been an island country far to the east of the Asian continent, not associating with foreign countries, living on its own produce, and never being sensible of want. But since the Americans came in the Kaei Era, foreign trade and intercourse began and developed to the state we see today. There have been arguments of many kinds even after the opening of the ports, some advocating loudly the closing of the ports and the expulsion of foreigners. However, these arguments take a very narrow point of view like that of the proverbial frog at the bottom of a well; they are not worthy of our note.

Take Japan, take any nation of the West; every nation is under the same heavens, illumined by the same Sun, enjoying the beauty of the same Moon, sharing the same ocean, breathing the same air, possessing the same human sentiments. Therefore, whatever we have in excess we should give to them, taking to us whatever they have in excess, teaching each other and learning together, never ashamed nor boastful, each fulfilling the needs of the other, mutually praying for the happiness of all. So, according to the reason of Heaven and the ways of man, a nation should hold mutual intercourse with all others, and when reason is against it, it should bow even before the black natives of Africa, and when reason is on its side, it should stand in defiance of the mighty warships of England and America, or when the honor of the country is at stake, every man in the whole nation should throw down his life to defend the glory of the country. Such should be the picture of a free and independent country.

But some people are like the Chinese, who thinks there is no nation in the world except his own, and whenever he meets some foreigners, he calls them barbarians as if they were beasts walking on four legs, despises and detests them, and simply endeavors to keep them out, never thinking of the real strength of his own country, with the result that he is subjected to humiliation by those "barbarians." All this indicates that he is ignorant of the proper limitations of a nation, exactly like a man who, not know-

ing the true meaning of freedom, falls into the evils of waywardness and licentiousness.

Since the return of the Imperial rule, Japan's system of government has come to be much changed. Externally she associates with the world under international law; internally she guides the people to an understanding of freedom and independence, permitting the plain people to take family names and to go on horseback, which one may consider the finest act of all times. One may say that the movement to make the four classes—samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant—equal has here been placed on a firm footing.

Therefore, henceforth among the people of Japan there will be no such thing as the rank to which a man is born. Only by his ability and the position he holds will a man's rank be determined. For instance, it is proper to pay respect to a government official, but this is not the respect of the man himself. We should pay respect to the fact that he holds his position because of his ability and administers the precious laws for the benefit of the people. It is not the person that one is to respect; it is the law that one is to respect.

All people remember that during the Shōgun's regime the August Jar of Tea used to be carried along the Tōkaidō Highway. Not only the Jar of Tea but a hawk in the Shōgun's household was more precious than an ordinary man; when a horse of the Shōgun's household came by, all the travelers on the highway stood aside. Everything, even a piece of stone or tile, appeared awesome and precious when the words "belonging to the Shōgun" were attached to it. Though disliking it for many centuries, people had become used to it, and thus the ugly custom came to be. After all, this did not come from the dignity of the law, nor from the value of the things themselves; it was simply a cowardly device of the government to show off its power and to restrict the freedom of the people. One may call it an empty pretense without substance.

Nowadays, as such miserable laws and customs are to be discontinued throughout the country, people ought to set their hearts at ease, and if there should be the least complaint against the government, they should never hold it against the officials in secret, but they should seek a proper channel to present the case and to argue about it quietly and without hesitation. If the case should be in

accord with Heaven's reason and with humanity, one should fight for it even at the risk of one's own life. Such shall be the lot of a man who calls himself a citizen of a civilized nation.

As I have said before, an individual man and an individual nation are free and unrestricted according to Heaven-made law. And so, if this freedom of the nation is in jeopardy, one should not fear to stand against all the nations of the world; if one's individual freedom is in jeopardy, one should not stand in awe of even the government officials. Moreover, at the time when the equality of the four classes has been established, all men should feel secure in giving free rein to their activities as long as they follow the ways of Heaven. However, as every man has his position in society, he must have ability and virtue appropriate to his position. In order to give ability and virtue to oneself, one must learn the logic of things. In order to learn the logic of things, one must study his letters. This is the reason for the urgent need of learning.

As we look around today, the position of the three classes—farmer, artisan, and merchant—has advanced a hundred fold, and soon will be on a level with the samurai. Even now, the way has been opened for drawing talented men from among the three classes into government service. Therefore, all men must reflect upon themselves and realize that they now occupy a high position, and therefore must behave in a manner worthy of that position.

There is no one more pitiful and obnoxious than the ignorant and the illiterate. In the extreme of ignorance, they lose the sense of shame. When they grow poor and hungry because of their ignorance, they do not blame themselves, but they envy the rich, sometimes banding themselves to force a petition or even taking to armed rioting. Shall I call them shameless, or shall I call them lawless? They owe their security to the law of the nation and they carry on their household business under the law. They take advantage of it when they may. Yet, when their personal greed dictates, they break the law. Is this not an outrage on fair reason?

It sometimes happens that a well-established man with some means knows only how to accumulate money but is entirely ignorant in educating his children. Uneducated children will be foolish, which is not to be wondered at, and they will become lazy and licentious, finally squandering away like a wisp of smoke the for-

tunes inherited from their ancestors. To rule such foolish men, reason will not do; the only way will be to keep them in order by the show of force. A proverb of the West says, "Over foolish people, there is a harsh government." It is not that the government is harsh of itself; it is the foolish people who bring harshness upon themselves. If the government over foolish people is harsh, reason requires that the government over wise people should be good. Therefore, in our country, too, we have this kind of government because there is this kind of people.

Should our people ever sink into deeper ignorance and illiteracy, the government will become even severer than today. Should people turn their minds to learning, acquire an understanding of logic, and advance toward civilization, the government will move toward freedom and leniency. The severity or leniency of the government are natural consequences of the worth or unworthiness of the people themselves. Who in the world would prefer harsh rule to good rule? Who would not pray for strength and fortune for his own country? Who would welcome humiliation from foreigners? These are human sentiments common to all.

In this age, for those who have the mind to serve their country, there are no problems urgent enough to worry the mind and torture the body. The important thing for everyone for the present is that he should regulate his conduct according to humanity, and apply himself earnestly to learning in order to absorb a wide knowledge and to develop abilities worthy of his position. This will make it easy for the government to rule and pleasant for the people to accept its rule, every man finding his place and all playing a part in preserving the peace of the nation. This should be the only aim. The encouragement of learning that I advocate, too, takes this for its aim.