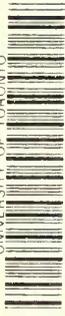
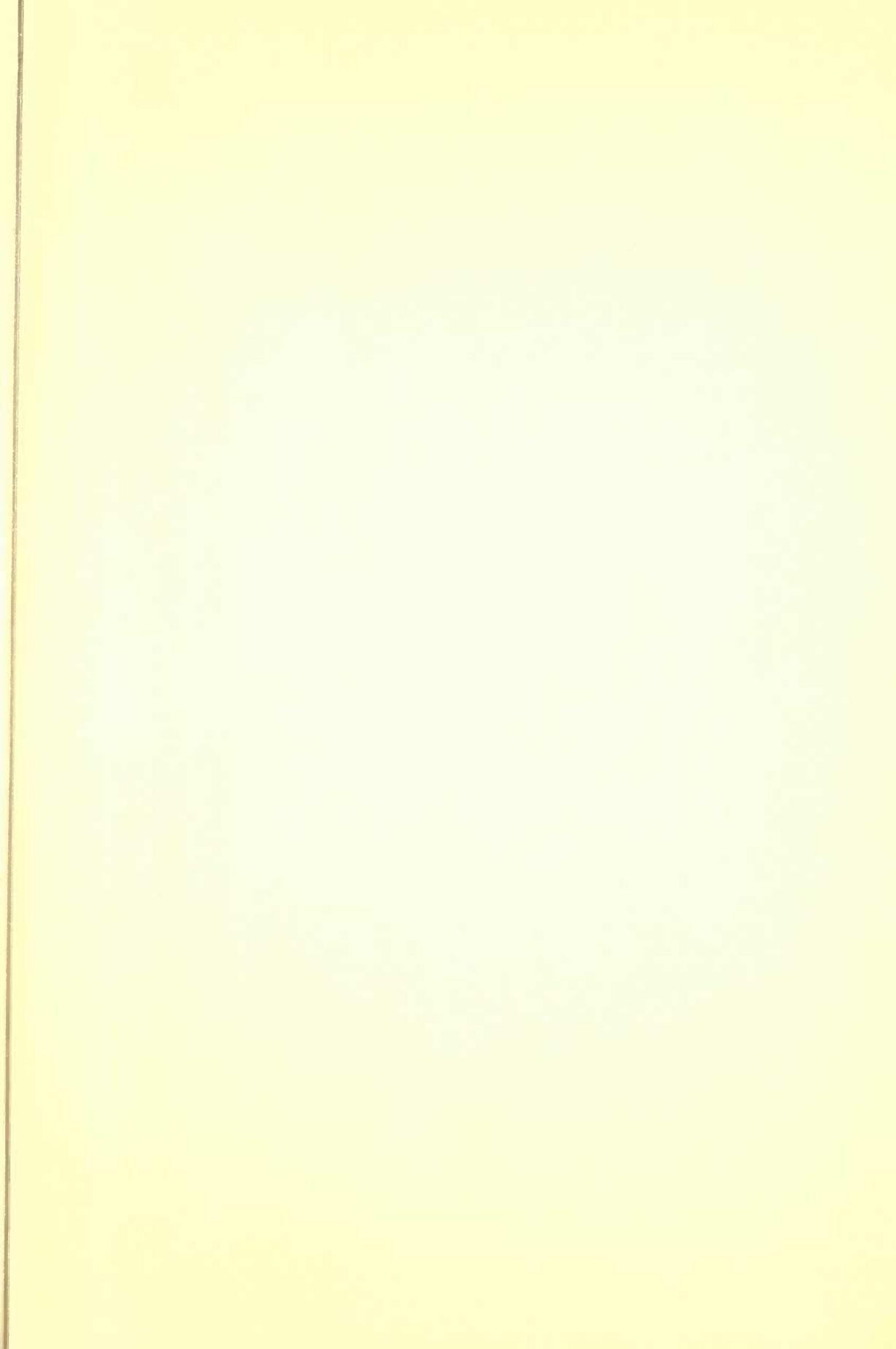
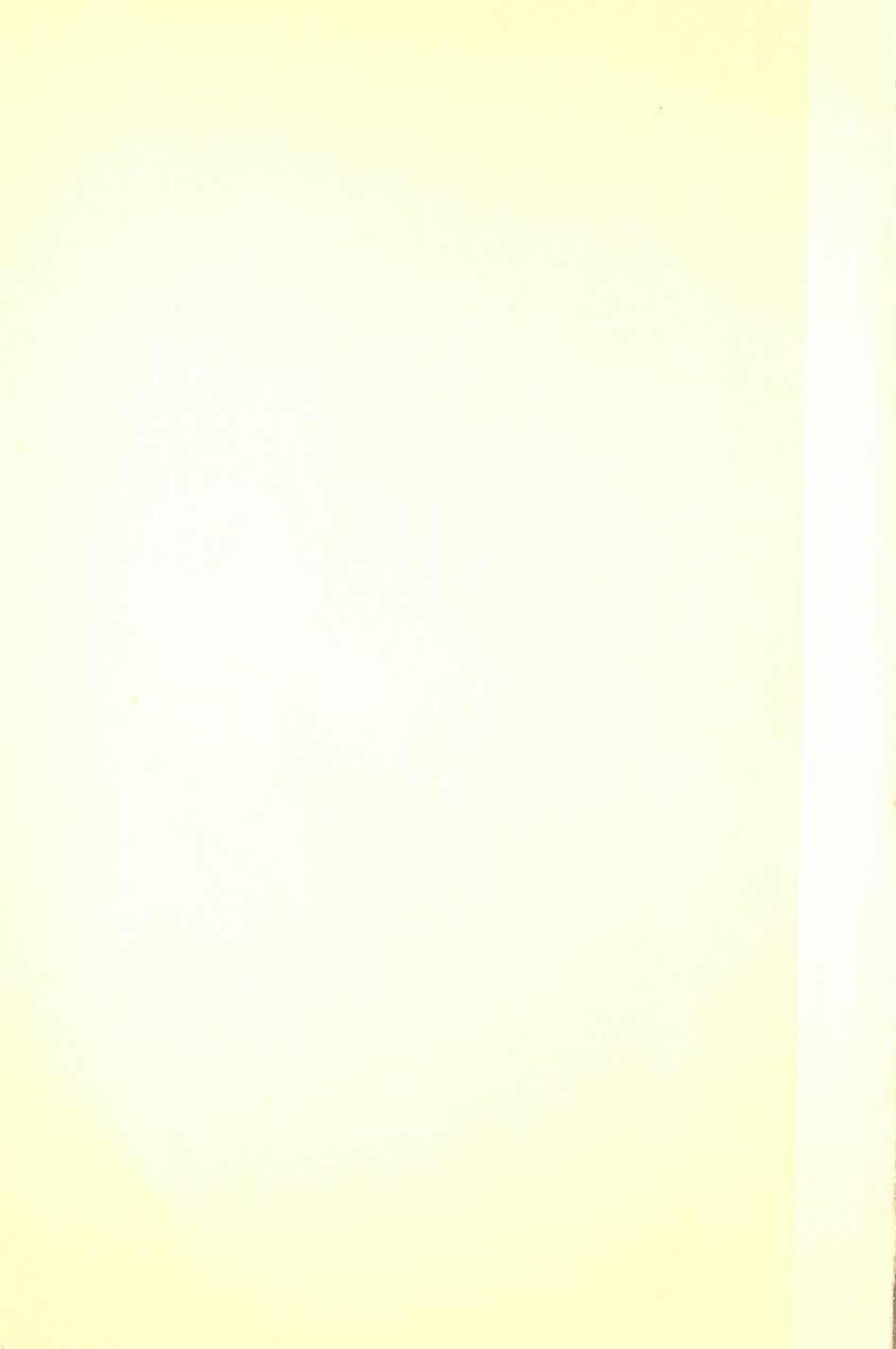


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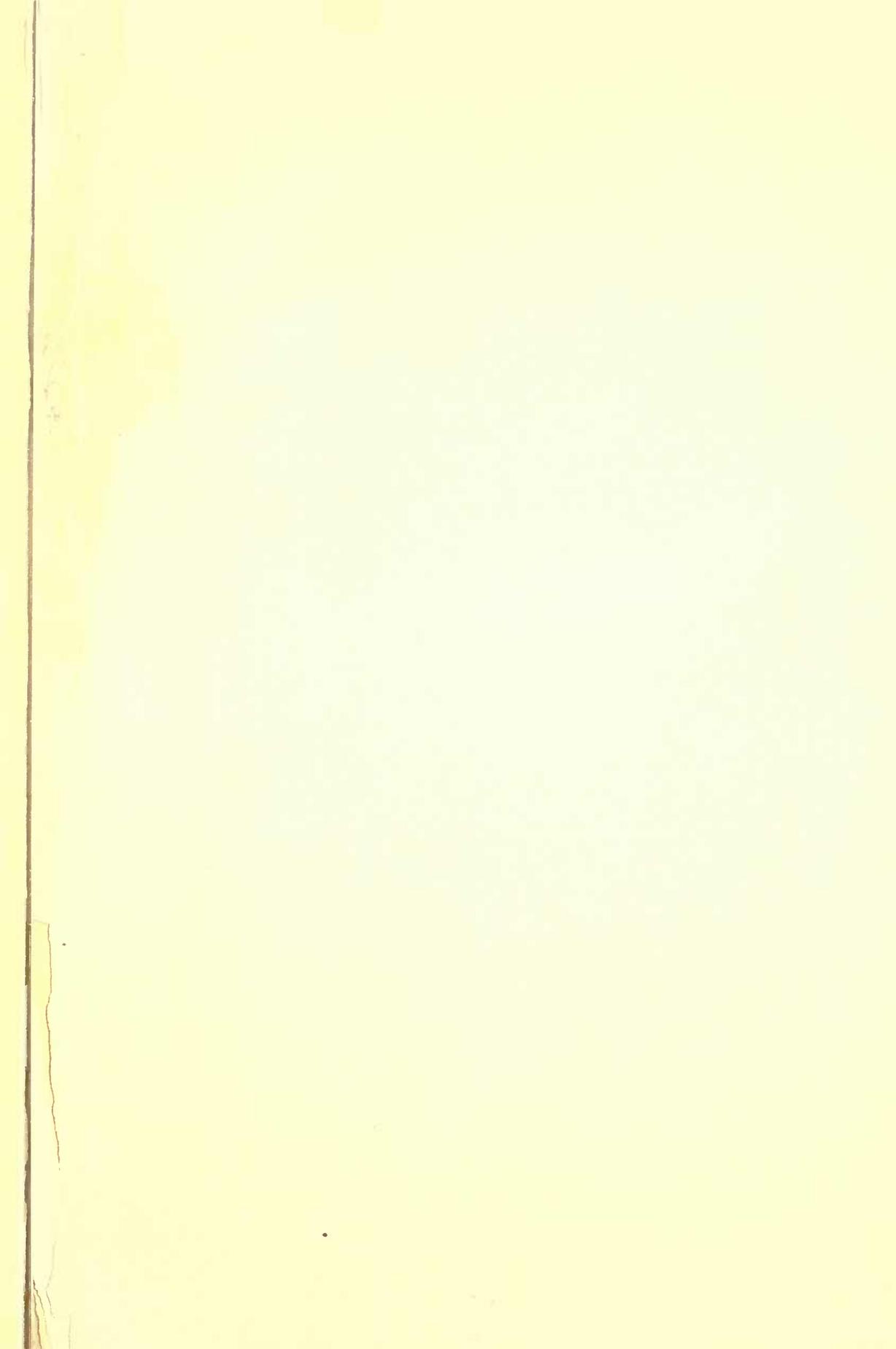




University of Toronto Studies
Philosophy

LIGHT FROM THE EAST
STUDIES IN
JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM







CONFUCIUS

LIGHT FROM THE EAST
STUDIES IN
JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM

By
ROBERT CORNELL ARMSTRONG, M.A., Ph.D.
KWANSEI GAKUIN, KOBE, JAPAN

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
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PREFACE

The present work is given to the public in the hope that it will throw light on some of the formative elements of Japanese civilization, and lead to a better understanding of Japanese character and life.

When I first came to Japan, a Japanese asked me to explain what we of the West had which they had not. The necessity of being able to answer such questions led me to feel that if I were to be of any real service to Japan, I must become familiar with their thought and history. This led me to study in a rather strenuous way the religious history and thought of Japan. In this present work I have endeavoured to give an outline of the history of Japanese Confucianism.

The Japanese are our neighbours. It is very important that neighbours should understand each other: that so far as possible suspicion and misunderstanding should be removed and points of contact established. It is very important that we should look at the Japanese from a broad human standpoint and endeavour to discover their real nature. The studies which have made this book possible have led me to feel that, in spite of their differences in custom, the Japanese are essentially the same as we are. They are interested in the same spirit of righteousness and truth; many of them have suffered and even died for their convictions. It is my hope that these studies, which were not primarily intended for publication, may lead others to the conviction that East and West are fundamentally one.

The title "Light from the East" is given to this book because any intensive study of thought in Japan involves more or less knowledge of Korea, China and India. The schools of Confucianism, which originated in China in the Sung and Ming dynasties, assimilated much from Northern Buddhism which comes from India.

In the preparation of this work I am indebted to many Japanese teachers. Professors Hayashi and Komai of the fourth High School, Kanazawa; Professor Murakami, of Kwansei Gakuin, Kobe; Mr. K. Shiraishi, of Kofu; Mr. Hatano, of Shizuoka, and Mr. S. Takatsu of the Girls' Normal School, Yokohama, have been especially helpful to me. In addition to these Japanese friends I received invaluable assistance from the suggestions of Dr. A. H. Abbott of the University of Toronto. In reading and revising the manuscript I have been greatly assisted by Dr. A. H. Reynar of Victoria College, Mrs. Armstrong and others.

R. C. A.

KOBE, JAPAN,
June, 1914.

FOREWORD

Before the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism there was almost no philosophy in Japan, although the peculiar teaching of the Japanese spirit which was already in process of development cannot be entirely overlooked. What Confucianism taught was already in practice in Japan, but it was thenceforth authorized and corroborated by the precepts of the great Chinese sage. The influence of Confucianism which has been eagerly studied by the Japanese scholars for more than a thousand years since its first introduction, is really immense and incalculable, especially in the sphere of moral culture.

But before the Tokugawa age the influence of Buddhism was very great, spiritually far greater than that of Confucianism, producing several illustrious reformers and religious thinkers. From the beginning of the Tokugawa age, however, Confucianism took a more prominent position than Buddhism. Since the education of all the provinces at that time was based on Confucian principles, its teaching was more widely propagated than ever. Several eminent philosophers arose among the Confucian scholars who contributed a great deal to intellectual development as well as moral culture before the Reformation.

For those foreigners who do not understand the gradual preparation made by Confucianism and Buddhism, the sudden uprise of Japan since the Restoration will appear to be but a miracle or at least an inexplicable wonder. But if they understand thoroughly well what Confucianism has taught, then the sudden uprise of Japan will be held no more as a miracle but as a natural and necessary transition.

Since the Restoration Confucianism seems to be almost extinguished, but it is only apparently so. The teaching of the great Chinese sage is so widely diffused and deeply rooted in Japan that it must be considered to be part and parcel of

Japanese culture itself. Besides that, we must not forget that the Japanese spirit began from earlier times to assimilate Confucianism to itself, that is to say, to Japanize it. As a consequence of that process Confucianism was, during the Tokugawa age, almost entirely Japanized, and in that way it was made far more vigorous and efficacious than in China and elsewhere. To understand well Confucianism of the Tokugawa age is, therefore, at the same time to understand partly Japanese culture itself.

So I think that the publication of "Light from the East" which contains largely the Confucian philosophy of the Tokugawa age, written by Mr. R. C. Armstrong, who has devoted many years to the study of intellectual development in Japan, will serve for the promotion of the knowledge of Japanese culture, and disperse also, I hope, the doubt about the miraculous uprise of the Japanese nation.

TETSUJIRO INOUE,
*Professor of Philosophy in the
Imperial University.*

TOKYO, JAPAN,
January 31, 1913.

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PART I
STUDIES IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF
CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I
EARLY NATURE WORSHIP

In ancient times Japan had no written language, so the earliest stories were handed down orally from generation to generation. It was not until A.D. 712 that any of the records which are now available were completed. These records were therefore written long after the introduction of Chinese ideas, and it is very difficult to say what the indigenous, religious manifestations of Japan were. Nevertheless, Japanese historians claim that the imperial line dated back to B.C. 660. Foreign scholars date the earliest records from Japanese sources at about the close of the fifth century, and the earliest records from Korean sources back to about the end of the fourth century.

The earliest form of religion in Japan was an unsystematized worship of nature and of the dead. Like other primitive peoples, they associated the mysterious with the idea of divinity. Spirits were supposed to reside everywhere—in the heavens, in natural objects and events, in lower organic life, and in man. Anything of an extraordinary character was ascribed to a god. Gods were born in most remarkable ways. Some sprang from the eye or the nose of a parent god. Crushed jewels blown from the mouth became gods. The ethical ideas revealed in these myths were crude and undeveloped.

The earliest gods are associated with the powers of creation, or, possibly better, procreation. The earliest of all was Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami (literally, Heaven's-August-Middle-God). To him no shrine has ever been erected in Japan. In very modern times he has been regarded by some as the father of all gods and goddesses, invisible, eternal,

omnipresent and omniscient. When so considered, he is sometimes confused with the great ancestor of the imperial line, "Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami" (Heavenly-Shining-Great-God, viz., the Sun Goddess). Associated with this god are two others,¹ "Taka-mi-musubi-No-kami" (The High-Producing), and "Kami-mi-musubi-no-Kami" (The Divine-Producing), sometimes designated as the "Divine Father" and the "Divine Mother". The names of these gods as associated with early events are significant—the two "Producing" gods associated with the "Eternal-Ruling-Heavenly God".

After these many independent pairs of gods (male and female) originated in the same independent way. The last and, in some respects, the most important pair were Izanagi (Male-Who-Invites) and Izanami (Female-Who-Invites). They gave birth to the islands of Japan and to several deities, but in so doing Izanami died and became the spirit of death. After her death Izanagi gave birth to two important deities, one of whom was Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami (the Sun Goddess), who ruled over "Takama-no-Hara" (High-Heavenly-Fields). The other was "Haya-Susa-No-Wo" (The-Swift-Impetuous), the god of darkness and outrage. The latter went to Izumo province and freed it from all disturbing elements. A story is told of how he destroyed a great dragon which was making a yearly visit to a certain home, in order to devour one of the maidens. He placed wine near where the dragon was accustomed to appear. Then, disguised as a maiden, he lay in wait. When the dragon had come and drunk freely of the wine, he fell asleep. Then "The-Swift-Impetuous One" fell upon him and destroyed him with his trusty sword,² the edge of which was badly injured by a sword which lay concealed in the dragon's back. Having accomplished this feat, he presented this sword to his sister, the Sun Goddess.

There is a legend that the Sun Goddess, having at one time been insulted by this same brother, hid herself in a great cave, and darkness covered the face of the earth.³ All the deities gathered and allured her from her hiding-place, after which they banished Haya-Susa-No-Wo, and, lest she should again enter, they stretched a straw rope across the mouth of the

¹ In modern times these three gods are thought by some to be a trinity in unity. This is most probably due to foreign influence.

² See the Kojiki by Chamberlain, page 73.

³ This may be a primitive method of describing an eclipse of the sun.

cave. This is said to be the origin of the straw rope, so prominent in the Shinto shrine to-day.

The Sun Goddess had a son, Oshi-ho-ne-no-mikoto, and his son was Ninigi-no-mikoto. Amaterasu made this grandson ruler of Japan, and requested him to make "the imperial throne as permanent as heaven and earth, and eternally prosperous". She presented him with the famous sword she had received from her brother, also with a jewel and a mirror, telling him that he was to think of the mirror as her soul, and that whenever he stood before it he was to think of himself as in her presence, and bow. There is probably a connection between this idea and the mirror in every Shinto shrine. These three treasures have been handed down from generation to generation by the emperors of Japan and are still retained as the insignia of royal power. The influence of Chinese learning made them symbolical of virtue, courage and benevolence: the mirror representing the virtue of the first divine ancestor of the imperial line, the sword symbolizing courage, and the jewel, benevolence. It is difficult to estimate the influence for good these treasures have had on the people of Japan.

Subsequently, Prince Iwarehiko, another descendant of the Sun Goddess, who later became the Emperor Jimmu, after consultation with his brothers, set out from Kiushu to subjugate the eastern tribes, whose chieftains refused allegiance to the Sun Goddess and the imperial line. After careful preparations, lasting for some years, they attacked the great chieftain of Yamato, and were not only defeated, but the elder brother was slain. Then Iwarehiko, thinking he had angered the Sun Goddess by attacking the enemy, facing the sun, determined to go around by the province of Kii and attack the enemy from the east. As he went, a yellow kite alighted on the top of his bow and directed his movements. This attack proved successful, and the province of Yamato was subjugated. In memory of this event the late emperor founded the decoration of "The Golden Kite", in Meiji 23 (1890), to be conferred only upon warriors who distinguish themselves on the field. After his victory Iwarehiko built a palace at Kashihara, and became the first ruler of the united Japan. He placed the three treasures in the palace, and held a great festival for the worship of the Sun Goddess.

In these early records we distinguish at least two¹ fairly distinct classes of myths. The first deals with the primitive powers of production and certain developments of thought from that point of view. These probably represent some of the theories selected by the historians from the traditions at their disposal. The second, which is very closely related to the former traditions, exalts the history and authority of the imperial rulers of Japan. It is not impossible that the historian was doing for the authority of the rulers of Japan what the theory of the divine right of kings tended to do for the kings of England. Such a record would strengthen the hands of the government very much, especially as some of the leaders of the people were somewhat dissatisfied with the "Great Reform" of A.D. 645. Whether that was the intention or not, it is evident that from early times Shintoism has been very closely related to Japanese patriotism, and the worship of the Sun Goddess has exalted her to a supreme place in Japanese life.

In these early times ideas about the soul and its future were not clearly defined. There was a land of gloom, where Izanami reigned as the spirit of death, and there was Takama-No-Hara (literally, High-Heavenly-Fields), where the Sun Goddess ruled supreme. There was little thought of the soul going to either region, until after Buddhism came with her doctrines of heaven and hell. One of the best Japanese scholars² of to-day says: "The soul was believed to be composed of two parts, one mild, refined and happy, and the other wild, raw and raging." Each part acted independently of the person who possessed it, to his own surprise. But whether every one possessed these two parts is not known. The connection of the early idea of soul with the breath of life is indicated by the fact that it was called the "ball of wind", and the word "to die" means "the departure of the breath". It is neither necessary nor possible to treat Shintoism exhaustively in this present work. Information regarding the myths and legends of Shintoism may be had from the works of Aston and Chamberlain.

¹ Professor Chamberlain, who translated the Kojiki, draws attention to three different classes of legends, two earlier and one later. These are linked together by the historian with some difficulty.

² Anesaki Masaharu of the Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan.

The question naturally arises, how and why did such a nature worship originate? Primitive explanations may be simple and naïve, but they are also logical after a fashion. It may be possible to explain the spontaneous origin of so many gods from the observation of nature. Seeds germinate; bees swarm; maggots spring up in the decaying carcase, and animals are born. The fact of phallic worship is an evidence of the primitive veneration for the mystery and source of life. In Kenroku park, in Kanazawa city, there were two ancient stones which represented the reproductive organs. These are relics of the remote past which might throw light on the origin of primitive Japanese ideas concerning the gods.

It is interesting to note that much of this early nature worship can be accounted for by the same theory that explains the Chinese pantheon. When we consider that the records of early nature worship in Japan were not written until the eighth century after Christ, and that Chinese and Japanese scholars had been associating together before that date for about three hundred years, it is only natural to conclude that the myths and legends of Japan should at least be coloured by Chinese ideas, although it is impossible to say how great that influence actually was, if for no other reason than that their written language was Chinese.

The Chinese method of accounting for their gods and demons serves quite as well to explain Japanese nature worship. There were two souls in the universe, known as Yang and Yin. The Yang represented light, warmth, productivity and life, also the heavens from which all good things emanate. The Yin was associated with darkness, cold, death and the earth. The Yang is subdivided into an indefinite number of good souls or spirits, called Shen; the Yin, into evil spirits.¹ Both of these powers or souls are made up of little particles, every particle of which is capable of becoming a god or an evil spirit respectively. There is consequently no limit to the possibility of producing gods. In addition to this, at death the soul (breath) goes back to heaven, and the body returns to the dust. We read of a Chinese who, when burying his eldest son, "bared the left side of his body, when the mound² was finished, and moving to

¹ "The Religions of the Chinese", page 3.

² Some of the ancient Japanese were buried in such mounds.

the right walked round it, howling three times, and then exclaimed: 'That the bones and flesh shall return to the earth is ordained by fate, but the breath can then go everywhere. It can go everywhere!' With this he went on his way."¹ The striking similarity to some of our ideas is interesting.

This Chinese theory harmonizes with the older nature worship of Japan. Takama-No-Hara (the Shinto heaven) would correspond to the sky where the gods (Shen) are found. The location of Takama-No-Hara is a matter of dispute. The Japanese try to locate it in Japan. In a recent report of the Asiatic Society, Aston locates it in the sky. The place of darkness where Izanami reigned would correspond to the darkness of Yin. That there were so many gods which sprang from such unexpected places is quite natural, if one assumes that every particle of air represents the possibility of a god; even that the island of Japan could be produced by the co-operation of Izanami and Izanagi is not unnatural. That Izanami should become the deity of the "Land of Gloom" is in harmony with the Chinese idea that the earth is associated with the darkness of Yin.

The theory is also in harmony with the ideas of the soul, which we have already outlined. The mild, refined and happy elements correspond to Yang, and the raw, wild and raging elements correspond to Yin. That each part would act independently of the person who possessed it is to be expected from the Chinese theory, that each particle was capable of becoming a god. That the souls of the dead should be worshipped as gods is also quite natural. That the Japanese have been aware of some ideas resembling the Chinese theory of the gods is very evident to one who is familiar with their customs and superstitions. Take one incident in the writer's experience. One morning his Japanese cook was missing. A search was made. He was discovered in a friend's house with an ugly wound in his cheek. He said his cheek had suddenly, without pain, broken out, and that it was the work of an evil spirit. A Japanese who had been in America said that the cook was telling the truth, but that his explanation was wrong. There were vacuums in the air, and the cook's cheek had unfortunately come in contact with one of them,

¹ Cf. "Religious Systems of China", Vol. IV, Bk. 11, page 5.

thus causing it to break open. A labourer also corroborated the cook's story, and told of other instances where similar things had occurred. Turning from these Japanese suggestions to the early Chinese theory we have been describing, we find the same thing existing in China. At night the public roads were haunted by spectres of Yin, and many victims died from the effects of encounters with them. "Others, hit by devilish arrows, were visited with boils or tumours, or died without even such visible marks of the shots."¹ In July, Japanese build fires in front of their doors to attract the spirits of their dead relatives and drive away demons. This is explained by Chinese ideas of the Shen. "Light and fire, actually parts of the great Yang principle of nature, are as destructive to the demon-world as the Yang to Yin."²

It is of course difficult to establish any conclusive theory as to whether Shinto came from China or not. Historical evidence is always open to question, but one or two conclusions may be drawn from what has already been pointed out.

First, it might be concluded that there were in Japan religious tendencies similar to those found in China. In fact, Japanese, Chinese, Persian and Greek ideas about nature and the soul are similar. Even the early account in Genesis,³ God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul", is in harmony with other attempts to associate the human spirit, as distinguished from the animal, with the heavenly breath. In this way we might decide that these early religious tendencies of the Japanese are but manifestations of a common race tendency, and so throw little or no light on the specific origin of the Japanese people and their ideas.

Second, it might be concluded that the first Japanese came from China, in which case the many strong characteristics which distinguish the Japanese people from other Asiatics are the result of their isolated development and of the process of selection which nature carried on among the seafaring peoples in early times, when only the strongest, bravest and hardiest could face the storms and endure the hardships. The

¹ "Religions of China", Degroot, page 5.

² *Ibid.*, page 38.

³ Gen. ii. 7.

gradual movement in history of the Japanese seat of government from the South, through Kiushu, Yamato, Nara and Kyoto, indicates, to say the least, the direction from which the early Japanese came. That it was possible for them to come across from Asia, and that Kiushu would not be an unnatural place for them to arrive is suggested by the Mongolian invasions which afterwards occurred in that same part of Japan.

The difficulty of concluding that the early nature worship of Japan came from China is complicated by the fact, that ever since the dawn of history Japan has been receiving superstitions, thought, language and culture from China. It is difficult to discover what has not come from China, for everything is coloured more or less by Chinese civilization and language. It is clear that "Shinto" is the Japanese for the Chinese "Shen-Tao", but that proves nothing as to the origin of the early elements of Shintoism, because the name is an afterthought which reflects the Chinese Confucian or Taoist influence.¹ The word "Shinto" is first used in the "Nihon Shoki" (The Annals of Japan), compiled in 720.

Before leaving this question, it is well to keep in mind the very significant fact, that at least two mediaeval scholars of Japan, Hayashi and Chugen, traced the Mikado to a Chinese origin, but, lest it might tend to injure the divinity and influence of the imperial family, they destroyed their work, and with it the evidence on which they based such a theory. There can be little doubt, however, that originally the Japanese came across the sea, and the conflicting elements were finally fused under the sovereign influence of the Mikado. We should be disposed to conclude accordingly that the earliest Chinese and Japanese views of the gods and of the human soul have a common source manifested in the fundamental views in each, and that the points of difference are due to the fact, that the Japanese ideas developed for the most part independently of the Chinese. These views were not regarded as dogma, hence all sorts of minor differences would naturally arise through the free use of the imagination. We must constantly bear in mind that the Japanese language was written in Chinese characters, and that the record of their earliest views was not written till the eighth century.

¹ "Fifty Years of New Japan", by Count Okuma.

Shintoism has no images, no elaborate ritual, no real philosophy, and no well defined system of doctrine. The shrines are very simple; a bright shining mirror is the most conspicuous object visible. The worshipper, after washing his hands and mouth as a symbol of purification, bows reverently before the shrine with clasped hands, sometimes ringing a bell as if to call the god's attention and casting a few small coins into the box which is there to receive offerings. There are three great festivals every year, the harvest festival and two festivals for purification, the object of the latter being not only to purify the people but to ward off evil. It is difficult to say just when these customs originated. The washing before worship indicates that purity is essential to true worship, and is significant of the relation true religion bears to purity of life. Dr. Nitobe¹ explains the mirror in the shrine thus: "It typifies the human heart, which, when perfectly placid and clear, reflects the image of the deity." "When you stand, therefore, in front of the shrine, you see your own image reflected on the shining surface, and the act of worship is tantamount to the old Delphic injunction, 'Know thyself'. But self-knowledge does not imply, either in the Greek or Japanese teaching, knowledge of the physical part of man, not his anatomy nor his psychophysics; knowledge was to be of a moral kind, the introspection of our moral nature; . . . our reflection brought into prominence, not so much the moral as the national consciousness of the individual." Whatever may have been the earliest worship, Shintoism has come to stand for patriotism and loyalty, and is closely related to ancestral worship.

The mirror has quite a prominent place in Japanese folklore. An amusing story tells of a man who saw a mirror for the first time in a store. He thought he recognized in it the face of his dead father. He bought it, and hid it away as a treasure. His wife watched him, and became very jealous when she saw that he had hidden away the image of a woman about her own age. It was rather an embarrassing situation.

The origin of reverence for the mirror, the sword and the jewel is difficult to ascertain. It is probably a relic of

¹ See "Bushido", page 12.

primitive Animism. The reverence for the mirror¹ may be accounted for in two ways. It may be due to the influence of Chinese tradition which associated the Yang, or celestial spirits, with light. The mirror reflecting light would easily be regarded as particularly divine. It is more probable, however, that men saw their own image reflected in the polished surface of the mirror, and in a very naïve but not unnatural way associated it with the soul, just as in some instances primitive races associated the soul with their shadow. At a much later date the mirror became symbolical of wisdom, the sword of courage, and the shining gem of benevolence. This was due to Confucian influence.

¹ This theory would also explain the reverence for the sword, which like the mirror was made of polished metal.

CHAPTER II

EARLY RELATIONS WITH KOREA

It is uncertain when the first intercourse occurred between Japan and Korea. Early accounts are given in the records of Korea and also in the early traditions of the Japanese. These traditions represent the brother, the nephew and the grandson of the Sun Goddess as holding intercourse with the continent. We are also told that a Japanese was associated with the good work of the first king of Shiragi in Korea, and that the Prince of Shiragi came to Japan as early as B.C. 27, in the reign of the Emperor Suinin. Another record relates how a Japanese general, at the request of the King of Shiragi, went to Korea to assist in subjugating the people of Koma. This general changed the name of the country to Mimana, and in recognition of his work Japan was given a guardianship over the whole country, receiving tribute from Korea.

Another story, based on the writing of a Chinaman who lived about B.C. 219, tells of a man named Jofuku, who took one thousand boys and girls, and went to a certain great island on the east coast of Asia, to gather medicinal herbs. He never returned, but settled in Danshin and Isshin, certain unknown countries. Some suppose that the place here referred to is Japan, and that Jofuku was the first man to introduce Chinese ideas into Japan. In spite of the fact that his grave has been located in many places in Japan, very little credence can be given to the story.

Another story tells that when the Empress Jingo (A.D. 201-269) set out from Kiushu to conquer Korea, a great storm arose, and the waves became so high that a great fish came and drove the ship to the shores of Shiragi. The King of Shiragi feared that such an event might portend the destruction of his land, so he and his soldiers went to the ship, and offered to pay tribute to Japan. Some of the Japanese wanted to kill the king, but the empress refused permission. On her return to Japan, the King of Shiragi presented her with copies of all the books of his country. But even if it were true that she received books from Korea at this early date, it is generally admitted that there were none in Japan who could read them.

In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Ojin (A.D. 284, according to Japanese records, but about 384 according to Korean records), the King of Kudara sent Achiki to Japan with a span of horses. Achiki was well able to read, and became teacher to the Crown Prince, Wakairatsuko. The emperor inquired whether there were any wiser men than he in Korea. He recommended Wani, a naturalized Chinese, as being a very superior scholar. The emperor immediately dispatched messengers to Korea to bring this scholar to Japan. In the sixteenth year of the Emperor Ojin's reign, Wani came to Japan, bringing with him a number of books, including the Confucian classics. Wani was appointed teacher to the Crown Prince, and from that time learning gradually increased, although it was several centuries before it could be said to have made much progress. That same year the King of Kudara died, and Achiki returned home, but Wani remained in Japan. A famous Japanese historian, Rai San-yo, speaking of the keen interest taken by the emperor in learning, says: "The Emperor of Japan loves his people as his own children, and does not take second place to Yaou and Shun of China."

Even these early records reveal the spirit of Japan. In the twenty-eighth year of the Emperor Ojin (A.D. 297 or 397), a letter came from the King of Koma, in which he used the sentence, "The King of Koma teaches Japan". When the Crown Prince read these words he became angry, and scolded the messenger, tearing up the letter before his face. The emperor was very proud of the ability of his son to detect the insult.

The first noted converts to Confucianism were the two sons of the Emperor Ojin. These princes became very earnest believers in Confucianism, and were greatly benefited by the teaching of the Korean scholars. The emperor, contrary to custom, favoured the younger prince, and wished him to be his successor. When the emperor died, the younger one, who was the rightful heir, went to his brother and urged him to accept the crown. For three years neither would accept the honour. Finally, when the younger prince threatened to commit suicide, or, as some say, when he actually did so, the older prince became the Emperor Nintoku. There are some who believe that Nintoku was not kind to his brother,

but it is more in harmony with the older traditions concerning him, to think that his attitude was largely governed by the teaching of Confucianism. At the close of this period Wani wrote of Nintoku thus: "In Naniwazu, the flower which was covered up in winter blooms again in spring."¹

As emperor, Nintoku was noted for his benevolent works and righteous spirit. He served, rather than ruled, his people. He dug trenches, built dykes, and reclaimed waste land. He took a personal and thoughtful interest in his subjects. Once he went up on a high place commanding a view of the people's homes. He was grieved because of the few signs of prosperity visible. He said: "If you look out from the high place, and see smoke starting up, you know the people's furnaces are busy."² At this time he saw no smoke rising, so he concluded that they were in hard circumstances. He ordered all taxes to be remitted for a period of years. At the end of that time he again looked out over the cottages, and exclaimed, "I am a rich man". The empress, who happened to overhear him, asked, "How can you say such a thing, when your palace roof is leaking and the plaster is falling off the walls?" He replied in words that indicate Confucian influence, "My people's prosperity is my prosperity". Nintoku had refused to allow his subjects to repair his palace roof and walls until he assured himself of their prosperity.

In the time of the Emperor Richiu (A.D. 400-405), storehouses were built for books, and catalogues of the books were prepared by Wani, assisted by other scholars of Chinese classics. Wani is very highly esteemed by the Japanese. One describes him as coming across a thousand white-capped waves to bring learning to Japan. His descendants, with Shinson and other scholars of his time, became naturalized subjects of Japan, and were made the official historians of the empire.

The Emperors Kenso (485-487) and Ninken (488-498) were very much influenced by Confucian teaching. In their youth they lived among the people. When they came to the throne, their government was characterized by justice and

¹ Naniwazu was the home of Nintoku. The poem means that just as the flower covered up in winter naturally comes forth in spring, so for a time the throne has been without an emperor. Now when the long controversy is over there is an emperor.

² This poem is popularly attributed to the Emperor Nintoku, but it is impossible to verify it. It is probably of a much later origin.

happiness. In the seventh year of the Emperor Keitai (513), Danyoji, a scholar of the five books of Chinese classics, came by special invitation of the emperor to teach the ancient classic of philosophy. In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Kimmei (554), Oshinji, a great-grandson of Oshinson, was recommended as a scholar of the five books. Oshinji lived and taught in Japan during the remainder of the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (540-572), and continued during the reign of the Emperor Bidatsu (572-585).

In 552, the King of Kudara introduced Buddhism to the Emperor of Japan. He recommended it as a charm, to open to man the treasure he desires, viz. happiness and good fortune. Its first introduction was followed by a long struggle for supremacy, but with the details of that struggle this present discussion need not concern itself, except in so far as its entry into Japan plays an important part in the development of Japanese thought.

Up to about the close of the sixth century the Japanese had no calendar, and did not divide the year into four seasons. They reckoned time by seed sowing and harvest. About 600, Prince Shotoku Taishi (a Buddhist saint) sent a scholar to Korea to study the calendar. He returned with the lunar calendar, and brought a teacher of astronomy, geography and the art of distinguishing the active and passive forces of nature according to Chinese philosophy.¹ But learning was still very limited, because at this time only one or two men could read the letters that came from Kudara.

In the twelfth year of the Emperor Bidatsu (583), Nichira, a brave and clever man, was invited from Kudara. He said to the emperor: "I was formerly a Japanese. My father was sent to Korea in the reign of the Emperor Senkwa (536-539); now by your august invitation I am happy to return." The emperor asked, "How can I best govern the country?" Nichira replied: "Nourish the people; give them plenty of food; make the soldiers strong, and the people obedient. If the soldiers are strong, foreigners will fear them, and you will be able to govern the country." Nichira was

¹ De Groot in "The Religious Systems of China", explains the importance of this art to the early Chinese. Geomancers were supposed to be able to tell by looking at a plot of ground whether the male and female principles were found there in proper proportions.

versed in Confucianism, and was afterwards worshipped as Shogun Jizo, one of the guardian gods of children in Japan. Thus we see that Confucianism became popular with the rulers of Japan from the outset. It occupied a place in these early days which it has never fully lost, and it has helped in a very substantial way to develop some of the best characteristics of Japanese civilization.

The real importance of these events for our present purpose is, that by them the Japanese were receiving for the first time a written language (Chinese characters), and a more or less well defined system of morality, contained in the five relations of Confucianism and their corresponding virtues. These consisted of the relation of the lord and retainers—loyalty; the relation of parent and child—filial piety; the relation of husband and wife—attendance on their separate duties; the relation of younger and elder brother—order; and the relation of friends—fidelity. Along with these they received the five cardinal virtues—benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity. They also received some vague beginnings in Chinese philosophy, such as the art of distinguishing the active and passive forces of nature. Buddhism, too, gave them the idea of mercy, and led to the establishment of a great benevolent institution with four departments—an educational department, a dispensary, a hospital for malignant diseases, and an asylum for the aged who were childless and for orphans. This was founded in 598 by the Crown Prince Shotoku Taishi.

CHAPTER III
BUDDHISM AND CONFUCIANISM CONTRIBUTE
TO JAPANESE LEARNING¹

Both Buddhism and Confucianism have contributed largely to the civilization of Japan. The Buddhist priests were scholars, artists and philanthropists; they did much to open up the country. In the reign of the Emperor Keitai (507-531), Danyoji, a doctor of the five classical books, came to Japan, and in the tenth year (516) Dr. Koammo came from Korea. In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Kimmei (554), Dr. Odoryo, a scholar of Chinese philosophy and divination, along with Ohoson, a physician, a musician and several other scholars of Chinese learning, came from China. Gradually the wisdom of the people increased, and scholars in Chinese literature arose. In the reign of the Emperor Sushun (588-592), temple and castle builders, tile makers and painters came from Kudara.

We have already been introduced to Shotoku Taishi (573-621) as an earnest Buddhist saint. He was one of the greatest men of his day. He strove to improve legislation, to open up communication with China, to spread learning and to develop public institutions. In the twelfth year of the Empress Suiko (604), Shotoku issued seventeen laws, basing them mostly on Buddhism and Confucianism. The second of these laws exhorts the people to worship earnestly the three treasures—Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood—as the great refuge of the four forms of being and the fundamental truths of all people. The general intention of these laws was to bring harmony and order among the people, to exalt the good, banish the evil and encourage industry. The strong Confucian influence appears in such expressions as “The lords resemble heaven; the people, the earth”; “Loyalty is the basis of righteousness”; “The fundamental thing in governing the people is propriety.” There was also an attempt to strengthen the central ruler and weaken the influence of the provincial governors.

¹ The material for this chapter is mostly gleaned from a work by Kubo Tenzui, B.A., on “Japanese Confucian Teachers”.

In 607 Shotoku Taishi, wishing to spread the knowledge of Buddhism, which was then flourishing in China, sent Ono Imoko to China, in company with several students and Kuratsukuri-no-Fukuri as an interpreter. In their credentials the Crown Prince wrote: "The Emperor in the land of the 'Rising Sun' sends this letter to the Emperor in the land of the 'Setting Sun'." This annoyed the Chinese emperor. He did not show his resentment as much as he would have done, had he not heard that the Japanese had conquered the Loo-Choo Islands; but he sent an embassy composed of about fifteen men to visit Japan, and bring back a report. The following year these men came to Japan, and were met by a reception committee, and entertained in a dwelling which had been especially prepared for them. This was the beginning of continuous communication with China. In 614 others went to China, but as the ruling dynasty had just changed, they did not remain long. Very soon, however, a messenger of the new dynasty came to Japan. With these messengers Chinese culture was introduced. The imperial retainers were eager students. The Japanese imperial court made a special study of Chinese, with the result that Chinese learning and customs became influential in Japan, and Korean learning was discarded. In 623, Kuratsukuri-no-Fukuri returned to Japan, and reported that the students who had gone abroad had completed their studies. He advised that they be recalled and put into office at once. This was accordingly done, and they began to take part in the work of organization and administration.

In the first year of Taikwa, A.D. 645, Bin and Takamuku-no-Kuromasa became government official advisers, and reformed the administration. In 646, an edict was issued abolishing the former official positions and transferring the power to the imperial house. The whole land was divided and rented out to the people in proportion to the size of the various families. There were three kinds of taxes: (1) a proportion of the grain became the property of the emperor; (2) the people gave free labour on the public roads; (3) a tax was levied on the products of hunting, industry and other pursuits. Eight central offices were built, and officers were chosen for their qualifications and not because of their birth, as formerly, when the power was in the hands of great families.

But now the emperor was recognized head over all. These reforms of the Taikwa era were largely instigated by the Crown Prince, acting on the advice of several of the men who had returned from China. It was an attempt to apply what they had learned. Shortly before this, two companies of 121 scholars each were sent to China to study the laws and literature of the ruling dynasty. About the same time, temple builders, Buddha image makers and many skilful image painters came from Korea. Then in the eighteenth year of Suiko, A.D. 610, Doncho, a Korean priest, who was a famous artist, introduced the art of making colours, India ink and paper. Among the many temples which were built, Horyuji, near Nara, is the only one that still remains as a monument of these early times. In this temple there is a bronze image made by Kuratsukuri-no-Tori, and an interesting box containing statues of three Buddhas. The interior of this box was decorated with the wings of insects by famous artists.

In the reign of the Emperor Kogyoku (642-645) occurred the downfall of the great Soga family, which had been largely instrumental in promoting the interests of Buddhism. Their downfall was naturally a severe blow to Buddhist influence.

At the beginning of the seventh century Japan adopted the Chinese method of naming the years after twelve animals, rotating in continual succession, thus: rat, cow, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, dog, wild boar. The year 672 was called "Monkey" year, 673 was "Rooster" year, and so on, in constant succession, down to the present time. Partly from primitive ideas introduced with foreign religions, and partly from superstitions peculiar to Japan, there are twenty animals and several birds and insects which have come to be regarded with reverence. They are usually not worshipped for their own sake, but as being objects of particular value to certain of the gods. Some of them are the messengers of the gods, and as such they are revered for one of two reasons: either because they are feared as dangerous, or because they are able to bring gain to the worshipper. Traces may still be found of these beliefs in Japan. Animals were not worshipped directly, but as representatives of a higher power. This is not to be

wondered at, in view of the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration. The possibility of being re-born an animal would naturally create a feeling of reverence for all living things. Men of the lowest class like the Eta, a class of outcasts, came to be regarded as "not human", possibly because they took life and dealt in hides and leather.

The first schools were established in Japan in the age of Taikwa, 645-649. At the coronation of the Emperor Kotoku, in 645, the priests Bin and Takamuku-no-Kuromasa were awarded the Doctor's degree. These were the first degrees conferred in Japan. Such degrees were formerly received from Korea and China. In 653, Bin died, and in the following year, during a trip to China, Kuromasa died. The emperor mourned the death of these two great men. The party which accompanied Kuromasa to China brought back Chinese currency and several books. The largest number of students to accompany any messenger to China was in the reign of the Emperor Gensho (715-723), when there were as many as five hundred and fifty at one time. After their return to Japan, during the Tembyo era (729-748), learning prospered.

During the reign of the Emperor Tenchi (668-671), Soei, a naturalized Korean, famous in literature, was chosen from among many to become the head of the university, which was really established in the reign of the Emperor Temmu (673-686), in Kyoto. The school system, however, was not completed until the reign of the Emperor Mommu, in the age of Taiho (701-703). Some authorities even postpone the date of the first university until 701. In the third year of Shinki, 726, there were one hundred and twelve persons who presented poems to the emperor. This indicates the extent to which learning flourished at this time.

Fujiwara Takechimaro became professor of the university in 704. Not satisfied with the interest taken in scholarship, he planned to gather wise men round the schools and create centres of learning where officials should be taught the principles of Confucianism, in order that loyalty and filial piety might abound among them. He collected the scholars of his day for study and set scribes to work, copying any volumes that were lacking in the library. The university was under the direction of the ancient department of

rites and ceremonies. It had a director, one great committee man, one lesser committee man, one great official, one lesser official, one doctor, two assistant professors, two doctors of sound, two doctors of writing, two doctors of mathematics, twenty servants and four hundred and thirty students, of whom thirty were specialists in mathematics.

There was only one school in Kyōto, but the purpose was to have schools in every province. There was to be one doctor in each provincial school, although in the age of Jinki (724-728) one doctor had to teach in several of these schools. The students were to be from the more noble homes of Japan, although by special permission men of lower ranks were admitted. The students in provincial schools averaged from twenty to fifty, according to the size of the province. The intention was to educate officials, but others were allowed to enter, if there was room. The students ranged from thirteen to sixteen years of age, and were chosen because of special talent. In some provinces the schools prospered for a long time. They all taught the classics of Confucianism. In 769, Dazaifu, an administrative office in the province of Kiushū, requested that a history of the nations of the world should be provided for the students. The emperor thereupon sent them a history of China and a history of Korea, which were added to the former curriculum. The Confucian teaching of this time was largely literary. Mathematics, writing, music and medicine were also taught.

When these schools were first organized, every student paid an entrance fee, consisting of a bale of cloth, some wine and some food. This was divided among the professors, three parts to the doctor and two parts to the assistant professor. The students were self-supporting. At a later date Kwangaku Den (Encourage Learning Fields) were established. A university was granted thirty cho of land (nearly seventy-five acres) to support its teachers and students. A provincial school was given about one-third of that amount of land for the same purpose. In this way all schools were supported by the government.

Examinations were numerous, but were divided into two main parts. (1) There were examinations taken in school. These were divided into term examinations and annual examinations. In the term examinations a student was

expected to read and expound one of the Chinese classics. Three such tests were given him; he had to be successful in two in order to receive promotion. The annual examination covered a whole year's work on eight subjects. A man who passed on six subjects was considered to be first class; on four subjects, second class, and on three subjects, third class. Below this was failure. A student who was in the school nine years without having passed his examinations successfully was dismissed. (2) There were examinations taken with a view to entering the civil service. These examinations were given to graduates of the provincial schools by the department of rites and ceremonies. Those who passed were allowed to enter the universities. The government also set examinations for the graduates of their universities. There were different grades of examinations for university men: (1) Shusai, (2) Shinshi, (3) Meiho, and (4) Meikyo. Those who passed any of these grades were eligible to become officials. The Shusai grade was taken by men of special ability; the Meikyo by men specially clever in Chinese classics. The Shinshi was regarded as most difficult of all. In a period of two hundred years only sixty-five candidates passed successfully. In the second year of the Temgyo era, 939, the law regulating these examinations was changed, and what was known as Monjosei was established. This was a class of the most clever students, twenty in number, from whom two were chosen as Monjo-tokugyo-sei. These correspond to Shusai and Shinshi of the former age. Later, two students were chosen for Shusai, and five others were chosen for Shinshi. In the fourth year of the Tencho era, the Shinshi examinations were abolished. Later, the Monjosei graduates were called Gimonjosei. These had examinations and became Monjosei. This Monjosei was organized to encourage students to take the examinations and study Chinese, especially Chinese writing and reading. The examination for Monjosei was held in spring and autumn. In this way they developed officials who were able to write prose, compose poems, and were comparatively well versed for men of their day.

This system of education, which was copied from that of China, prevailed in Japan up to about the fourteenth century, but was neglected during the internal strife which began in

the thirteenth century.¹ It reached its greatest period of prosperity during the tenth century, when men like Sugawara Michizane, Oe Otondo, Fujiwara Arihira and others lived. Some of these were among Japan's greatest men. After the tenth century the examinations gradually became corrupted so that the sons of the most influential families could, with very inadequate preparation, become officials, even under twenty years of age. Some one said of the time: "The sons of the noble class could mount to a high place without wings, but those without rank could not attain high office, no matter how they studied." Such corruption resulted in the schools being neglected. After the Ocho age (about 1311), when the Fujiwara family became powerful, no matter how talented a man was he was kept beneath that family in rank. Even the great Sugawara Michizane suffered in this way, while others who were very inferior attained high rank.

Another event of some importance was the edict in the Engi era (*circa* 900), recommending the pronunciation of Chinese characters of the Kan dynasty in China. Shortly after this a Korean came to Tsushima, and taught the pronunciation of the Go dynasty of China in certain Buddhist sermons. Finally, an imperial decree proclaimed in favour of the Kan pronunciation.

About 900 the Emperor Daigo made out a programme for the ceremony of worshipping Confucius. This ceremony was frequently observed after its introduction in 701.

In addition to the government schools there were many private schools. One of these was even made a department of the University in 964. Among the most famous were the Kobunin, founded by Wake-no-Kiyomaro, a very great and liberal educationist; the Sogei-Shuchi-iin, founded by the famous Buddhist priest Kukai; and the Kangakuin, founded by Fuyutsugi. There is an old proverb, "In the Kangakuin even the sparrows sing well". In later years many great doctors arose, and private schools were established all over Japan.

¹ The founder of the Han dynasty in China established the system of competitive examinations for public officials about B.C. 221.

Later on, messengers ceased to go to China, and the only means of communication was through merchantmen which called at Japanese ports.

When the So dynasty came into power in China, the Kan and To methods of reading the Chinese characters were abolished in favour of the So pronunciation. After the tenth century the Chinese language gave place to the Japanese. In the time of Goshirakawa, about 1156, the prime minister, Fujiwara-no-Koremichi, wrote seventeen practical suggestions for the emperor. He said: "The emperor does not value learning merely that he may write poetry, but that he may govern the people well. The man who merely makes poetry is useless. The minister who thinks only of himself, and not of the public good, is a criminal in the imperial court." But these valuable suggestions came too late; learning was dying.

CHAPTER IV

JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM FROM A.D. 750 TO 1250

In the reign of the Emperor Koken (749-758), an edict was issued ordering every house to provide itself with a copy of the Chinese classic on "Filial Piety". The government encouraged men to cultivate filial piety, and women to cultivate chastity, by offering prizes to those who excelled in these virtues. Such methods would naturally influence people who had not yet acquired the power of keen introspection. There were many active men in this age. One of these was Shirai-no-Fuhito. Once he was sent to meet the messenger from the King of Shiragi in Korea. He was so annoyed at the impolite language of the letter, that, acting on instructions from the government, he sent the messenger home. When he returned and reported to the emperor what he had done, he was promoted to high rank, given the name Fujii Hironari, and appointed lord of Bingo province. The emperor used to visit him and drink wine with him.

Awada Mabito was sent to China as an ambassador. Once a Chinese said to him: "I have heard that east of the sea there is a country called Yamato, noted for its superior men. I have also heard that the people there are very polite. Now that I have seen you I know that what I have heard is true." In 704, Awada returned to Japan, where he held high office until his death in 719.

Makibi (692-775), a high official, in charge of the national defence, who had been greatly honoured by the Emperor Shotoku, was also a messenger to China. He was one earnest Confucianist, who rose in power when Buddhism had the dominating influence in the imperial court, but he is open to censure for not openly opposing the Buddhist priest, Dokyō, in his attempt to become Emperor of Japan.

Sugawara-no-Michizane, an earnest and cultured Confucianist who lived in the reign of the Emperor Daigo (898-930), has been called the literary crown of the age, because he was skilled in Japanese as well as Chinese literature. He taught that loyalty and filial piety are identical; from the home where filial piety reigns come the most loyal sons. The duty of a subject and that of a son are not different. He held



SUGAWARA MICHIZANE

a high place in the favour of the emperor and of the ex-emperor. A plan was formulated to make him regent in place of the existing regent, Fujiwara. Michizane refused to be a party to the scheme, but Fujiwara, hearing of it, planned his downfall. He sent a messenger to the emperor to say that his favourite minister, Michizane, was plotting to depose him and put one of his favourite princes on the throne. The emperor believed the falsehood and banished Michizane to a distant part of the empire, where, after spending two years as a petty official, he died. Before leaving Kyoto he composed a verse which reveals his feelings: "As flowing water, I gradually flow from the long grass to the moss on the stones. I wish the ex-emperor would become as a row of poles driven down to stop the current, and hinder me from going." In his banishment he gathered poor children and taught them to make Chinese characters in the sand. Although unjustly banished, his loyalty was unquenched. On September 9th, the last of the five great festivals, he put on the garment he had received from the emperor when he was in favour, and in memory of his kindness wrote: "When I remember that last year on this same night I waited at the imperial palace, my heart becomes very sad. The robe I received from the emperor is now here. I hold it up in the attitude of one receiving a gift, and think every day of His Majesty's kindness." Tradition says that he wrote a very significant saying: "If the true way is in one's heart, even if he does not worship the gods, they will protect him." Although this saying is usually assigned to Michizane, it is more likely that it was composed as a protest against Buddhist ceremony and form, and merely attributed to Michizane in order to give it weight and influence. Tradition also says, that after his death Michizane worked evils on the head of his enemy, that he took the form of thunder, and persecuted his enemy to such an extent that he longed for death. This tradition reflects the spirit of the age, but not the spirit of this great man. After his death the emperor discovered his mistake, and reinstated him in his former standing. In the reign of the following emperor a shrine was erected to Michizane's memory in Kyoto. He is worshipped as the patron saint of learning, in somewhat the same way as Ojin, because of his skill in war,

is worshipped as Hachiman, the god of war. Students who fail in their examinations worship at Michizane's shrine, that they may become great scholars. As he was fond of the plum blossom, plum trees are planted round his shrine.

Besides these scholars there were many others of whom Sugawara-no-Tamenaga, who defended Confucianism against the famous Buddhist priest, Benyen, is one of the most noted. Kiyohara-no-Yorinari was also a noted Confucian scholar and adviser to the emperor. He advised the emperor to give the people good government, if he wished to control them. He died in the fifth year of Bunji (1189), and received the posthumous name, Kuruma-ore-Daimyojin, from the tradition that some one who had refused to dismount from his carriage before his shrine had his carriage broken. It was customary for every one, after that event became noised abroad, to dismount as they passed his shrine.

Yorinari's method of teaching was to choose the best selections from the Confucian classics and bind them together in a booklet as a text-book for his students. This was a new method of creating interest in the Confucian classics. Some one praised Yorinari, saying: "When public and private schools were neglected, and the site of the government university was overgrown with grass, and the sparrows of Kangakuin were no longer heard, then Yorinari arose, and gave forth his new system of study." He has been criticized as deceiving the people by selecting only the best portions of the Chinese classics, but by others his method is considered to be prophetic of the revival of interest in Confucian learning, which very shortly afterwards took place.

The following is a list of the leading scholars of this age, with dates where possible:

Awada Mahito (d. 719); Ki Kiyohito (d. 753); Yamada Nagaoka (d. 769); Kibi Makibi; Narabara Azumabito; Sakai Minomaro; Isonokami Yakatsugu (729-781); Omi Mibune (722-785); Sugahara Furuhiro (750-819); Sugahara Kiyokimi (770-842); Sugahara Koreyoshi (812-880); Sugahara Michizane (845-903); Sugahara Atsushige; Sugahara Fumitoki (898-981); Sugahara Sukemasa (925-1009) Sugahara Tamenaga (1158-1246); Sugano Mamichi (737-810); Kaya Toyotoshi (751-815); Yoshimichi Sanesada; Fujiwara Seiko; Ono Takamura (799-849); Haruzumi Yoshitada (797-870); Toyohashi

Yasuhito (797-861); Ki Yasuno (822-886); Miyako Yoshika (842-879); Tachibana Hiromi (837-890); Shimada Tadaomi; Okura Yoshiyuki; Fujiwara Sukeyo (d. 898); Ki Haseo (845-912); Miyoshi Kiyoyuki (847-918); Kose Fumio; Yoshibuchi Nagasada (813-885); Mimune Masahire (853-926); Mimune Motonatsu; Mimune Atsunobu; Koremune Kinkata; Koremune Masasuke; Oe Otondo (809-875); Oe Tomotsuna (886-957); Oe Koretoki (888-963); Oe Koretoki (955-1010); Oe Masahira (952-1012); Oe Sadamoto (959-1035, died in China); Oe Tokimune; Oe Masafusa (1041-1111); Tachibana Naomoto; Minamoto Shitago (911-983); Tachibana Masamichi; Minamoto Tamenori; Fujiwara Tametoki; Yoshishige Yasutane (d. 997); Ki Tokina; Fujiwara Yoshitada (1004-1041); Fujiwara Akihira; Fujiwara Atsumoto; Oe Masafusa (1041-1111); Kiyohara Yorinari (1122-1189).

CHAPTER V

REVIVAL OF CONFUCIANISM

During the age immediately preceding the Tokugawa age, there were stormy times in Japan, and learning was comparatively neglected. The learning of the imperial court was entirely abandoned. An indication of this is seen in the fact, that even Confucian scholars did not in many cases know the outstanding facts in the history of their own system.

In the midst of all this neglect the Gozan temple became a rendezvous for scholars. The priests of the Zen sect were respected by the military rulers of Japan. From this temple learning spread over the country. There were two such temples. The one in Kamakura was of no special importance, but that in Kyoto was very influential with the shoguns; so much so that her priests were sent to China as messengers of the government. The Zen priests at this time were not priests of the usual pessimistic type. They were men who, because of political ambition or literary ability, congregated in the Gozan temple. In this way many excellent men gathered, and as they went to China, Buddhism and even Confucianism became prosperous. They were not dead to the world. They had a controlling influence in political, social and military affairs, and by their influence the declining national spirit was revived. Although civil war continued they encouraged learning, and laid the foundation for prosperity of learning in the Tokugawa age.

Communications with China were easy. The Ashikaga shogun sent messengers to China. The people from the sea-coast of Japan made marauding raids on the coasts of China, and then fled home with the spoils. The shogun once sent some of these men to China, in order to appease the anger of the Chinese rulers. Once the Chinese emperor addressed the shogun as King of Japan. The shogun should have resented this suggestion, and sent the Chinese messenger home, to show he did not receive the communication, but by his silence he virtually admitted that he was king. To this day Japanese regret what they regard as treason on the shogun's part. Medical science, drawing and sculpture came to Japan with

the learning of the Sung dynasty. The philosophy and thought of the Confucian scholars of the Sung age in China was not unlike Buddhism, and first entered Japan through the priests of the Zen sect of Kyoto, from which place it was carried to the Kamakura temple.

During the Onin era, about 1467, Kyoto was disturbed by war, and the priests were scattered in all directions, and in this way learning spread over the country. In 772 the first book, a part of the Buddhist canon, was printed. In the Shōhei era (1346-1369), the Confucian analects were first printed, and from that time printing became common among the scholars at the Gozan temple in Kyoto. Two Chinese Buddhist scholars introduced the Shushi philosophy of Confucianism into Japan. One of these was Sogen, a virtuous and scholarly Buddhist, who, in the second year of Koan (*circa* 1278), at the request of Hojo Tokimune, came to Japan as high priest. The other was Ichizan (1247-1317), a Chinese priest, who, after visiting all the famous Buddhist teachers in China, came over to Japan in the first year of Shoan, 1299, to spy out the land. Both of these men died in Japan. Ichizan received posthumous honours from the emperor.

A disciple of Ichizan, Kokwan, whose real name was Shiren, was the son of a high official. In boyhood he was in a delicate state of health, and for this reason his mother used to hide his books, but he was so anxious to read that he would search till he found them. At eight years of age a priest noticed his unusual ability and took him to a temple, where in a couple of years he became a priest, and taught the Confucian analects every day. At fourteen he could enter into a discussion with his teachers, and surprise them by his wisdom. Hokaku, the head of Sansei temple, said: "This boy will become my successor, but as I am old, I shall not see him become a man. I am very sorry."¹ At seventeen he studied from Sugawara Arisuke, who showed him a book of the great Sugawara Michizane, which no one but the emperor was supposed to see. At twenty he met Minamoto Arifusa, who allowed him to read a book of philosophy which had been handed down

¹Hokaku's prophecy is not new. In effect the same thing is recorded of several great men in ancient Japan. It is not unlike the prophecy of Simeon, Luke ii. 25.

for generations. In 1299, when he was twenty-two years of age, he met Ichizan who had just come from China, and was so much impressed by him that he planned to go to China, but his mother, being old, fell sick, and he was obliged to give up the idea. This was a great disappointment to him, but to make up for his loss, he studied with Ichizan, and refusing a high position offered him by the shogun, he spent twenty years wandering about, visiting the high priests all over Japan. In the third year of Teikwa, 1347, he died, at the age of sixty-nine. Having learned the Confucian philosophy of Teishi school from Ichizan, he wrote many books. He held that in a broad sense the philosophy of Shushi school was the foundation of metaphysics, and was practically the same as Buddhism, being quite different from historical Confucianism. Although not one of the founders of the modern school of Confucianism, he did not prevent it from spreading, but rather, by his knowledge of it, increased its influence.

A man named Chugan, of Kamakura, a descendant of the Tsuchiya family, entered a temple at eight years of age, and at twelve studied the Confucian analects and a work on filial piety. At the age of twenty-six he went to China, called on many priests, and met many learned scholars of Japan, who were then in China. On his return he wrote several books, one of which, on the origin of the imperial house, so annoyed the emperor that it was ordered to be burned. In the last year of Koei, 1342, he again went to China. After his death he received some posthumous honours from the shogun.¹ Hayashi Razan, a later scholar, wrote almost the same thing about the origin of the imperial house, but on the advice of Mito Mitsukuni, changed it. However, their opinion seemed to be that the early emperors of Japan were related to the Chinese, but as all evidence is destroyed, we cannot speak of it in any definite way. In speculation, Chugan was great and original.

In some respects the greatest representative of Confucianism in this age was a Buddhist priest, named Keian, who was born in 1427 at Suo. At eight years of age he went to Kyoto, and became a disciple of a Buddhist priest, Isho,

¹ He is said to have been the first to write Shushi philosophy in Japan.

from whom he first learned Shushi philosophy. At sixteen years of age he was ordained a priest, and shortly afterwards became intimate with two scholars of Chinese philosophy, named Keigo and Keijo. At a later date he became the head of the Eifuku temple in Shimono-seki (Bakwan), where he continued his studies in Shushi philosophy. At forty-one years of age, at the command of the emperor he went to China, and after visiting many famous places, returned to Japan in 1473, fully determined to become a teacher of Shushi learning. But since Shushi philosophy had as yet no official recognition, he encountered much opposition in his attempt to teach it. However, he was allowed to teach in Gozan temple at Kyoto. In Iwami province he taught Minamimura Baiken. In Kiushu he taught the lord of Satsuma and several of his retainers; and in 1481, in consultation with a leading Satsuma official, he even published Shushi's commentary on "The Great Learning of Confucius". Later, he was appointed by the lord of Satsuma head of the Ankoku temple at Obi, in Hyuga province. Here he taught many disciples, among whom the most famous were Gessho, Ichiwo and Bunshi, who, after his death in 1508, followed him in quick succession as head of the temple.

Like many other priests of the Zen sect, Keian was an earnest student of Confucianism, who valued Shushi learning and the Confucian classics quite as highly as he did Buddhism, and taught that the benevolence of Confucianism and the mercy of Buddhism were essentially the same. He was a sincere man who regarded "his own heart as if it were his lord, and loyally followed it". He used to say, that if men were true in heart, they would be ashamed of nothing; Nature's sacred book is written on the heart, and even if men have no other books, they may become learned by following this one. Confucius and Mencius were like other men, but their hearts were true. In this way Shushi philosophy was first introduced into Japan by Buddhist priests, whose influence was felt up to the beginning of the Tokugawa age (about 1600), when Buddhism and Confucianism practically parted company.

At the end of the Ashikaga age the scholars of Japan were scattered, because of internal wars. At that time Yamaguchi, Satsuma and Tosa were rendezvous for men of a scholarly

and peaceful turn of mind. It is not necessary to enter further into the details of their lives. The following list will give some idea of the transmission of Shushi doctrines through the Buddhist priests at Gozan and other temples:

Ichizan (1247-1317); Kokwan (1296-1364); Muso (1276-1351); Chugan (1300-1375); Gido (1325-1388); Mugan (died in 1374); Giyo (1363-1424); Ikkei (1386-1463); Isho; Keijo (1440-1518); Ranha (died in 1501); Keigo (1425-1514); Keian (1427-1508); Minamimura Baiken; Shunden (died in 1364); Ikuho; Gessho (died in 1541); Kwojoken (1515-1587); Ichi-o (1507-1592); Bunshi¹ (1555-1620); Jochiku (1570-1655); Aiko Kishin (born in 1605); Ninsho; Tenshitsu; Shinsaido.

Up to this time Confucianism in Japan had been largely a literary study, an exegesis of the sacred books. Scholars spent much energy and time discussing the meaning of some word or sentence of the sacred books, and neglected the fundamental principles which lay hidden behind the letter. Up to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries Confucianism was crippled by this quibbling method, and it was not until about 1600 that any other system became universal in Japan, although, as we have seen, it was introduced much earlier than that by the priests of the Zen sect of Buddhism. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a decided change in the nature of Confucian teaching in China. The two Cheng brothers put new life into the dead literature of the classics. These two men were followed by other and perhaps greater men, who carried their teaching to completion. One of these is Choo-he, known in Japan as Shushi. This man was influenced by the younger Cheng or Tei, as he is called in Japan, and the combination is known as the philosophy of Teishi. These men were influenced by Buddhism and Taoism, and undertook to systematize the Confucian sayings. Their work, although labelled Confucianism, is in reality a new system, as Kokwan pointed out. It is very different from historical Confucianism, and is almost an entirely new system, based on metaphysics. The philosophy contains many Buddhist words, which helped to account for its popularity with Buddhist priests, who did so much to introduce it in Japan.

¹ Bunshi wrote the syllabary into Shushi's books and corrected Keian's work.

There are three main schools of modern Confucianism in Japan: one based on the teaching of the Teishi philosophy, known as the Shushi philosophy; one based on the teaching Wang-Yang-Ming of China, known in Japan as the Yomei school of philosophy; the third, known as the classical school, being an independent reaction towards the original teaching of the sage. This last school seems to have originated in Japan.¹

¹ A similar school originated in China about the same time, but it is not clear that Jinsai was influenced by any Chinese scholar.

PART II

STUDIES IN THE SHUSHI SCHOOL OF CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE SHUSHI SCHOOL OF CONFUCIANISM

From A.D. 1300 to 1600 Japan had been so occupied with internal strife that education was partially neglected. After that she entered upon one of the most progressive periods of her history. The Genroku¹ age, which began about 1595 and ended about 1750, was to Japan what the Elizabethan age was to England. It is the brightest age of Japanese learning during the feudal system. Many great scholars arose: Fujiwara Seikwa, Hayashi Razan, Ishikawa Jozan, Nakae Toju, Kaibara Ekiken, Ito Jinsai, Ito Togai, Ogiu Sorai, and others. Besides these, many famous scholars came from China. In this age, also, industry made great progress. New industries were introduced from China, such as the art of making lime by burning oyster shells, building stone bridges, and putting gold and silver designs on porcelain and lacquer. The thatched roofs of Yedo were changed to shingles and tiles. A popular song of the time reveals the fact that methods of communication were improving. In the song is the sentence, "I wish to be a comb, a comb of Satsuma, because I could then touch the hands of girls in many countries". Up to this time sugar had been obtained from persimmons only. Now several million pounds were imported yearly at the port of Nagasaki. The Genroku age was thus one of unusual activity and progress.

This progress in learning and industry was largely due to the wise policy of Japan's greatest military ruler, Tokugawa Iyeyasu. Iyeyasu was a statesman, a strong organizer, a

¹ The Genroku era (1688-1704) is comparatively short, but it has given its name to the early part of the Tokugawa age.

shrewd politician and a far-seeing advocate of education. He was responsible for closing Japan to the outside world. It is probable that this was the wisest thing to do for Japan at that time. It is difficult to anticipate what might have been, had such an attitude not been taken. Iyeyasu, however, succeeded in consolidating the empire and in laying such sure foundations that it became the privilege of his family to rule Japan for two hundred and sixty-five years. During that period Japanese civilization advanced, and Japan received an intellectual and moral training which enabled her afterwards to appreciate the civilization of the West.

Iyeyasu saw that it was necessary to elevate the ideals of the people, if permanent peace was to be secured and his government firmly and permanently established. He therefore encouraged learning by making the Shushi School of Confucianism the authorized system of education. This teaching suited the purpose of the government, because of its emphasis on obedience. It became so firmly established that one who ventured to hold independent views of his own was in danger of being branded as a heretic or a traitor.

The character of Iyeyasu's mind is reflected in some pithy sayings of his, which have been translated by Professor Wadagaki of the Imperial University. They are as follows: "Life is like unto a long journey with a heavy burden. Let thy step be slow and steady, that thou stumble not. Persuade thyself that imperfection and inconvenience is the natural lot of mortals, and there will be no room for discontent, neither for despair. When ambitious desires arise in thy heart, recall the days of extremity thou hast passed through. Forbearance is the root of quietness and assurance forever. Look upon wrath as thy enemy. If thou knowest only what it is to conquer, and knowest not what it is to be defeated, woe unto thee; it will fare ill with thee. Find fault with thyself rather than with others."

The system of thought he encouraged was established by Shushi (Choo He), a Chinese, who was born in 1130 and died in 1200. Shushi was also a statesman, an historian and a philosopher. He succeeded in organizing a system of thought which claimed to be Confucian, but was in reality a new system, based on the teachings of the Confucian classics, and influenced by Buddhism and Taoism.

Shushi taught that the "limitless" was without form or location, but self-moving. What he calls the "limitless" may be called the Infinite, or the Absolute. It probably represents the idea of the pure sky or ether which was regarded as containing within itself the possibility of all creation, including nature and law.¹ In the infinite, one element, Ki (literally breath), crystallizes, and by combination with law or order forms the "Great Limit", which is co-equal with the Infinite, and is not thought of as actually subsequent to it in time. For the most part, the Infinite and the "Great Limit" may be regarded as merely a distinction without a real difference. The two terms probably arose because of the Chinese distinction between the finer material of the air and heavens, and the coarser, darker material of body. In modern terms all that was meant might probably be included in what we call the universe, nature and the heavens. Confucianists commonly speak of this as heaven. In doing so they have added an anthropic element, which gives it more the force of what western writers mean by God. A study of the Chinese classics will lead one to conclude, that the word heaven is a development from original teaching about God.

It is an interesting fact, that in the ancient Chinese odes there is frequent reference made to a Supreme Being. "Great is God beholding the lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters of the Kingdom, seeking for some one to give rest to the people. Thus what Heaven has at heart is the settlement of the people. When they have rest given to them, then Heaven is at rest."²

"How beautiful are the wheat and barley! The bright and glorious God will in them give us a good year."³

"With penetrating Wisdom thou didst play the man; a sovereign with gifts both of peace and war giving rest even to Great Heaven."⁴

¹ See also "The Middle Kingdom", Vol. II, page 138: "Order was first produced in the pure ether and out of it the Universe came forth; the universe produced air, and the air the Milky Way. When the pure male principle Yang had been diluted it formed the heavens; the heavy and thick parts coagulated and formed the earth", etc. See also "Chinese Repository", Vol. III, page 55.

² Major Odes of the Kingdom, No. 1.

³ Sacrificial Odes, No. 1.

⁴ Ibid, No. 7.

In the analects of Confucius we find no reference to the Supreme Being but several references to Heaven. The reason is probably, that the worship of the Supreme Being has become the privilege only of the ruler, and that the use of Heaven, originally a polite way of avoiding the Deity's name, has become quite frequent among the scholars and people. A similar idea is found in the Japanese use of the word Mikado (August gate), formerly used of the emperor as a token of respect. So in Confucianism we reach a condition where some scholars deny any relation between Heaven and God.

In all existence there are supposed to be two elements always present. These are "Ri" and "Ki". "Ri" corresponds roughly to the Greek *Λόγος*, and may be translated Reason or Law. It is that which gives permanence and order to all things. It constitutes virtue and nature what they are, in so far as they may be regarded as having the character of necessity. "Ki" has been described by Prof. Lloyd of the Imperial University, Tokyo, as equivalent to the Greek *πνεῦμα*, breath, or soul. It is the constantly moving sensible world, composed of five elements—wood, fire, earth, metal and water. The relation of "Ri" and "Ki" was a matter of constant dispute. The Shushi school held that they could not be absolutely separated, but that even in the Infinite and in man, although the law, "Ri", predominated, "Ki" was always present. It is a significant fact that in old Chinese thought there were two "Ki" in the universe. One of a finer quality, identified with light, warmth and life, was known as the celestial soul or breath. The other of a coarser nature was known as the terrestrial breath or soul. With the former soul is identified the active or male principle, and with the latter the passive or female principle.¹

Shushi taught that when the universe began to move, the great male principle, sometimes called the active or positive principle, was formed. When it rested, the great female principle, sometimes called the passive or negative principle, was formed. Through these powers heaven, earth and all things were formed, and by them the work of creation once begun is constantly sustained. They may be illustrated by

¹ Cf. "Religious Systems of China", by Degroot, Vol. IV.

the active and passive forces, that which acts and that which is acted upon, or by the movement and the ultimate something which moves. While these may help us to grasp the idea, as modern Japanese would interpret it, there can be no doubt from what has been said of the Chinese thought about these principles, that they were first conceived of as resembling the idea of male and female, employed so generally to account for the creation. They are consequently not unlike the Hindu and other attempts to explain creation by an analogy from procreation.

Degroot points out that every part of the earth had this female element hidden in its bosom, awaiting the power from the male or celestial breath to produce life. By the cooperation of these two powers all nature lives and grows. He quotes Shushi as saying: "The two breaths, by uniting and exciting each other, produce and reproduce everything."¹ Degroot says: "'Yang' (male principle) and 'Yin' (female principle), absolutely bearing sway in nature and blending their influences together, are the causes of constant growth and decay, life and death, of the annual rotation of production and destruction. The Book of Rites explicitly states 'everything which exists is engendered after heaven and earth have joined together', and 'When in the first month of the vernal season the celestial breath descends and the terrestrial breath ascends, heaven and earth unite harmoniously, and the vegetable kingdom is disclosed and set in motion'."²

In Japanese Confucianism the distinction between a celestial and a terrestrial "Ki" is not emphasized as two separate breaths or souls. The male and female principles are principles of all "Ki" which can no longer be adequately represented by the word breath or soul, but may be more adequately represented as the changing, sensible world. This change in theory, as well as the prominence given to "Ri", is reasonably accounted for by the influence of Taoism and Buddhism on the development of Confucianism. There may also be more or less influence from science. The influence of Buddhism on this teaching becomes very clear, if we substitute the "world of illusion" for "Ki", and the words "spiritual body of Buddha or law" for "Ri". The change of name would show the resemblance between this school of Confucianism and Northern Buddhism.

¹ "Religious Systems of China", Vol. III, page 949.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER II

FUJIWARA SEIKWA

The first scholar of the Shushi school in Japan was born in A.D. 1561 at Hosokawa village in Harima province. He belonged to the great and well-known Fujiwara family. When Fujiwara Seikwa was eight years of age, he began to study Buddhism, and made such unusual progress that in a remarkably short time he was ordained a priest of the Zen sect. Shortly after his ordination he went to Kyoto, where he continued to study with redoubled zeal in a Buddhist temple, and soon gained a reputation for profundity of learning and finish of scholarship. Hidetsugu, the adopted son of Hideyoshi, used to arrange contests among the poetical priests. He gathered them together, and each composed a poem. Whoever composed the best poem received his special commendation. Seikwa went once, but could never be persuaded to go again. When asked the reason, he said: "Those who like it may do so, but if my poetry should be coupled with that of these men [*i.e.* who feel glad to partake in pleasing a noble] I should degrade myself. I cannot have a straw sandal on one foot and a wooden clog on the other." Hidetsugu, hearing this remark, was very angry, and Seikwa had to leave Kyoto. He took up his residence in Hizen, where Hideyoshi was making preparations to send his army to Korea. At Nagoya, Seikwa met Tokugawa Iyeyasu, and was entertained by him. Once Iyeyasu asked him to lecture at Fushimi. When the hour for the lecture came, Iyeyasu appeared in a common kimono. Fujiwara refused to lecture. Iyeyasu asked him for his reasons. He replied: "'The Great Learning' is intended for the rulers, to govern their country; and for ordinary people to regulate their homes and bodies; since this is the nature of the book, those who hear it must dress in ceremonial robes." Iyeyasu changed his clothes.

Shortly after this Seikwa returned to Kyoto, and resumed his studies in Confucianism. He abandoned Buddhism, and became an earnest Confucianist. But he was so dissatisfied with the teaching he received in Japan that he resolved to go to

China. On his way thither the sea was so rough that the ship had to take shelter at the little island of Kikai, where it remained for some length of time. On reaching a small port near Kagoshima, he landed, and in walking about the place he happened to pass a Buddhist temple where to his delight he heard a priest teaching his pupils Confucianism. Fujiwara was so struck with the profundity and depth of the lecture, that he inquired where the priest had acquired such learning. The priest then showed him a commentary in Japanese on the four books. Looking over this, Seikwa decided that he might derive as much benefit from it as if he had gone to China to study. This commentary furnished him with the foundation on which he afterwards built his system.¹

The Buddhist priests did not like his renunciation of Buddhism in favour of Confucianism. One of them asked him for his reasons. Seikwa replied that the Buddhists drew too sharp a line between the priests and the laymen, the religious and the secular, and that he was convinced there was no good distinction between them. Laymen were under as much obligation to be virtuous, and were open to as many privileges as priests. No one could afford to slight the responsibility of being virtuous on the plea of being a layman. Many priests should be called laymen rather than priests, so far as their virtue was concerned. If the duties and privileges of both priests and laymen were equally great, he could see no real advantage in being a priest, or trying to escape from the world. Sages would never consent to retire from the world. In this last remark he probably referred to Confucius, who was rather despised by the recluses of his day, because he would not retire from the world.

Hayashi Razan quotes Seikwa as saying, that he had long believed in Buddhism, but had been unable to satisfy his inmost longing. He had read the sages of China, and liked their teaching from the first. He found truth in what they said about man's relation to humanity. Buddhism, on the other hand, did not pay any attention to the desires of human nature, benevolence and righteousness. He even went so far

¹ There is a difference of opinion as to the exact details of this story. One account tells that the priest was teaching the works of Keian and Bunshi on Shushi and that Fujiwara received these and returned home satisfied. Another story tells that he received a book which had been brought from China by Nishin.

as to affirm that Buddha could not be excused from the charge of having done harm to human nature. Thus, it is evident that the secret of Seikwa's conversion lay in his discovery that man's life is bound up with society.

But though he had broken loose completely from Buddhism, he did not do as some men of smaller minds sometimes do under similar circumstances. He did not speak ill of it or abuse its advocates. On the contrary, his attitude shows the greatness of his own character and life. He was evidently fully convinced that Buddhism was harmful. He said that as the sovereign existed to rule the land, and great teachers were living who could be trusted to mould the people in virtue, they need fear no harm from Buddhism. Should it demoralize the ignorant, and were there no ruler to check it by force, if necessary, and were there no learned men to save the ignorant populace from deception, then it might be necessary for him to do what he could to suppress it. He refrained from criticizing it, because he did not wish to pick flaws, and thus perhaps expose his own ignorance of the subject. He therefore let it alone, and spent his energy in study and in the effort to make himself virtuous.

The following are some of his teachings:

"To obey the heavenly reason is becoming to a man of integrity. To be self-indulgent is to forfeit his own high destiny." It was characteristic of Seikwa that in many ways he saw beyond the mere externals, and succeeded in grasping the inner nature of things. He said: "In times past every sage had his own principle by which his disciples might take hold of the truth, which is one and the same. For example, both the older and younger Tei called it modesty; Shu called it reason; Shozan, intuition; and Yomei called it conscience. All the teaching of the sages had this one supreme object in view, viz. to state the truth in such a way that any one could understand it and incorporate it into his own life. In regard to terms and method they are all indifferent. The ultimate object in each case being the same, it is only natural that the bliss of sagehood may be obtained by beginning either with contemplation, according to Shū-shi (Chou-tzu), or with modesty, according to Tei, or with reason, according to Chin-Koho (or Chin-Kensho), or with conscience, according to Yomei; all of these will ultimately lead us to virtue."

One of his letters reveals his broadmindedness in being able to appreciate the opinions of another who did not agree with him. He says: "May I keep Yomei's works? I have read his prose. I have also read his poems, and found them all chaste. I like them." It is the general impression that Nakae Toju, who lived about one hundred years after Fujiwara Seikwa, was the first to introduce Yomei's teaching into Japan, but while that may be true, it is evident from the above that Seikwa knew of the school and its teaching. Seikwa was a great reader. He read the teachings of the scholars of the So and Min dynasties, and was ever willing to adopt anything good from any of them. Consequently, though he is one of the greatest Shushi teachers, he is somewhat wider in his point of view than many of his followers.

He assimilated much of the best in Buddhism, as may be learned from his own words: "The way of life according to Confucius and that according to Buddhism are very different, but the results attained by earnest followers of either school, after years of effort, are by no means dissimilar. We Confucianists speak of attaining wisdom, and Buddhists speak of enlightenment. However they may differ in unimportant points, the two systems have much in common, when one comes to consider the final state of mind in which the followers of either find themselves."

But in spite of his unusual liberality, the two systems were so antagonistic that he was quite ready to abandon Buddhism, in order to accept and propagate Confucian teaching. He considered Confucianism superior to either Buddhism or Christianity. He said: "Some of the feudal lords are quite pleased to offer undue homage to Buddhism, and others lose their self-respect under the foul witchcraft of Christianity, yet none are to be found among them who have sense enough to appreciate what Confucius teaches, and to follow it earnestly. Who but one deprived of the power of knowing good and evil can pass over this state of affairs, and not see the result which is as plain as day?"

But although he believed Confucian thought was superior, he advised his pupils to read Buddhism, in order to gain sufficient knowledge of it to protect them from being deluded by its advocates. He said: "You need not read Buddhism.

Our sages have cautioned us against it. But it might be well to run over some of its books, that you may not run into the snare of the priest." Seikwa was afraid of nothing that was taught by other systems, but he was strongly convinced of the superiority of his own views. He said: "Shining virtue is of heaven, which dwelleth in us, and guides us to the way of heaven, and has nothing dark or crooked in it. I call that man a sage who keeps his Meitoku (Shining virtue) as bright and pure as when he was first endowed with it. He does so by a constant effort to polish it as bright as it can be. But, on the other hand, we meet too often with men whose Meitoku is deplorably dimmed by indulgence in low desire and passions which they inherited when they came into being. Such people are no better than beasts. Meitoku may be compared to a spotlessly clear mirror, and the dimming influence of man's passions may be compared to the dust that accumulates on its surface. Beware of this dust, for if you do not continually keep your shining virtue free from it, the mirror will become dim, and you will certainly fail to fulfil your mission. There must be no compromise between these two; if one fails, the other will conquer."

"Heaven [literally, the true heart of heaven] is essentially merciful to all things between the earth and sky, and makes them prosper. So man ought to show mercy to his fellows. In the matter of charity, however, man must be guided by good sense and sound judgment, lest his kindred who happen to be poor have none to turn to for help, while strangers are treated with undue benevolence. You ought first to learn whether those who are of the same flesh and blood are in need; then, having provided for them, you may turn the helping hand to others who need your care. It often happens that our charity does harm to the receiver. We must remember that heaven is not sentimental. Disorder must be constantly guarded against in your exercise of the way of heaven. This same warning holds good throughout life. You must provide for your own family before helping others who are in need. If you follow this course of action no one will feel any ill-will towards you. Remember also, that though charity has its reward, yet it ceases to be charity if it is performed for the sake of gain. Neither can liberality to the rich be called charity. Such things are an abomination to

heaven. You should not offer charitable help to strangers without first providing for your own household, and also for those who are connected with you by blood. Benevolence consists in being compassionate to the poor and needy, and not in offering costly gifts to your betters, in order to please them and obtain profit."

Seikwa has here emphasized a principle that is as wide as humanity, viz. "Charity begins at home". He has also emphasized the very important idea, that not the act of helping, but the motive which prompts the act, can be acceptable to heaven.

"'Man's heart is daily in danger, and the heart of the way daily threatens to die, therefore the ruler must concentrate all his effort to guide his people in the right path.' It was in this way that Yaou, Shun and Yu, the three typical kings of China, succeeded in making their reigns golden. The great things done by all the sages are largely due to their steady obedience to this golden rule.

"By 'man's heart' is meant his lower nature, and by the 'heart of the way' is meant his higher nature, implanted by heaven. When man first comes into existence he is as divine as heaven, but in course of time he gradually acquires more or less of carnal desire. Even the wise are not free from this, but in them the struggle between the two hearts is more severe than in the ignorant. If one does not know how to get the better of his lower nature, then his higher nature will be overcome. We cannot be too careful as to how we distinguish the one from the other, so that a constant check may be put on the lower and a perfect development given to the higher. The former resembles a common weed, and the latter may be compared to very valuable flowers or plants. The former is very rapid in its growth, but the latter is very delicate. This accounts for the sad fact that there are so many bad people and so few really good men. In short, the four books and the five classics are nothing more than so many attempts on the part of the sages to expound the significance of the saying quoted. The import of the passage is too deep for full expression, and its application covers the whole sphere of human life, but if you fix it deeply in your minds, and spare no pains to live up to it, sagehood will never be out of your reach."

“That ruler who not only has no compassion for his people, but who would deceive and oppress them to enrich himself, is no better than a slave to his lower nature. It is the same with the scholar whose motive in acquiring knowledge is to gain the blind applause of the vulgar. Learning is of value just in proportion as it makes character. Nor is he less culpable whose efforts in learning proceed merely from a vain desire to excel others. That a man should bend all his energy to develop his ability in a disinterested spirit is nothing more than ordinary duty. The samurai who sets his heart upon becoming skilful in military duties, that he may be well spoken of, or that he may obtain a larger fief from his lord, is also enslaved. On the contrary, he should feel it to be his bounden duty to give his life willingly for his feudal lord, whenever occasion demands it. Look at the birds and the beasts; they do in their own way what they are appointed to do. We, the lords of creation, ought not to be second to them in performing our duty.”

Speaking of the relation of Shintoism to Confucianism, he said: “Our Shintoism aims at giving men a right heart, and then at making them sympathetic and merciful to all. The same may be said of Confucianism. In China it is called ‘Jin’ (benevolence); in Japan it is called ‘Shindo’ (the way of the gods); but in reality they are the same.”

Speaking on the subjects, “The Honest Poor”, “The Wicked Rich”, “Why the Wicked Prosper”, Seikwa said: “The honest are generally more or less just, and do not think of getting profit for themselves by foul means, violating the warning voice of conscience. Hence the honest are usually poor. On the other hand, the wicked are wholly given up to covetousness, and desire nothing but to make money, not knowing that they are like so many pigs wallowing in the dirt and mire. Hence they are generally rich.”

One of his disciples asked him for some precepts about foreign trade. He said: “Trade consists in selling what you have an abundance of, and buying what you lack. Its supreme object is to give advantage to both parties, and not to give profit to one at the expense of the other. If you act on the principle of letting others as well as yourself reap gain, you will find in the end that you have taken a wise course. On the other hand, double-dealing does not pay. There is an

old adage that says, 'Justice carries profit in her train'. Wise and honest merchants do not charge the buyer more than is just; only foolish and wicked merchants overcharge. These things should be observed, There is a great difference in the habits and customs of foreign countries and those of our own, but all have the same nature as we have. If you magnify the external differences, and think foreigners are inferior to you, and if you fall into the evil practice of deceiving them it will result in your own ruin. You must not do to them what you would not have them do to you."

- { Miyake Kanran
 Saraki-bara Koshu—Gion Nankai
 Kinoshita Johitsu
 Arai Hakuseki—Doi Kashu
 Muro Kinso { Nakane Tori
 Kawaguchi Seisai
- Matsunaga Sekigo—Kinoshita Junan {
 Nawa Soan—Nawa Rodo
 Ito Tanan—Ito Ryoshu { Ito Kinri—Ito Kunrei
 Emura Hokkai—Emura Hei
- Nawa Katsho {
 Hori Kyoan
 Hayashi Razan { Hitomi Kakuzan—Yanada Zeigan—Nakamura Takusai
 Hayashi Gaho—Hayashi Hoko—Hayashi Ryuko
- Miyaki Kisai {
 Note:—*The following are the school of Hayashi Ryuko:*—
 Hayashi Hokoku
 Goto Shizan—Shibano Ritsuzan—Shibano Hekikai
 Nagata Soho { Azumi Konsai
 Shibui Taishitsu { Hayashi Jutsuasi
 Shibui Shitetsu { Matsuzaki Kondo
 Ehya Kokuin
 Yasui Sokken
- Ishikawa Jozan {
 Kan Gono
- Fujiwara Seikwa

CHAPTER III
HAYASHI RAZAN

Hayashi Razan (1583-1672) was a samurai, descended from the great Fujiwara family. In his boyhood he was considered exceptionally clever. When he was thirteen years of age he studied Chinese in a Buddhist temple in Kyoto. It is said that even the priests used to ask his advice about certain questions which they did not understand, and he was usually able to help them. They advised him to become a priest, suggesting that he would surely rise to the highest rank. He refused to listen to this suggestion, and returned home. He said: "Why should I become a Buddhist priest? Should I forget the blessings I have received from my parents? To be without progeny shows great lack of filial respect. I cannot act thus." He read all the books he could secure, making a specialty of the philosophy of the Sung dynasty in China. He said: "From the Han dynasty to the T'ang dynasty the teaching of all schools is derived from former teaching. If we trace them back, we find them all based on the six sacred classics. We should therefore find the way in them. The Shushi school alone understands their principles, but at present the Shushi school is being polluted with false doctrine. We must make the true way of humanity clear."

Hayashi began to teach the Shushi doctrine at the age of eighteen. His success caused some jealousy, and Kiyahara Hidekata, hoping for his downfall, reported to Iyeyasu that Hayashi was using books that were not authorized by the government. But Iyeyasu only laughed at the complaint, and said: "What a mean appeal! Let every one study what he wishes."

When Hayashi heard that Fujiwara Seikwa was teaching Shushi philosophy in Kyoto, he became very anxious to hear him. In the ninth year of Keicho, when he was twenty-two years of age, he became a disciple of Seikwa. He asked him many questions, and recorded the answers in the "Razan Bunshu". Seikwa said of him: "There are many clever men, but very few such strong wills. I am pleased not only



HAYASHI RAZAN

with his talent but with his will power. I have had only mewling and barking students lately, so I gave up teaching for a time, but Razan will be a credit to our School." Seikwa considered him his best student, and taught him very earnestly.

When Razan was twenty-five he became an official of the Tokugawa government. Some years afterwards he retired from public life, shaved his head, and became a Buddhist priest, named Doshun. This was done probably because he wished to have leisure for quiet study. Nakae Toju criticized his action very severely. He said Razan was trying to go in two directions at the same time. Razan took the reproof in silence.

He was one of the most influential men in establishing the Tokugawa administration. He planned many of their laws and their ceremonies for the festivals in the ancestral hall of the shoguns.

In the third year of Meireki (1657), on the 17th of January, he visited the Momiji-Yama temple in honour of Iyeyasu. On his return home next day, a great fire broke out in Yedo. His son's house was burnt to the ground, leaving only the storehouse of books. On the 19th a greater fire broke out all over Yedo, almost destroying the city. He escaped to his villa with only one book, which he happened to be reading. At the time of the fire he was reading some twenty-one historical books of China and making notes on the margin. When he heard that the storehouse in which he kept his books was destroyed, he said: "The labour of many years is consumed in an instant. Alas! it is destiny." He died on the 23rd of the same month, and his posthumous name was Bun-Bin-Sensei (clever-teacher-in-literature). He wrote over one hundred volumes, but they are not of much importance. He built the Seido, an institution of higher education, in Yedo, which was famous during the whole of the Tokugawa government. The authorized educational standards were regulated by his thought for over two hundred and sixty years. He may be called the father of the orthodox school of Confucianism in Japan.

In a quotation from Sato Issai, we are told that Fujiwara Seikwa introduced Shushi thought in a systematic way, to the delight of the people of his time, and Hayashi Razan continued

his work, collecting all the teachings of Fujiwara. But they were not so slavishly attached to these teachings as some of the later scholars. Some of their ideas came from other great Chinese scholars. Dr. Inouye holds that the teachings of these two fathers of Shushi philosophy were not exactly the same. Hayashi took his ideas in regard to heaven, the male and female principles, the will of heaven and life, from Shushi, but the relation of "Ri" (reason) and "Ki" (the sensible world) was decidedly of the thought of Yomei. He said: "The great limit is reason, or law; the male and female principles are the sensible world. In the great limit lies the original male and female principles. Reason, or law, consists of the five virtues and the sensible world. 'Ki' consists of the five elements of nature—wood, fire, earth, metal and water. Therefore I hold that we cannot separate law and the sensible world."¹ In coming to this decision Razan is more in accord with Yomei philosophy than he is with Shushi thought. He said: "Reason and the sensible world are two in one, or one in two. . . . Briefly, they may be regarded either as one or two. It all depends on your point of view."

Dr. Inouye says further, that Japanese scholars of this school do not agree in regard to the relation of reason and the sensible world. Shushi himself failed to illustrate this union clearly, and declared they were two. Yomei held that reason is the principle of the sensible world, and that the sensible world is in the employ of reason. He illustrates his monistic views very clearly. Here Razan follows Yomei rather than Shushi. He questions the intuitive knowledge of Yomei. Yomei emphasized intuitive knowledge, original nature and introspection, and hoped, by means of the introspection of the original nature, to reach the intuitive knowledge by which he hoped to reach the "Holy Place". Fujiwara thinks the word "Seiki" differs from the one used by Shushi, meaning original reason (Kyu-Ri), but that the thought is the same. Razan, however, is not yet settled in his idea. In one of his books he opposed Yomei strongly, and took sides with Shushi in a way that left no doubt as to whom he wished to follow. He said: "In making the sacred teachings known, we have, first

¹ The Absolute.

of all, Confucius, and then Shushi. Although many ordinary teachers have howled forth criticism of Shushi, they might as well have remained silent." He was very narrow and harsh in his criticism of any scholar who did not agree with him. He criticized Laou-tsze severely, when he quoted Laou-tsze as saying: "'If you name the way, it is not the universal way. This original way is pure and in a state of perfect rest.' If we describe it as heaven and earth not yet made, the present generation cannot decide what the beginning of the world was. How can you put the human body before the beginning of the world? Suppose heaven and earth were not opened up, and there was no thought; immediately let one breath of life arise, and there would be thought. Man is originally a moving animal; how can he resemble a dead body? The way of the sages is not separated from the relation of lord and retainer, father and son, man and wife, elder and younger brother, friend and friend. After these five relations we get the five cardinal virtues. They originated in one heart, which contained reason. This is the way which, received in the heart, is virtue. The names differ, but the way is one. This differs from the way of Laou-tsze, who throws away human morality and calls the balance the way. It is not the way of the sages, nor of Yaou and Shun." The point of Razan's criticism seems to be, that he objects to seeking the way by means of speculation regarding what existed before the creation, and not in the ordinary social relations of man.

Dr. Inouye points out, that if Hayashi had known that the "Nameless One" of Laou-tsze was the same as the "Great Limit" of the book of Philosophy, and the "Reason" of Shushi, he would not have been so bitter against him. In the book of "The Mean" it says: "While there is no pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind may be said to be in a state of equilibrium." This state of "equilibrium" resembles the thought of Laou-tsze in regard to the "perfect rest" of the state before heaven and earth opened up. Razan, however, could do nothing but oppose Laou-tsze, because his mind was already made up. In being thus set in his ideas he was following the advice of his teacher, Fujiwara, who taught him not to read heterodox books until his own ideas were fairly established.

Razan opposed Buddhism because he thought it destroyed human morals, and was opposed to the way of the sages. He spoke to the priests in a loud voice, telling them their doctrine destroyed natural love. He cited the case of a priest, named Myocho, who in his early days was an earnest student of Buddhism. He had a wife and children, but he wished to put away natural love and passion, so he sent his wife to buy wine. When he was left alone, he killed his two-year-old child and roasted its body on a spit. When his wife returned and saw him eating meat, she suspected that he was eating his own child, so she cried out in a loud voice and fled from the house. Myocho followed her and thereupon deserted his home.¹ He afterwards became a priest of high rank. Razan used this story with powerful effect, telling them that they destroyed not only morality and natural love, but justice. The authenticity of this story is questioned, but there is no doubt that Myocho lived for about twenty years, a beggar, under the Gojo bridge, "eating the wind and sleeping in the dew". Ikkyu, a famous Zen priest, wrote about him as follows: "As compared with other priests, who contend for popularity, Myocho, spending twenty years under the bridge, unknown to any one, eating the wind, sleeping in the dew, is like the brightly shining sun as compared with lamp-light."

In another place he criticizes Buddhism for making rivers, mountains, the great earth, and all morality and justice mere illusions. "It seeks the way without the five relations. But I have not heard of any way apart from loyalty and filial piety." He criticized the mountain priests, who believed in Shintoism and Buddhism. He described them in an interesting way: "There is a kind of Buddhist priest, who wears a bonnet, dresses in white, carries a sword, and uses a long stick. These priests are called together by the blowing of a large shell. They are known as mountain priests. If any of them break the law and fall into sin, they all assemble to pass judgment. If found guilty, a deep hole is dug, and the culprit is buried alive. Stones are piled on him, and trees are planted to mark the spot, so that every one who passes that way knows that a mountain priest has sinned. The government is unable to

¹ This story in some respects resembles the mediaeval story of Saint Elizabeth deserting her family for the church.

repress them. If Buddhism values her doctrine of not taking life, why is this cruel practice tolerated?" He goes on to say, that if Confucianism is true, Buddhism is empty. He mentions some who have attained nothing from Buddhism, but much from Confucianism. He says Teishi and others were ashamed to speak of Buddhism; one of them compared Buddhist books to adulterous immorality to which men easily fall a prey. He arbitrarily concludes that Confucian teaching about the way describes the true way.

He was very much opposed to Christianity as introduced by the Jesuits. In his youth he visited a missionary, and afterwards wrote his own impressions in the form of question and answer. They are quite interesting. Razan said—"Rimato (Matteo Ricci¹) taught that heaven and earth, gods, and the souls of men all have a beginning, but are without end. I do not believe this. It is good reasoning to say, if there is a beginning, there is an end, or, if no beginning, no end; but that there is a beginning, and no end, is not good reasoning. Is there any good proof for it?" Mr. Frois, the missionary, was unable to answer.

Razan—"God created heaven and earth and all things, but who created God?"

Mr. Frois—"God is without beginning or end."

Razan—"That is not an apt answer to my question. Which is first, God or reason?"

Frois—"God is substance.² Reason is his work. Substance is first. Reason comes later."

Razan, pointing to a machine before him, said—"This machine is substance: reason is that which made it. Then reason is first, and God second."

Frois, changing the figure—"The lamp is the substance, the light is reason."

Razan—"Reason is that which makes both the lamp and the light. The light is not the reason, it is merely called light."

Frois—"One's plan to make the machine is reason. Before that thought arises, when there is no thought, no idea, there is substance. The substance is first, reason comes after."

¹ Matteo Ricci was a famous Jesuit missionary to China. His books were introduced into Japan, but were afterwards burned at Nagasaki by the government.

² Literally body, but it probably refers to substance in the theological sense, that God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, are all of one substance.

Razan—"It is not true. We cannot say, 'no idea, no thought'. When there is no idea or thought, reason exists."

Each man argued from his own point of view, and neither could see the standpoint of the other, but each expected the other to think as he thought, and so the argument was a series of assertions and denials, which would never lead to any conclusion. Dr. Inouye says, that if reason is a philosophical principle, and God a personified philosophical principle, then there would be common ground between them. God is what Confucianism calls "Jotei" (above Emperor). Razan went to another room. Frois said, in a self-satisfied way—"The Confucian 'Taikyoku' (The Infinite) cannot reach to God. God cannot know such an insignificant scholar as Razan. I know 'The Infinite' very well." Frois ridiculed Razan's disciples, who, perceiving it, retorted: "You are crazy. You do not know 'Taikyoku'." Frois was too angry to reply. Just then Razan returned, and seeing that Frois was angry, said: "Generally the discussion of justice is not without advantage. Though one does not have it the other has; but if a man merely wishes to conquer in the dispute, anger and hatred appear in his face. This is injurious to his spirit. Beware of it."

In another place he speaks of Christianity as having changed. "It is like the fox eating the king's daughter, and is therefore forbidden. Even though this evil thing changes its face, its heart remains wicked. Those who consult with Christians thoughtlessly, repeat the foreigner's learning. The Christian has stolen from the Confucian doctrine relating to 'Heaven's Way', but he speaks only the dregs of the teaching, secretly thinking he received it from God. Then he takes the Buddhist teaching about emptying oneself, and teaches it as the condition of the heart, and thinks this teaching also came from heaven. Again, he steals from Laoutsze, saying, 'If there is no good, there is no evil. Do good, and overcome evil'. He is neither Confucian, Taoist, nor Buddhist, therefore he may be called the 'Three-legged-cat-Devil'. We must beware of him. He does not know one Chinese character, yet he calls himself a teacher of men. He does not cultivate himself, yet he calls himself the enlightened one. He does not know a male crow from a female, yet he calls himself holy. Uneducated people hear the

teaching and follow it. Ah! Among strange things Christianity is the strangest. People are afraid of the machinations of foxes, but the foxes among men are most to be hated and feared."

"That strange thing, Christianity, makes men disloyal, and destroys filial piety. It is a very terrible thing. If people consider it well they will guard against it."

"Christianity is an evil teaching and destroys good customs. It becomes a strange fox or a strange bird. We must hasten to stop its progress."

Again, he attacks it from the standpoint of monogamy. He says: "Common women are very jealous-minded. . . . Christianity appeals to this spirit, deceiving women, teaching them that men must not have concubines, must not commit rape on women, or adultery. Women gladly believe this. Thus this wicked teaching tempts all houses, by deceiving women. These wicked Christians are silent when they are with outsiders, but recently I hear they speak secrets one with another. They teach masters to become misers. All these are the strange teachings of Christians, who are uncivilized."

Dr. Inouye says that monogamy is not taught in Confucianism, except that the common people ought to have but one wife. Christianity in this respect complements Confucianism, and Razan made a mistake in not assimilating this teaching.

While opposing these foreign religions, Razan is inclined to unite with Shintoism. He said: "Japanese Shintoism is the way of kings, and the way of kings is Confucianism. Therefore there is no real difference between Shintoism and Confucianism." Once when asked how they differed, he said: "Reason is one, but it differs in its use. The way of kings once changed to Shintoism, which became the way, and this way is Confucianism." Again he says: "When one goes to Ise, the imperial Shinto shrine, to worship, both the outside and inside must be pure. He must not eat meat or onions nor drink wine, nor keep company with women. His body must not touch any evil thing. This is being clean outside. It is religious abstinence. The heart must be benevolent, forgetting the desire for reputation. This is making clean inside. It is heart preparation. The people of to-day do not make clean, either inside or outside, therefore they cannot yet

unite with God. The heart is the house. God is the master. Reverence is also the master of the heart. If, therefore, there is reverence, God comes into the heart. If there is none he is destroyed, and the real nature becomes empty, and God does not come and dwell there. The great essential is reverence. It unites men with God."

Hayashi's ethical teaching centres around filial piety and loyalty. On one occasion he gave two quotations from the "Chinese Classic on Filial Piety". "The care of the body is the beginning of filial piety." "If a man in battle has not courage, he has not filial piety." He attempts to show how these harmonize. He says filial piety requires a man not to wound his spirit. He does so if he is not courageous. Again—"A filial son plays near the house where his mother is." "Whenever a filial son goes away or returns, he greets his parents." He discusses the relation of these two quotations. "When a filial son is near his parents he must make their hearts rejoice, and if he goes two hundred and forty miles away he must make their hearts rejoice. That is filial piety. It is his duty not to go far away, but if his master or teacher is far away, it becomes necessary. To do so is just. If parents are poor and old, and a boy is working to support them, in so doing he is serving his master, and under such circumstances his service becomes filial piety."

In the Chinese record of twenty-four instances of filial piety, one tells how Hakuga was whipped by his mother. Usually he did not cry, but on one occasion he did, and on being questioned as to the reason, said he cried because his mother was no longer able to hurt him, as her health was failing. Another story tells how Kakuyo, who was unable to support his aged parents, had one child whom he loved. He decided to take his child's life, because he could not support both the child and his parents. He dug a hole intending to bury the child alive, but as he dug he found a kettle of gold, on which was the inscription—"Heaven gives this to his filial son." Razan opposed this teaching as not being true filial piety. "If one kills his child to support his mother, she becomes in reality the murderess of her grandchild. Filial piety does not merely give ease to the body, but to the mind, and to the spirit of our parents."

CHAPTER IV

AMENOMORI HOSHU AND ANDO SEIAN

Amenomori Hoshu was born in Amenomori village in Omi province. His friends wished him to become a physician, but he refused to do so, because he had heard that a famous physician of his time had said, "If one wishes to be skilful in writing, he must use much paper; if one wishes to be a skilful physician he must do so at the expense of several lives". When Hoshu was seventeen or eighteen years old he went to Kyoto and entered the private school of Kinoshita Junan, who soon recognized him as his best disciple and recommended him to the Lord of Tsushima as a great scholar. He was given charge of the educational system of Tsushima, and became famous in all that part of Japan. Here he met Koreans and Chinese, and soon learned to talk to them without an interpreter; and although he was not able to appreciate their poetry he had wide knowledge of foreign books.

He did not like Ogiu Sorai because he laid too much stress on knowledge and literature, and neglected virtue. At one time he sent his son to his private school, but when he learned more about Ogiu he recalled him. Notwithstanding this Ogiu placed Amenomori among the great scholars of Japan, classing him with Ito Jinsai and Muro Kyuso.

Hoshu was a very virtuous man, and endeavoured to impress the teaching of the sages on his disciples, both by precept and example. He was loyal to the emperor, and did not fear to reprove Hakuseki for assuming in the presence of the Korean ambassador, that the Tokugawa Shogun was King of Japan. He died at the age of eighty-eight, in the fifth year of Hoei, in January (1708). He was a very ardent advocate of Shushi philosophy. He claimed that all the best teaching of other Chinese scholars was included in that of Shushi. He was a very broadminded man. He said: "Heaven has no voice and no smell. If it has no voice, it has no shape. If it has no smell, it has no body. Buddhists call this emptiness.¹ Taoists call it nature. Confucianists

¹The word literally translated "Emptiness" may be better rendered "Reality", but it is reality obtained by a negative process of thought.

call it 'Ri' (Reason). These three are essentially the same, although their teaching and their self-culture differ." He also said: "Laou-tsze is the sage of emptiness, Buddha is the sage of mercy, Confucius is the sage of sages." He spoke of these three sages as being the "Fathers of fathers, whom we cannot oppose, but whom we must revere and obey". All three speak of the supernatural, and independently reach the same conclusions. He said he had discovered that "Heaven is only one way, that reason is not two, and that only teaching and culture differed. The law of Buddha is gloomy (pessimistic); the teaching of Confucius cheerful (optimistic). Some prefer the cheerful; others prefer the gloomy". The priest Kukai was the first man in Japan to claim that these three teachings were essentially the same. Hoshu was the first Confucian scholar to hold this view. Shushi scholars, as a rule, would not admit that they had received anything from Buddhism; but Hoshu was liberal enough to distinguish between essential Buddhism and the sins of the priesthood. He wrote: "I saw a certain man's letter, in which he spoke ill of Buddhism. He pointed out many bad qualities in the priests, but did not speak ill of the way of Buddhism. We might say the same of some Confucian teachers whose conduct is not exemplary, and in this way speak ill of the way of the sages. Seeing the shadow, we mistake it for the substance. It is well to follow the stream and find the source, but it is a mistake to criticize the source without having first investigated it." "We cannot speak ill of the teaching of either Laou-tsze or Buddha, for what seem to be objectionable points to us arise from the difference in each man's mission to humanity." His ability to see the fundamental unity in these three teachings raised him above most scholars of his day.

Sometimes he appeared to make Buddhism superior to Confucianism. He said: "The supernatural (above shape) is the way, and was the teaching of Buddha and Laou-tsze. That is the first doctrine. Confucius teaches that the natural is the body of the supernatural. That is the second doctrine, called the law of kings." "Some one said to me, 'You speak kindly of Buddhism; do you think you will become a Buddhist?' I laughed and said, 'No, not at all.'" "Shushi speaks ill of students of Buddhism. But it is because he judges their conduct rather than their doctrine."

"Yamazaki Ansai was a Buddhist from boyhood. At twenty years of age he wrote an essay and put it in the temple gate, became a layman, and let his hair grow long. He was a great man, but it was a pity he did not understand Buddhism."

He quoted from Shushi: "Heterodoxy sometimes contains good thoughts, but they are not essential to moral teaching. The superior man regrets the methods of heterodoxy." "Yoshi (Chuang-Tzu) says: 'The morality of Laou-tsze has some very superior points, but when he throws away justice and destroys propriety, I cannot follow him.' The same may be said of Buddhism." "The teaching of the sages is intended to rule all under heaven, but does not refer to that above heaven." "Buddha was born in the 'West Country' and studied earnestly all his life, but he did not excel the teaching of the Chinese sages who have included all his teaching in theirs."

These quotations reveal his liberal attitude to Buddhism. The teaching about the way and the supermundane character of Buddhism and Taoism seem to him in perfect harmony with Confucian (Ten-Ri and Ki) Heavenly Reason and Energy. But Dr. Inouye thinks he exaggerates when he says Confucianism has assimilated Buddhism. It has not included the four commandments, three worlds, the twelve stages of transmigration, retribution, cause and effect, and Nirvana, nor many other things. Hoshu probably felt that the essentials of Buddhism were in Confucianism. Any earnest Confucianist might take such an attitude.

He had an exalted idea of the eastern sages. He said they were "the heroes of heroes". "Men of thought are a step higher than other people. But they again are separated from the sages by many degrees. We cannot estimate the difference between them. Therefore the teaching of the sages is passed down through several generations. The sages are as anxious about a hundred ages as common people are about one day, because wise men think far into the future. Small people are not so. If wise men have riches and honour, it is unsought. Superior men delight in poverty, but attain honour and splendour. Sages are indifferent to such things as wealth or poverty; they are content simply to do their duty." "Naturally there is advantage in righteousness and benevolence. Righteousness and advantage cannot be separated. If you tell people that a certain course of action is

advantageous to all, every one will listen. If you tell them it is right, they are not so anxious to hear. Superior men teach righteousness whether people like it or not. And even though people like gain, superior men do not take advantage of that in teaching them." "Offer men merit or gain and they all rejoice. Exhort them to morality and they are indifferent. The superior man does not cease to teach righteousness because people dislike it. Offer men gain, and human passion will grow daily, and calamity will surely follow. Exhort them to morality, and they will daily develop a good heart, and calamity will be averted. This is natural."

Hoshu thinks that "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it". "When we make gain our object, we defeat our purpose; when we make righteousness our object, gain naturally follows." "Holiness is the city of happiness. All must rejoice in the teachings of the sages; if a man desires mere pleasure he cannot get it. He must be faithful to duty and pleasure will naturally follow." Dr. Inouye here points out that Hoshu resembles T. H. Green, in that the object of moral conduct is not pleasure but self-realization. Not individual pleasure but general happiness, or public advantage, is the aim. The question as to the end of moral conduct is old. It is not necessary to discuss it here. Suffice it to say that if pleasure is made the sole object of moral conduct, we run the risk of losing that high moral standard of right that is above and beyond the individual.

Some one who heard Hoshu say, "Learning is the process of becoming a man", said: "Your words are not deep, every one knows your meaning." He replied: "Yes, that is it. That is it. People know it, and yet they do not know it." He said on one occasion to his disciples: "Because people respect me, your teacher, you are very much exalted. When I teach you I may appear to belittle you and exalt myself. My ambition is far from that. The difference between us is simply that I have read more books, hence my position is greater than yours. Among wise men, Chinese scholars like Ch'eng, Chu, Han-Yu, Shushi of the Sung dynasty, have reached the highest attainments, but even they are not perfect. Men wish to become wise. Wise men wish to become holy (sages), and sages wish to become heaven. This is because righteousness and reason are unlimited." Dr. Inouye says that in the

last sentence Hoshu has merely turned a saying of Shushi¹ upside down. Shushi said: "Holy men desire heaven, wise men desire to become holy, and men wish to become wise." Some one said to Hoshu: "You have become very old but you do not cease reading. Do you not realize that however much you may learn you can never reach the end of it? You are foolish." He replied: "If I live one day, I will read books one day. I intend to make progress. That is my desire. I know well that there is no end to learning." On another occasion he illustrated the secrets of learning in this way: "Last night I talked with a fencer. He described to me in great detail the science of fencing. I drew this lesson from his words. It does not do merely to hear with our ears, nor yet with our minds. We must hear with our spirits." The act is the outward manifestation of the inner reason. Even in the smallest act of a skilful fencer, the science of fencing is revealed in detail. This is in harmony with the true science² of learning. Is it not strange? In one skilful performance the fencer accomplishes what others cannot do nor understand. The secret of his power is similar to the secret of our own learning."

Hoshu revered Shintoism very much. He earnestly taught the sublimity of the national institutions. His interpretation of the three treasures of Shintoism is in this way: "The three treasures are the jewel, the sword, and the mirror. The jewel is benevolence, the sword is courage, and the mirror light. They shine with light, are settled by courage, and are fulfilled in benevolence. In Japan this is not a written doctrine, but we firmly believe it and receive benefit through obeying it explicitly. Then it is not necessary to speak of them, but if such an occasion arise we do well to seek information from Confucius. These three symbols illustrate the original way. The teaching of Confucius and Mencius is an exposition of this way. Some people when they become acquainted with Laou-tsze, Buddha and other heterodox teachers, are separated from Shinto. This is unfortunate." In another place: "We must reverence a book written in ancient times. It is not necessary to investigate the deep meaning of the book. Because the language is obscure it is

¹ More familiarly known in Japan as Renkei.

² Literally, Way.

a mistake to try to interpret the meaning." Hoshu is probably referring to the ancient literature of Shintoism. He thinks if people reverence the book they will reverence the institutions. Here we have a mistake which is common to the whole race. Men are apt to base their reverence for religious institutions too largely on sentiment. The ancient records will not always stand the test of rational criticism, and many men mistakenly fear the results of such investigation.

Hoshu said: "Among the peoples of the world Japanese are the most simple-minded. They resemble the ancients." "At the present time Chinese and Koreans are not to be compared with the Japanese. This is truly due to the grace of the gods." Some of the Chinese scholars of Japan took a different attitude toward Shinto. They became so infatuated with things Chinese that they were scarcely loyal to Japan. Among Hoshu's rules for governing conduct he has: "If the heart is right it will govern the body. The man who does not forget this is a superior man." "When the speech is loyal and true and the conduct benevolent, my friends say it is a cure for all diseases. I consider it a very fine medicine." "We must read books, and thus by making the sages our teachers and wise men our companions, we will receive learning. How can we give up the reading of books?" "Those who constantly associate with the vulgar become like them." "If we receive even a little learning in life, a hundred years will pass quickly. If they do not know the reason of things, even great men will become as dogs or insects. Oyoko¹ says: 'Man should reverence virtue, merit and words: if he fails in this, he becomes like grass or trees, animals or birds.' Is this not shameful?" "If we read books and understand the sages and rejoice, or if we fear, or if we are led to think about our conduct, we are near the way of the sages." "If we read carelessly, or sit and read as if we were listening to the gossip of country people, or sit with the book open before us, we may read all day without receiving any benefit. Much more, if we do not sit with the book before us at all, we will certainly understand nothing." "Among good things there are surely evil things. Among evil things there are surely good things. If there is absolutely no good, there is absolutely no

¹ Ou-yang-kung.

evil." "People generally know how to serve their superiors but not their parents. If a servant chooses not to obey his lord, he forfeits his salary and his living at once. Therefore he is under necessity to continue his work, but in serving his parents he is under no such necessity; he serves or neglects without reward or penalty because they are related by love. He serves his master from self-interest rather than loyalty." "Those who respect virtue appear to be foolish, and those who respect ability appear to be wise men; to respect ability is the aim of small men." "It is easy for the clever to fall into error, and simple minds are not far from the dark." "The body is external and light; the heart is internal and heavy. Those who seek peace for the heart rather than for the body are superior men. Those who seek bodily ease and neglect peace of mind are mean men." "Kings and lords are the most unfortunate of men." "Those who rely on hoped-for good luck will surely fail beyond salvation." "Superior men, wishing the country's good, advise the ruler to be economical. Small men, wishing selfish gain, tempt him to luxury." "One who habitually looks downward will fall into luxury. One who habitually looks upward will have a humble heart. The proud always look downward, they cannot understand themselves." "From an elevated position one can see far; this illustrates the difference between a superior man and a mean man. The former sees far; the latter from his lower position sees but a short distance." "Everything is fixed and understood. If there is Spring, there will be Summer. If Autumn comes, Winter will certainly follow. This illustrates what we mean by things being fixed. Spring goes, Summer comes; Summer goes, Autumn comes. This is what we mean by things being understood. Likewise youth, maturity, old age and death are fixed and understood."

ANDO SEIAN

Ando Seian was born in the province of Chikugo. When a young man he went to Yedo, and studied so hard that it almost cost him his life. When the rebellion of the followers of the Jesuits took place at Shimabara, he went with his lord to help quell the rising, although he was then only sixteen years of age. A great Chinese scholar came to Nagasaki in the first

year of Meireki era (1655), and Seian became his disciple. He divided his income with this Chinese in order to help him. After a time, Shushunsui, as he was called, was invited to Mito, where he took a Japanese wife. He remained in Japan till he died. Ito Jinsai, writing to Ando, says: "I hear that a great scholar of the Min dynasty, being dissatisfied with the change in the government of China, came to Nagasaki, and that you, being without wife or family, divided your salary with him. That was a very good thing for you to do." Seian received much help from him, and by his aid became a great scholar of western Japan. After Shushunsui went to Tokyo they still kept up a correspondence. Seian died October 20 of the 14th year of Genroku (1701) at the age of eighty. He had two sons, but the elder son died early, so the younger one succeeded his father. When dying, Seian said to his son: "I have no virtue or merit, do not write an account of my life nor an epitaph for me after my death. A truly superior man does not desire eulogy, which is mere flattery; I have tried to be a true man without deceiving myself. Therefore after death I do not wish to deceive others." Seian had three great principles on which he endeavoured to act, namely: "Strive after benevolence"; "Be careful of your speech"; "Be poor in spirit."



MURO KYUSO

CHAPTER V
MURO KYUSO

Muro Kyuso's¹ father was a man of Bichiu province, but moved to Setsu and later to Musashi province and became a doctor. Here in the first year of Manji era (1658) Kyuso was born. As a boy he was very precocious; he was fond of books. At fifteen years of age he became a retainer of the lord of Kaga. One day he lectured on "The Great Learning", explaining it so clearly that his lord, who was present, said: "Truly he is an extraordinary boy; if he continues to develop he will become world-famous." He therefore sent him to Kinoshita Junan to study.

Kyuso made very rapid progress, and was respected by all his fellow-students as one of the most clever. He became well versed in Chinese literature. It is not known how long he remained with Junan, but before he was twenty-four years old he made frequent trips from Kyoto to Yedo and back to Kaga. In Kyoto he worshipped at the shrine of Michizane, a famous Confucian scholar who is regarded as the patron saint of learning. On one occasion he spent a whole night in this shrine praying for success, and before leaving he made a solemn vow in the following series of resolutions:

"I will arise every morning at six o'clock and retire each evening at twelve o'clock.

"Except when prevented by guests, sickness or other unavoidable circumstances I will not be idle.

"Every morning dressed in ceremonial robes, after bowing before my desk I will spend the day in study unless prevented by some other duty.

"If tempted to be indolent, I will call forth my right spirit to drive away the lazy spirit.

"I will not speak falsehoods.

"I will avoid useless words, even with inferiors.

"I will be temperate in eating and drinking, merely satisfying my hunger and thirst. I will eat at regular times.

"If lustful desires arise, I will destroy them at once, without nourishing them at all.

¹ Kyuso is his literary name. His popular name was Naakiyo.

"Wandering thought destroys the value of reading. I will be careful to guard against lack of concentration and over-haste.

"I will seek self-culture, not allowing my mind to be disturbed by the desire for fame or gain.

"Engraving these rules on my heart I will attempt to follow them. The gods be my witness."

In the first year of Shotoku (1711) he became a teacher of Confucianism in the employ of the military ruler of Japan, and by command of the government wrote many books. He was recommended to this position by Arai Hakuseki. In the twelfth year of Kyoho (1727) he became ill and never fully recovered. He tendered his resignation to the government but it was not accepted. As he was unable to work, he retired to Suruga-Dai in Tokyo and lived quietly, receiving his salary as formerly from the government. Even his house was a gift from the government. He spoke to his many disciples from his sick-bed and they published his daily talks under the title "Suruga-Dai Conversations". The preface to this work is dated the seventeenth year of Kyoho (1732). Kyuso was so modest that he tried to avoid taking pupils, but he was unable to refuse earnest souls who sought instruction. He died in the nineteenth year of Kyoho (1734).

Muro Kyuso was a pure Shushi scholar. He worshipped Shushi only. He lived when Ito Togai and Ogiu Sorai were at the height of their fame. He was like an immovable rock in the waves of their success. His standpoint is clearly set forth in his books. He said: "In my youth I learned from a common Confucian scholar to recite words and sentences. I spent many years in this way. One day I suddenly perceived my mistake. I had earnestly studied the learning of the ancients, but unfortunately I had no good teacher or friend. I was tempted by the various opinions of many scholars, and half believed and half doubted Shushi. For many years I had no fixed opinion. But at forty years of age I came to a deep understanding of the learning of Teishi, and became immovable. Day and night I have read the books of Teishi, and for thirty years I have thought deeply and earnestly. In proportion as a man looks upward, he will gradually come to understand Shushi's highest thought. A true sage will without doubt obey the words of Shushi.

Therefore the way of heaven and earth is the way of Yaou and Shun. It is the way of Confucius, Mencius and Teishi. If we reject any of these great teachers, we cannot reach the way of heaven and earth. I am an old teacher, and people may not fully believe my words, but I speak from experience. If I do not speak from experience, let my body suddenly receive the punishment of heaven and earth."

He said that up to the middle of the Min dynasty almost all science was pure. "Learning and Confucian teaching were not destroyed, but Yomei arose and expounded his intuitional teaching, opposing Shushi; then the conditions of the Min learning changed greatly. After Yomei's death the world's scholars became infatuated with 'intuition', investigating the cause of all things, and Buddhism became popular. The evil effect of this was felt until the eras of Kasei and Banreki; the scholars of China became, positively, disciples of Confucianism, and, negatively, disciples of Buddhism."

"Those who have only one one-thousandth part of Teishi's nature must not argue too strongly against him, or it will be a case of little birds laughing at big birds, or of measuring the ocean with little shells; or it will be an illustration of the old saying, 'To one sitting in a well, even the heavens look small'. Useless disciples like to hear new teaching and to follow new ideas. Many do this."

"One hundred years later there came a long period of peace in Japan, and civilization advanced. Confucian teachers arose, but we will not here say whether their teaching was good or bad. We commend them for one thing; they worshipped Teishi and did not lose the old pattern. Recently a founder of new thought arose who propagated his own teaching, gathering about him many useless disciples and boldly carrying on many valueless discussions. It reminds one of dogs; when one howls he is answered by many howling dogs." That he opposed the school of Ito Jinsai and Ogiu Sorai is clear from the following: "From ancient times mistaken views which obscured the way have been many, and this is especially true at the present time. One calls his sect 'Old Learning'. He claims that 'The Great Learning' does not belong to Confucius, and that I am resurrecting the mistaken views of Shushi scholars. Another prides himself on his literature. He says the way does not come from

heaven, neither is it the real reason of things. He has many other mistaken ideas too numerous to mention. If they had expressed their views twenty or thirty years ago, even inferior scholars would have seen their mistakes and laughed at them. But now the scholars of Japan are deceived by them, believing in them and reverencing their opinions. The result is that the common people also have come to believe them. Thus as I see the way of the world sinking day by day, and men's hearts turning to falsehood, I am sad. It is not profitable to dispute with such men about these questions. If great men come forth, these inferior men will gradually sink into oblivion. The ancients said, 'Better than one thousand persons agreeing with you is the one person who opposes'. If I hear a man following right teaching, contrary to the opinions of others, I rejoice greatly. Recently many heterodox ideas have arisen opposing the learning of the Kan and To dynasties, and destroying the Shushi learning. This arouses the indignation of true thinkers who become so troubled they can neither sleep nor eat; truly it is a deplorable state of affairs. Ito is heterodox; he opposes the sacred classics, and slanders the learning of Teishi. There are many others like him in Kyoto and Tokyo."

"If wise rulers arise they will surely collect all these useless books and burn them, and command the scholars of Japan to encourage good conduct, to avoid profitless talk, to suppress flowery literature, to cease indulging in luxury, to make their hearts just, and prohibit bad opinions. Then in a few years Japan would certainly return to her original upright nature." "Those who have expounded the ancient sacred books are many. Confucian scholars drew illustrations from these books. It is therefore wrong to say there is no merit in them. One cannot find out the deep meaning of the sages by attending to trifles and forgetting great righteousness. For example, a man thinks he obtains the true meaning of a passage by carefully analyzing long and short sentences. Such a useless method finally becomes distasteful, and the student misses the true spirit of the sages, and accepts the opinion of Laou-tsze and Buddha. The learning of Shushi originated without teaching, in nature and reason, and in desire for human progress in virtue. Even if our hearts exalt these incentives, they do not become empty; even

though we popularize them, they are not profitless. Just as the sun and moon hang harmoniously together in the heavens, so do Shushi's expositions harmonize with the sacred books. The learning of the sages makes shining-virtue clear,¹ and is useful to reform the people. These perfected constitute the highest excellence. Wide learning, combined with obedience to ceremony, is the method of culture. It is the purpose of the Shushi learning to obey both perfectly. Since this is the nature of his virtue, if it reveals itself in the moral conduct of the whole man, it is suited to the different ceremonies; and if it reveals itself in his work, it becomes the means of governing peaceably and successfully. In his own life as he became older he made righteousness clear; his benevolence matured; he practised virtue and became obedient to propriety. His name became so widely known that even barbarian people knew it. He was regarded almost as a sage. He illustrated the sacred book in his conduct and then wrote of it in a book. This was a book of illustrations, but it really resembled the sacred books, and may be compared to the sun and the moon. Even though there are great scholars to-day, they cannot be compared with Shushi."

Muro Kyuso criticized the Japanese disciples of Shushi as well as the opponents of Shushi. He says of Yamazaki Ansai: "Yamazaki forsook Buddhism and became a Confucianist. He revered Shushi, opposing other scholars. He was a typical teacher, and led his students to a clear understanding of the advantages of this way. Recently he became an excellent samurai; but I hear he is very proud of himself, and treats others with too much disdain. He is narrow-minded and does not overlook the faults of others. In his intercourse with others he is not calm and peaceful. He never forgets himself; he is narrow-minded in his views, not opening his heart to others. This is his failing." In comparing Yamazaki with Shushi he said he was as the firefly to the sun, or as the brook to the large river.

Although Muro took his ideas entirely from Shushi and taught nothing original, his discussions on morality and culture are valuable. His works are recommended to Japanese scholars. Like too many other teachers of his day,

¹ See *The Great Learning*, section one.

whether in Japan or Europe, Muro was altogether too intolerant in his attitude to other teachers. He did not recognize the important contribution they were making to Japanese civilization.

Speaking of men as being careful in private, Kyuso quotes Confucius: "If the superior man speaks about goodness in his own room, the echo will be heard two thousand miles away. Much more will it be felt by those near him." Confucius does not mean that the echo will be heard instantly. It will not be as the wind blowing through the grass and trees, but will gradually become great, spreading from the house to the country and on to all under heaven. This is natural. It is the true, clear way. Therefore the superior man must always be watchful of his own heart, and not merely of outward appearances. As a man with an undergarment of brocade cannot hide it, so the superior man reveals his spirit in his conduct. The beauty of the heart cannot be covered. He is not as the common man, who covers his ordinary clothes with brocade. The vulgar man's heart and conduct is not under control. Even if he makes a good outward appearance, he only hopes to cover up corruption. But he cannot, for corruption is bound to reveal itself. Maijo in his advice to the King of Go said: 'What we do not wish people to hear, we must not put in words; what we do not wish people to know, we must not do.' These words are simple but their meaning is deep. They are very excellent words. To speak what people should not hear, to do what people should not know, is like taking interest from evil and adding it to one's body. Added daily or added monthly, it gradually becomes large and cannot be concealed. The superior man has faults, but he does not try to hide them. He repents of them before men. He sees a mistake as it is, and repentance as it is. If the people know this they have faith in his sincerity, and the light of his virtue will be revealed." Muro here is warning against hypocrisy. He shows the real meaning of truth. In these teachings East and West unite.

Kyuso said of self-culture: "If we ask where the self exists, it exists before there is thought or body. If the superior man receives his self without violation, just as it was from the beginning, his self is above heaven and earth. It nourishes all things and inspires the gods. All depend on the self. If

we wish to retain the true self, we must nourish and culture the source of our minds, by rising above self-interest and lust. His mind will be right, and in unity with all phenomena and the gods. His mind, having existed before these, controls them. His mind is without voice. It is the foundation of the universe, the formless form.¹ Without thinking or doing, it becomes a great power in the universe. Then it is said to be the power that governs without government."

Speaking of good and evil, Muro said: "Ideas are either good or bad. Great evils arise from very little matters. Therefore we must watch the barriers with unceasing vigilance. The root of Confucian culture is to nourish the good, by guarding carefully what enters the heart. When one is alone, or in a dark room, a faint idea springs up within his heart; it is either good or evil. An error which may be felt for thousands of miles springs from a point not greater than an inch, so we must be ever watchful." "If a man is off his guard until his influence has reached others in speech and conduct, and then for the first discovers evil in it, it is too late and too difficult for him to alter his conduct." "Learning consists of knowing and practising the way of the sages. To know the reason of the way, we depend mostly upon the books of the sages, although it may be possible to know without them. When we speak of learning, we think of knowing as most important; when we speak of knowing, we think of reading books. To know the reason by reading and to study the reason by investigating things are both alike the ways of learning and the first steps to practice." "The way of the sages is connected with human relations. All things such as serving masters and parents, being faithful to one's friends and all other business, have to do with learning. All good and evil in the world is the content of learning. It is unreasonable to say that learning is obstructed by human relations. Human relations never obstruct but always serve learning."

Yomei, who identified intellect and conduct, claimed that Shushi taught that intellectual investigation preceded action, but Kyuso said: "Shushi's idea is not this. In serving our parents we manifest the principle of filial piety. What we did

¹ Note the resemblance to Taoism.

not know yesterday, what we do not know to-day, we may know to-morrow. This is what Shushi means by knowing all things."

When asked to explain Confucian teaching, he said: "There are three blessings which I never forget. I never forget the benefit I received from my parents, from my lord and from the sages. The root of human virtue is in remembering the benefits we receive. Our parents are the source of our lives. They gave us birth and nurtured us. Even the hair of our heads comes from them. Then think of their love for us. How can we forget the benefits we receive from them? By the favour of our lord we can live without starving or freezing, and can bring up our families. How can we forget our lord's grace? But though we can eat much and dress well, if we do not know how to serve our lord and our parents, how do we differ from the beasts? Happily by the teaching of the sages we can know the way. The blessings we have received from the sages are great. How can we forget them? If we do not forget these three graces, heavenly reason (natural law) will not decay. These three blessings are the centre of all goodness. I cherish them as the chief elements of my education."

"Benevolence is to the heart or soul what energy is to the body. If energy ceases, men die. So if benevolence ceases, the heart is dead. Benevolence may be said to be the life of the soul. The soul is active, hence men are able to feel another's pain. Men naturally love their parents and cannot tolerate lack of affection. Men naturally respect superior men. They cannot but honour and give preference to aged men who are virtuous. Men cannot endure rudeness. They cannot but admire righteous men and feel humiliated by unrighteousness. If men have no feeling, then they are no different from beasts, or wood, or stone. Without sympathy how can men have self-respect, or respect for their superiors? Much less can they admire great works of righteousness or feel shame for unrighteousness. In short, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, being virtues of the heart, have each their distinct form, but the root of them all is benevolence. Though men have the form of righteousness, propriety and wisdom, if benevolence is not the motive power, they are not true virtues. There are other great truths of

which we have not spoken, but benevolence is the great virtue and love the great reason. If righteousness is not developed, the way of the heart will be injured and benevolence will decay." "A magnanimous heart produces righteousness and grows by it. Selfishness makes great men small."

Some one asked Kyuso's opinion of Yamaka Soko who had accepted money from the feudal lord, thus violating samurai custom in placing undue value on money. Kyuso said: "For the samurai righteousness is all-important. Righteousness is first, life is second, money is third in importance. These last two, however, are so important that men who value them sometimes forget righteousness. The samurai desiring to master his desire for gain, or for long life, renounces them as he does selfishness of any kind. Life is more important than money. There is no stronger self-interest than the desire for life. But for the sake of righteousness we must belittle life and much more will we belittle money."

"Most men know that God is honest, but few think of him as wise. There is no one more wise than God. There are things men cannot hear; things they cannot see; things even the wisest cannot understand. God does not need ears, eyes or mind. He knows directly. He gets his power only through sincerity. There is in heaven and earth one who has this keen eyesight and power of hearing. He has become the soul of all creatures and fills heaven and earth. As he has no form or voice, men cannot see nor hear him, but if our hearts are true we can feel the spirit of the universe. If one is not sincere he cannot know God. If one can feel God's presence he can perceive him, otherwise he cannot. This is the divine law of the universe. The man who perceives God may be likened to the reflection of the moon in clear water. The moon and the water mutually intensify each other's light. If such a relationship between God and man continue for some time through sincerity, they blend into one, so that man cannot be distinguished from God. Their union is as complete as the azure sky reflected in clear water; you cannot distinguish which is which. Then man feels that God is very near him, round and about him. We should not think God is far removed from us. We should seek him in our own hearts, because the heart is the house where God dwells. If there is no selfishness or dust of selfish desire, we can become one

with the God of heaven and earth." Muro Kyuso seems to have had in his mind a conception of the Supreme Being to whom man can hearken and with whom he can unite.

The following are some of Kyuso's choice sayings:

"The law of the nation must be like a great river, indulgent and generous; it must not be like a narrow little ditch. A great river is so conspicuous we can avoid falling into it; it is so deep and broad we cannot ignore it. It is impossible to avoid it. A ditch is small and irregular, one is liable to fall into it; but being shallow and narrow is easily avoided."

"If one lives a day, let him perform a day's duty and die. If he lives a month, let him perform a month's duty and die; or if he lives a year, let him perform a year's duty and die. If one performs his duty in this way, and if in the morning he hears a great truth, in the evening he can die without regret."

"There are two things that are inexcusable for a samurai, to run away from death, or to steal. No matter how correct his conduct may otherwise be, he can never escape the blemish of these two acts. Therefore, those born in samurai homes, whether boys or girls, must learn from their youth up that justice is not to be forgotten."

"The conduct of superior men begins with the righteous man and ends with the sage."

"A superior man's calling is righteousness; that of a merchant is to get gain. The distinction between superior men and merchants lies in the distinction between righteousness and gain."

"A superior man values righteousness. A merchant values gain. A samurai lays stress on righteousness and makes gain secondary. The merchant lays stress on gain, and considers righteousness secondary."

"The goal of the superior man is the way. He follows righteousness. Though he esteems wealth, if wealth is unjustly won to-day, he will cast it away to-morrow. Though he values long life, yet if it is contrary to righteousness to live, he will die to-morrow. The greatest things in the world are truth and righteousness. The superior man cares not for living or dying, disaster or happiness. Much less does he care about his livelihood."

"If noblemen possess ancient pictures and furniture they prize only genuine ones. If they find they have counterfeit

articles they throw them away. But in regard to conduct and speech, there are some who polish the outside and yet retain evil hearts. This is nothing less than making their bodies counterfeit. Which then is of more value, our bodies or our possessions? They who make much of curios and yet belittle their own bodies do not know the way."

"When scholars think of becoming great men they must believe in the way. If they have strong faith in the way, they will grasp it firmly. If they grasp it firmly, they will keep it strictly. If they keep it strictly, their hearts will be built on a strong foundation; no temptation can move them."

"There are many who read books, but few who can read well."

"It matters not whether one's learning is deep or not, or whether one's conduct is difficult or easy to follow; but it is important whether one is just or unjust."

"Originally people's hearts are like a mirror; if they neglect to polish them, there is darkness. You see the mountain in the clouds, but if you ascend the path, you can pass up the mountain through the clouds."

"If in one's secret heart there is a feeling of shame, at last he may come to perfection, where he need have no shame."

We cannot but admire Muro's moral ideal. He gives expression to some very helpful thoughts on loyalty, filial piety and righteousness.

In politics Kyuso eulogized the Tokugawa shogunate, especially its founder, while for Toyotomi Hideyoshi he had not as much admiration as most modern Japanese seem to have. He said: "The character of Hideyoshi was not admirable. The object of his warfare was not to banish confusion from the empire. He was skilful in a way, being able to defeat his enemies; in this respect even Shingen and Kenshin must take second place to him. Hideyoshi, being merely brave and crafty, and not being acquainted with propriety, learning and benevolence, carried on a useless campaign against Korea in his old age, and caused the death of many people. For this inhuman conduct he was disliked by many. That he killed so many on his Korean expedition was of no special value, even though it brought much honour to Japan. Such feats astonish fools, but wise men despise them. Hideyoshi will be noted for his folly for long ages."

Most Japanese apparently admire Hideyoshi even more than Tokugawa Iyeyasu, but not so Muro Kyuso. He spoke of Iyeyasu in glowing terms. "Do you know Nikko shrine, which is as firm as a Nikko mountain and respected by everybody? There is an example of eternal honour. But one especially admirable fact is that he was not proud of his great wisdom, although it is difficult to find his equal in history." In speaking of Iyeyasu, Kyuso used language that is only employed when speaking of royalty. For such staunch fidelity to the shogun he has been criticized very severely.

He went so far as to criticize the great royalist Masashige Kusunoki, one of the greatest heroes of Japan. "It is to be regretted that Masashige only learned Sonshi's military tactics for he had intellect enough to make him a wise man. Especially was he open to criticism for talking with his brother, on his deathbed, as if he had lost hope of success." He expressed the wish that he might be born seven times, in order that he might destroy the emperor's enemy.

Kyuso did not admire Buddhism as a moral force. "Though the Buddhists withdraw themselves from human relations, cutting out the relation of master and subject, parent and child, they are not able to cut out love for themselves. Since they cannot forget themselves, they cannot claim to have given up human relations. The form is different, but it is really the same thing for one man to seek worldly honour and interests and for another to seek happiness in the future world. It is selfishness to seek happiness in the future world. Seek to give up your own honour and interest, and you will not need to forsake your own relations; you will find every happiness in this worldly relation. Buddhists from ancient times have sought their own happiness."

Speaking of Shintoism he said: "What is the way of Shinto? If it does not agree with that of the sages, it is nothing but heresy. We Confucianists should emphasize this lest the people be led astray. We must avoid eulogizing it as the way of our nation. If we harmonize it with the way of the sages, then Shintoism is essentially the same as Confucianism. I am foolish enough to believe that the teaching of the sages is the way, and the study of Tei and Shu is the only study. I will regulate my life by these. There is no greater way."

He spoke of freedom somewhat in the following strain: "There is an old proverb of the Sung age which says, 'Freedom makes no man'. It expresses a great truth. It is possible to tell what a man's career will be by examining whether he is free in his conduct or not. No one succeeds by being absolutely free and comfortable. It is as difficult to be good as it is to ascend a mountain, and it is as easy to follow evil as to descend from a mountain. If we are free, how can we avoid evil? If one wishes to be good, he must have a vital interest in life, and stamp out selfishness. Men are full of desires, desires of the eyes, ears, hands, feet, etc. If these desires are not repressed, they finally lead to serious evil. From youth one must form habits of suppressing desire, and must become accustomed to hardship. Freedom begets great evil, but hardship and struggle beget great good."

CHAPTER VI
NAKAMURA TEKISAI

Nakamura Tekisai was more familiarly known as Nakajiro. From his boyhood he was unusually serious, not caring for play. He was always well-behaved and gentle. His own home, which was that of a draper in Kyoto, was too noisy to suit him, so he used to seek out quiet, secluded places, where he could study undisturbed. He had no companions. Some say he was a teacher of Lord Awa, but little is actually known of him apart from his many books. He died in the fifteenth year of Genroku (1702) at the age of seventy-three.

Nakamura was probably a self-taught man. He was well read on all subjects, and his great ideal was to be perfectly moral and to put into practice what he knew. Muro Kyuso's words of admiration probably reflect the popular feeling of respect for Nakamura. "I have heard of a scholar called Tekisai, who retired to his own house and lectured on the classics. He admired Shushi's teaching, and was a very earnest scholar. After his death learning in Kyoto underwent a great change. It is now thirty years since his death, but every one remembers Nakamura Tekisai. His learning and conduct were greatly respected by the people. Tekisai was a constant admirer of both Tei and Shushi, and he may justly be called a modern scholar."

Tekisai did not enjoy teaching. He studied in seclusion and sought to develop virtue in his life. Kyuso blamed him for this, saying: "Tekisai lived in retirement and avoided associating with his fellows. He disliked meeting men so much, that even when they came seeking instruction he refused them admittance. His ideal was to keep himself pure. Seclusion is one method, and is good, but a superior man rejoices when his friends come. A man polishes himself by association with others. Every man who desires learning should seek to be polished in this way. But if he shuts himself away from everything and everybody, he is guilty of violating the great way, although he may not be conscious of it." Tekisai has been called a city hermit. He had one disciple, Masuda Rissai, who wrote his biography.

Nakamura was very much interested in his own development, and was extremely conscientious. In addition to his study of the classics he loved music and melody. Although he was the son of a merchant, and by inheritance from his father became a merchant himself, he was very careless of money. Once a clerk stole money from him. His relatives were incensed at the thief and wished to arrest him. Tekisai refused to sanction any such action, saying: "To put any one into misery for the sake of money would be very uncharitable." To have arrested the clerk would have ruined him, and have placed him beyond any hope of reformation. With such an attitude toward money matters he became poor, but it did not trouble him. A fire once broke out in his neighbourhood. The wind was blowing in the direction of his house. His friends and relatives were much alarmed, but when the wind suddenly changed and his house was saved, they congratulated themselves on their good fortune. Tekisai alone was not at all elated. They asked him why he was so melancholy. He replied: "I am sad because those who rejoiced a moment ago when the wind was not blowing their way, will now find their joy suddenly changed to sorrow, and will be panic-stricken. This is why I am sad. We should sorrow for them, as we did for ourselves." This called their attention to their neighbours, and they all hastened away to help the unfortunate people who were in danger.

Tekisai stood above fame or worldly gain, maintained an excellent moral character as a scholar, and had deep sympathy with men, although he held himself aloof from them. He was nicknamed "Tokko Sensei" (Excellent-Conduct-Teacher). He was known as an ardent admirer of Shushi's teaching. He once said he would follow Shushi, even if he knew it differed from Confucius. In this admiration for Shushi he resembles Muro Kyuso, but he was more negative. He was just two years younger than Ito Jinsai, of whom we shall hear later. People of his time remarked that it was difficult to tell which of them was the greater scholar.¹

Tekisai said: "We have endeavoured as much as possible to cultivate self-denial and sincerity, but without satisfactory results. The reason is that we could not understand the

¹ Literally, younger or older brother.

great charity of benevolent men, nor grasp the proper method or aim. Teishi said: 'Most people think from a selfish standpoint, and so, though they see the thoughts of others, they are apt to reject them.' We must give up selfish thought. Cho Shi (Chang-tzu) said: 'We must live for heaven and earth, not for ourselves.' Those who honestly seek for the way and for self-culture should bear those words in mind. If not, they are sure to err through selfishness. It is like a family struggling without a ruler. Even though we are sometimes able to repress selfishness, it will again spring up. Most men are not naturally inclined to sacrifice their own interest and good for others. A man who has not a public heart, not only rests satisfied that his own way is right, but will even appeal to law to win what he desires. Although he is sometimes moved by sympathy, being selfish he soon gives up his good spirit. If one entirely abandons his selfish mind and lives for heaven and earth, thinking of himself as but a part of the universe, and possessing love for all, then he will become as the creator, and all things will enjoy his benevolence and love. He who, prompted by a pure heart, has a desire to promote the public interest, rather than his own personal interest, cannot fail to deal justly and charitably. At first this may require effort, but gradually it will become his supreme joy to serve others. This is the highest perfection of our hearts. The basis of all study consists in having our hearts filled with good for others, and in rooting out evil thought."

"The body is the accumulation of living energy, and the mind is the concentration of living reason. If one lives for all things in the universe, remembering his original virtue, he may rise completely above selfishness and may possess sympathy, impartiality and benevolence. The conduct of superior men creates opportunity, while the conduct of inferior men kills opportunity. Even though they happen to love, they are partial. They cannot truly delight any one; they hurt the feelings of others. Such love is harmful." Tekisai regarded the universe as a unity. It revealed one great active principle which in nature produces all things, and in man is benevolence or love for others. "Men are born through the working of the principle of production in heaven and earth. When this energy is found in the human heart, it is benevolence which prompts us to be unselfishly kind to others."

“The four roots of virtue spring from feeling; they have their source in sympathy. This sympathy is universal; the benevolence of heaven and earth is unceasing. Those who study should extend this sympathy far and wide. The selfish cannot do this. We call this great virtue of heaven and earth, life; and the perfect virtue of humanity, benevolence. Life and benevolence are aspects of the same principle. Sages rule men in harmony with heaven. Scholars rule themselves in harmony with righteousness. In either case their method is benevolence.”

Professor Lloyd¹ describes this very well when he says: “To deny or forget self is therefore the way to find this good principle operating through the whole system of man. The more it acts the stronger it grows, operating in the end unconsciously and irresistibly just as nature does. When a man has reached the stage of development at which this takes place he is called a sage.”

“Teishi said: ‘The mind must be in the body. The whole body is the mind of sympathy. The benevolent man sees the universe as his body and everything as his self. Benevolence is the principle by which heaven creates things. Man is born by the operation of this living principle. The human mind is benevolence.’ Shushi said: ‘Benevolence is the virtue of the mind, and there is benevolence where this mind exists at all’. If one has such a mind, he will be calm, and his body will be full of peace, out of which sympathy may spring, and his whole conduct will be governed by sympathy for others. If one attains such excellent virtue, he can envelop even heaven and earth. He may influence all things by benevolence. Then one may be said to have become one with all things, but if there is still anything to which his benevolence and sympathy do not reach, his mind is certainly not perfected in this virtue, but is tempted by something that limits it. If, however, he will deny himself and cast aside wrong desires, he may be perfected in this virtue through which the principle of life operates, and through which the mind and sympathy are manifested. This is what Teishi means by saying that the whole body is the mind of sympathy. It teaches that the living energy of man is the first step to benevolence. In every

¹ Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXIV., part IV.

part of the human body there is a living energy, through which we feel pain. Generally men do not feel the pain of others, but they should feel as much sympathy for them as they do for themselves. When one cannot feel pain in his own body, it is because he is diseased. So if he is estranged from others, it is because he is cut off by selfish desires. It is to be regretted that although men are careful of their diseased bodies, they are not concerned by their lack of benevolence."

"It is difficult for a man to convince himself that it is his duty to die; to cast one's life away without feeling sure duty demands it, is cowardly. When a man takes time to reason about the right or wrong of laying down his life, he appears to hesitate. If a man dies after he has decided it is the right thing to do, then his death is glorious. The question of life and death is very important. It is unfilial to neglect or abuse the bodies our parents have given us. But much more is it unfilial to destroy the whole body. If the cause of death is just, then it is right and truly courageous to die; there is no lack of filial piety in such a death. When there is not sufficient reason, death is unrighteous and cowardly. He who dies thus is careless of his body and lacks filial piety. It is not always easy to distinguish between the two. If a man once takes his own life he cannot get it back again. If we are pressed for time and must determine immediately whether to die or not, only very clever men will know what to do. But after careful consideration, if there is any doubt, then it is better to choose death. This is following the saying, 'If we think too much of the glory of dying, we may die an untimely death and be guilty of error'. Therefore, in determining the right course to pursue, we must keep our hearts cool and pure."

"The God of heaven and earth is omnipresent. His eye penetrates into the most hidden corners. He is everywhere. Those who see Him can distinguish between God and themselves. He impels us to attend His festivals arrayed in our finest clothes. Men think Him inferior if they cannot compare Him with the miraculous achievements of the human mind. We cannot deceive the deity enthroned in our minds. He is a terrible God and cannot be driven away. Our minds are most strict; they must be revered and not neglected. We cannot escape from them. How then dare we pollute our

hearts? If we have committed vicious acts and hope by some chance to escape punishment, we deceive ourselves. We might as well try to shut out the sound of a bell by covering our ears. Our minds are sure to detect our sin. Therefore he who studies the way should not neglect to reverence the deity residing in his own body. He will guard each trifling word and act, and will thus attain such excellence of character that he will never need to be ashamed."

CHAPTER VII

KAIBARA EKIKEN (1630-1714)

Kaibara is in some respects one of the greatest men in the Shushi school in Japan. He was born in the seventh year of Kwanei (1630 A.D.), in Chikuzen, where his father was physician to Lord Kuroda. He had three elder brothers, one of whom taught him when he was a mere boy, until he could recite many books. From his brothers and from his father he probably learned Chinese and Japanese poems, and as his father was a doctor, he learned to read medical books. In his boyhood he learned to appreciate Buddhism, but changed later, on the advice of his elder brother. At the age of fourteen he became much interested in the teachings of the Chinese sages. In this way he was first taught in his own home and received his first training from his father and elder brothers, who must have been admirable men. In middle life he went to Kyoto to study, but did not find any regular teacher. He was fond of travel, and often went to Tokyo and Kyoto and other parts of Japan. In 1714 he died, and was buried near Fukuoka. As he was about to die he composed this poem: "When I look back over my life, it seems as if it were but one night. I have lived over eighty years, but it is as if it were a night's dream."

His wife was a scholarly and virtuous woman of the Ezaki family. She married Ekiken when she was only seventeen and he thirty-nine. She predeceased him by one year. Her *nom-de-plume* was "Token". She is famous as the author of a book for women, entitled *The Great Learning for Women*.¹ This is a very famous book on the education of women in Japan. The place women have been able to take in modern Japan may in a real sense be attributed to the influence of the work of such women of ancient Japan.

When Ekiken at the age of twenty-six went to Tokyo, he shaved his head and decided to become a physician. When he was thirty-nine he again let his hair grow and became a

¹ Most scholars claim that Kaibara was the author. See the article on "The Education of Women", in *Fifty Years of New Japan*, page 194. Another view is that the authorship of the book cannot be determined.



KAIBARA EKIKEN

scholar. In his first stages of learning he admired the teaching of Rikushozan and O'Yomei (Liu Hsiang-shan and Wang-Yang-Ming). Later on he became very fond of Shushi, but in his last great work, entitled *My Great Doubt*, we learn that he was not a slavish follower of either of these Chinese teachers. In the introduction to this work he wrote: "From about fourteen years of age I have studied the way of the sages. I read many books written by the 'So' scholars, and I was very well pleased with them; but I have many doubts, and being a stupid fellow without a suitable teacher, I have been unable to clear them up. I am a very old man, but I cannot get rid of my doubts, although I have thought and studied for thirty years. This is a great source of regret to me. Therefore I am writing my doubts, and I ask scholars to teach me. I do not mean to contradict what previous scholars have said. I merely wish to be taught."

Most Confucian scholars are open to criticism for being either pedantic or too exclusive. They seemed to feel that their learning could not interest any except scholars, so they wrote in either classical Chinese or Japanese. But Kaibara had sympathy for the illiterate, and in order to help the masses wrote, not in Chinese, but in Japanese. Even servants could understand him, and as a social thinker he probably has no superior in Japanese history.

He once said: "A man remarked, 'You have studied Chinese classics but you write very popular books, and are likely to become a laughing-stock among the scholars of Japan'. I replied: 'We have received great blessings from heaven, even more than other people. How can we repay heaven for what we have received? Many scholars have already attempted to explain Chinese morality and the ancient books. I, being such a simple man, cannot keep company with them. All I can do is to write popular books in Japanese syllabary for the masses or for children. If I do this, they will probably be helpful. We eat delicious rice and spend valuable time. If I am born, and do not benefit my age, my life is as useless as that of animals and birds, and I become as a worm. If I am helpful to people even by writing helpful books, I do not care whether scholars laugh or not'."

Kaibara did not teach a private school as other great scholars had done. That was not his way. He had in ad-

dition to his scholarly wife two intimate disciples, Takeda Shunan and Kozuki Gyuzan. As a social teacher, however, he has no equal in the Tokugawa age. He was a very earnest student, and became more so as the years went by. At twenty-nine years of age it was said that he studied so hard he scarcely slept; at thirty-six he did not take proper time either to eat or sleep. When he died he was still writing books. He was a man of wonderful energy. Speaking of his own hard study he said: "Kyohakun, a Chinese scholar, said, 'There is no point in which I surpass others except this, that I do not cease studying!' I also say that I am not a clever man. I cannot rival any one in anything except in this, that I read books; even in my old age I do not cease studying. I surpass others in this point only. I was by nature stupid, and could not become literary. I was not specially skilful in anything, therefore I concentrated on two things only. I read books, and I thought quietly of the great way. In these two things alone I am second to none. There is an old saying, 'If even a fool think a thing over a thousand times, he will get something'. I am encouraged by this to study earnestly that I may learn something of the great way."

This anecdote is told of him: As he was going to Kyoto he passed Minatogawa where Masashige's remains are supposed to lie. At that time there was only a mound to mark the spot. He asked the peasant what the mound was. The peasant told him it was supposed to be the grave of Masashige, and for that reason they did not cultivate it. As Kaibara recalled the exploits of the great hero, he shed tears as he thought that one whose loyalty had made his name and fame immortal should be so neglected, and not have a single stone to mark his grave, which was overgrown with grass and weeds. He feared the place would not be properly respected by the people, who knew so little about the hero. He felt that men who did know should take immediate steps to mark the spot. He remained overnight with a merchant, to whom he confided his thoughts. He also told his plan to set up a stone, that men might know and respect the grave. The merchant entered heartily into the plan, and agreed that if Kaibara would send him a suitable epitaph, he would put up the stone. Kaibara wrote an epitaph and sent it to his friend, but some days later he sent a letter asking him to return the

epitaph. Thinking that Kaibara intended to make some corrections, he returned it. Some time after he received Kaibara's explanation as follows: "I told you what I had heard at Minatogawa, but after thinking over the affair I decided I was wrong. Masashige's loyalty is immortal and shines like the sun and moon. For such a worthless student as I to write of such matchless loyalty is impertinent. I have been so ashamed of what I did that my body was bathed in perspiration. So I gave up the idea. Please forget what I told you." A loyal fugitive from China afterwards wrote the epitaph and Tokugawa Mitsukuni erected a monument.

Once on shipboard, while his fellow-passengers were engaged in conversation, a young man presumed to lecture to them on Chinese classics. Kaibara listened very attentively and politely. When they parted they all exchanged names and addresses. The young man was very much chagrined when he discovered to whom he had been lecturing.

One of his disciples said: "Kaibara was not flowery, but he was practical. His writings were not flowers but fruit. When eighty-three years of age, he was still a student, too modest to become a teacher." From what we have already learned of him, we cannot but respect his deeply practical, sympathetic nature. He loved music, and was often invited by noblemen of Kyoto to listen to the court musicians. He also liked poetry, and he censured the scholars of his day for neglecting Japanese poetry for Chinese poetry.

Kaibara once wrote: "Mencius made no mistake in teaching the way of Confucius. Confucius became the greatest, purest and most perfect of sages. Even a wise man is partial at times, and might not be able to preach his doctrine without error. How was Mencius, who, though a wise man, was no equal for Confucius, able to do it so perfectly? Mencius said the fact that he lived near where Confucius had lived and not long after him was a benefit to him in propagating his teaching. Although the scholars of 'Kan' and 'To' eras were wise, they were unable to preach the truth as Confucius taught it. A few scholars of the 'So' era almost preached it. We may conclude that the Tei brothers and Shushi were the truest interpreters of the way, but at best it has not come to us in its perfection, because it is impossible to hand down the way of the sage without error."

In another passage he gave this estimate of Shushi as an interpreter of Confucius: "Chinhokukei said, 'The ways of Confucius, Mencius, Chu (Chou) and Tei have been made clearer than before by Shushi'. Kanshi said, 'The merit of Mencius is not second to that of U.' I think the merit of Shushi is not inferior to that of Mencius. These sayings are right. They do not flatter nor exaggerate."

Although he thus exalted Shushi he did not consider him absolutely without error. "Shushi was not a sage. There are some mistakes in his great work. It is human to err, and Shushi being only a wise man, and not a sage, was not infallible. There is an old saying, 'Even a wise man makes one error in a thousand'. There is no other man after Mencius except Shushi, who interpreted the sage correctly. His merit is not inferior to that of Mencius. It is to be regretted that most men do not know Shushi well, and that without a study of his complete works some doubt him. Even Rikushozan and Yomei are of this class. Shushi was a true Confucian scholar and a great man. It is remarkable how well he has interpreted the sages to students of after ages."

"When interpreting 'The Great Learning', Shushi made knowledge first and conduct second. And in the Analects he made the culture of knowledge first, and the return to the practical second; he was teaching eternally true principles."

Ekiken, however, did not agree with Shushi in everything. He rejected his distinction between original nature and acquired disposition. He points out that in some respects he differed from his teacher Tei. He said: "The words and expressions of Tei are perfect and deep, and, his teaching being normal, is excellent for students. The words of Shushi are straight and clear. His teaching is as a beacon light to guide those who are going astray, and is an authority for students. Tei and Shushi lived at different times, but 'The Way' they present is the same. The resemblance in their teaching is natural because Shushi was taught by Tei. The difference between them is merely a difference in interpreting words."

He commended the younger Tei for his teaching, which was clear and true. "His interpretation of the ancient classic on philosophy was exact; his expressions were cautious and strict, and should be learned by students. They make idlers courageous and misers righteous. But as compared

with his elder brother he is as gold beside a sparkling diamond. Ordinary men cannot criticize these two virtuous brothers."

He did not agree with Shushi's statement that a man who knows everlasting life may know his real nature. He considered such a statement as groundless as that of Laou-tsze, that we may enjoy long life after death. He excused him for his teaching on the ground that even a wise man may make mistakes.

He rejected Rikushozan and Yomei completely. He said Rikushozan was usually very wise, but being egotistical he was unable to see any fault in himself. He was proud of his wisdom and could not appreciate what others did. He had many defects. (This is why Shushi considered him a small man.) His methods of study were loose. Shushi criticized him as a Buddhist because he rejected investigation as a means of ascertaining truth, and accepted introspection.

He said: "Some of the scholars of the Ming dynasty regarded Yomei as a god. While he was great in literature, and did a great work, and was a great man of the world, his teachings had many defects, and were opposed to Confucius and Mencius. It is clear to one who examines the works of Yomei, that his learning must have originated in Buddhism. The Ming scholars did not know this, because their learning was not pure and they were not capable of judging."

"Although the scholars of the Ming dynasty are many, most of them ran to heresy. Yomei was the originator of the heresy of the age. The evil effect of his teaching was greater than that of Laou-tsze and Soshi. Students should be warned against it, for even a great man may be tempted by heresy."

Kaibara criticized the classical school severely, as follows: "Present-day scholars, designated classical, are out of harmony with human nature and society. They uphold the way, but reject reason. They are not adapted to present-day needs. They are anxious about reading and writing, but lack practical virtue. They are self-opinionated and enjoy nothing better than ridiculing and condemning others. Sometimes they utter the truth, but their spirits are wrong. They need to be humbled." In these words he is supposed to be condemning Sorai and Ito Jinsai.

But sometimes Kaibara's own thought resembles that of the classical school. This was especially true of his cosmology. Shushi regarded the world as a dualism of "Ri" (Law) and "Ki" (the sensible world). Yomei, however, was a Monist; so also was Ekiken. He said: "'Ri' and 'Ki' are one. In this regard I cannot follow the Shushi school, which teaches them as a dualism."

"'Ri' and 'Ki' are absolutely one and cannot be separated. There is no 'Ri' apart from 'Ki', and *vice versa*. Neither can be distinguished as being before or after the other. This is why I say they must not be divided. We cannot think of 'Ki' appearing after 'Ri'. So we must not speak of them as former or latter, part or whole. 'Ri' does not exist alone. It is the 'Ri' of 'Ki'. 'Ri' and 'Ki' are originally one. We call that aspect of it which is always active and flourishing, 'Ki', and that phase of it which is never in disorder, law or reason, 'Ri'. Even though called by different names, they are in reality but two aspects of one thing. When we speak of 'Ri' especially, we mean the present nature of 'Ki' which is not changeable. When we speak of 'Ki' distinctively, we mean that which is always changing and active, and which as a result sometimes becomes confused and loses the eternal mean. Water, which is pure at the fountain head, becomes dirty if it passes through filth, but the filthy condition cannot be thought of as being the original nature of water. So with 'Ri'; we may say that 'Ri' makes all things, or we may say that 'Ki' makes all things, but we cannot say that 'Ri' makes 'Ki'. 'Ri' is the 'Ri' of 'Ki'; there is distinction, but no difference between them. The pure fountain head of the water is the original of 'Ki', which is 'Ri'."

Dr. Inouye thinks his thought about "Ri" as being united with "Ki" was probably borrowed from Ra-Seian, a scholar of the Ming dynasty, who was originally a believer in Zen teaching but afterwards became a follower of Shushi. He said: "'Ri' (law) must be recognized in 'Ki' (the sensible world)." Ekiken said of Ra-Seian: "Shushi separated 'Ri' and 'Ki' into two, and those who lived after him, out of respect for him, did not deny it. Ra-Seian had great respect for Tei and Shushi, but he did not flatter them in this way. He was not the only man to hold this opinion. Go-Sogen and Yomei also held this opinion." Ekiken was influenced by Ra-Seian.

While Ekiken held to Monism, he tended toward a Monism of "Ki", because he thought of "Ri" as an attachment of "Ki". He said: "There are not two 'Ki' in the universe. There is but one 'Ki'. This is the universal 'Ki' from which all things spring and begin to act, therefore we call it the original 'Ki'. When it is active, we call it the male (positive) principle. When it becomes passive, we call it the female (negative) principle. The distinction between these two principles originates in 'Ki'. Shushi once said, 'There is no such thing as the action of two "Ki", but there is a division in one "Ki".' This is true. One 'Ki' divides into two and appears in the universe under the form of a male (positive) and a female (negative) principle. Therefore these two principles constitute the way of the universe; being nothing but parts of the original 'Ki', on which all phenomena depend."

"Ekiken thought of 'Ki' as the infinite, i.e. 'The Great Limit', as opposed to Shushi's idea that 'Ri' was the Infinite."

"In the beginning there was no division of 'Ki' into the male and female principles. The highest 'Ri' was found, but there was no sign of these two principles. This is called 'The Great Limit'. Before 'Ki' was divided, we must call the unity of one 'Ki' 'The Great Limit'. After it was divided into the male and female principles we may call it the way of these principles, or the modification of 'The Great Limit'. Although 'The Great Limit' and the male and female principles are called by different names, and are distinguished in time as early and late, they never differ, in that they both have the highest 'Ri'. We call it Tai-Kyoku ('The Great Limit') before it divides into positive and negative principles, while it remains in the unity of one 'Ki'; when it divides, we call it positive and negative principles. Tai-Kyoku and the male and female principles are not two different things."

By this we see that Ekiken was a Monist who recognized the reality of one "Ki", although not denying the "Ri" which was also "The Great Limit" itself. Shushi said: "'The Great Limit' is the 'Ri' of all things. Before the creation of the universe there had been 'Ri', and without the 'Ri' there would be no universe, no man or anything. Since there is 'Ri' there is 'Ki', by the existence of which all things are nourished. 'The Great Limit' for Shushi may be expressed in one character, 'Ri'."

Ekiken deduced his way of humanity from the way of heaven. He thought the basis of ethics lay in heaven and earth. This was common among Confucian scholars. Because he thus related his ethics to heaven and earth, he said: "To obey heaven and earth is most important in practical virtue. To obey heaven and earth means that we should in our conduct follow the example of the way of the universe, or Heaven's way." His view of the meaning of Heaven's way and how it can be of benefit to us in our conduct will become clear from some quotations.

"How great is the heavenly origin of all things! How excellent is the origin of the earth by which all things are born! We are born by the favour of heaven and earth; therefore we sometimes address them as father and mother. The benefits we receive from the nourishment of heaven and earth throughout our whole life are as great as those from our parents, who tenderly care for us from our birth. Man is indeed born in the midst of heaven and earth, and receives their nourishment. Heaven and earth are our great parents. Their love for man is supreme. Human beings enjoy their fullest blessing, and must remember to make returns by unceasing obedience to the mind of heaven and earth. This is the way of filial piety. We should treat heaven and earth in the same spirit we treat our parents. The heart of heaven and earth is (*sei*) becoming. The great virtue of heaven and earth is becoming. What is becoming? Shushi said, 'Heaven nourishes or gives life to things. Heaven does nothing but nourish all things'. This is becoming. Then how are we to obey and not to oppose heaven and earth? By benevolence, men receiving the nourishing heart which belongs to heaven and earth, make it their own. This is benevolence. Nourishing and benevolence are different aspects of the same thing. Nourishing belongs to heaven and earth, benevolence belongs to man. How shall we become benevolent? By loving people with the same love we have for our parents, and by loving things with the same love we have for people. This is benevolence, said Mencius, but it is most important to love human beings. I say this because heaven and earth create all things, and love their creations just as parents love their children, but of all their creations they love human beings most, because human beings are superior to all else. To love man is to practise the love of

heaven and earth. Therefore to obey heaven and earth is to love man, following the five cardinal virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity. For man, the most important of all love is filial piety. Parents are the origin of human relations. So we must love them first, and after them other men and things. There are degrees of love. We should love animals first and plants second. Superior men treat all things with respect; this is agreeable to the mind of heaven and earth. In short, this is what Confucius means by saying, 'The path of duty is to be in accord with nature'. If we follow the nature of the five cardinal virtues, the way of the five relations will be discovered. If we follow the nature of benevolence, we find filial piety in sons toward their parents. If we follow the nature of righteousness, we find the right relation between master and servant. If we follow the nature of propriety, there is order between elder and younger brothers. If we follow the nature of wisdom, there is proper distinction between husbands and their wives. If we follow the nature of sincerity, there is found faithfulness between friends. This way is indeed found in the original nature of man."

"Heaven and earth are the parents of all things, and man is the soul of all things. Hence man's greatest way is to follow heaven and earth. This is his duty as the son of heaven and earth, and his pride as being the soul of all things. The way to follow heaven and earth is simply to obey them; the way to obey them is, first, to bear what they have given us, mind and nature, including the virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom; second, to love what heaven has begotten, human beings and all things. Such a manifestation of virtue and also of love for men and things is the way to follow heaven and earth."

Love for men and regard for material things are merely different aspects of benevolence, due to the different degrees of importance attached to the two objects of regard. Although they seem to be different, they are but different degrees of benevolence.

"There is no doubt that our parents were the immediate cause of our birth, but originally we are born through the principles of heaven and earth, and so we must regard these as our greatest parents. In Shosho, one of the Chinese

classics, it is written, heaven and earth are the parents of all things. Although father and mother are our true parents, heaven and earth are the greatest parents of men. Although we are nourished by our parents and loved by our sovereign, we cannot subsist apart from the productions of heaven and earth."

"Men are indeed in the first place born through the actuative law of heaven and earth, and throughout their whole lifetime are nourished and cared for by heaven and earth above all things. For this reason it is our duty to obey and make return to heaven and earth for their bounteous blessings, as well as to obey our earthly parents. We should not forget to serve heaven and earth with benevolence, as we serve our parents with filial piety. Benevolence is that love for others that springs from a compassionate heart, following the blessings or grace of heaven bestowed upon us. It is the way to serve heaven and earth, and is the way which is to be man's standard of duty throughout life." "The benevolence we render in obeying heaven is the same as the filial piety we render toward our parents. It is one virtue above which there is none more important. It is just as much a man's duty to render benevolence to heaven and earth as it is to render loyalty to the sovereign or filial piety to parents. Those who do not know the importance of this live without doing anything worthy, and must be classed as useless. We must know the way. Apart from this way, even if men speak of the way it is not the true way."

"Men should humbly serve the way of heaven, loving all people whom heaven has created. They should not eat the food provided by heaven's way in selfishness, despising others. They should not for their own selfish interest kill animals, or cut down trees and grass, without first considering whether it is the proper time to do so. All of these are made and nourished by the sympathy of heaven and earth. Such a sympathy for all things is called benevolence. It is manifested in man by kindly relations with parents, sympathy with all people, and care for animals and other living things. This is to obey heaven and earth: to carry out the ordinary processes of benevolence. It is never benevolence to love others while neglecting one's own parents, to love animals while neglecting man."

The idea here brought forth, arguing the necessity of loving beasts and vegetables, is probably a modification of the Buddhist teaching against the taking of life. There is also something like it in Chinese classics. Confucius says that to cut down trees or to kill animals at the wrong season does not show the proper spirit, and Mencius speaks about having sympathy for a lamb that is about to be slain. "The superior man is lovingly disposed to people generally, and kind to all creatures." This idea is also found in Mencius' illustration about doing violence to a willow, in order to make cups and bowls.

"Men are born by the blessing of heaven and earth. They receive their hearts or minds from them, and are nourished by them. It is therefore a serious sin to disobey the way, to disregard the virtue received from heaven and earth, becoming cruel to man and beast which are loved by them."

"Sooner or later disobedience will be rewarded with affliction, and obedience will be blessed. Even if a man does not receive the reward himself, his descendants will. This is a necessary law, taught clearly in ancient times by the sages, and should be believed and feared. But even at present there are sufficient evidences of it; so there is no need to introduce examples from the past."

"Man is the most excellent creation of heaven and earth, because he is given the five cardinal virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, sincerity, and knows the way. Man should not lose these five virtues. If he does, he is not a true man in the sight of heaven and earth. Men are fed on vegetables and on the flesh of animals, dressed in warm clothing, living in houses, thus avoiding cold, heat, wind and rain. Even though they owe much to the blessings they receive from their sovereign and their parents, they receive even greater blessings from heaven and earth. He is a fool who does not know this. An ungrateful man is inferior to the beasts. Loyalty and filial piety are our return for the benefits we receive from the emperor and our parents, respectively. It is not the way of man to be disloyal and unfilial. If man forgets the great benefits he has received from heaven and earth, he is as their unfilial son, and has lost the standard of the human way."

“Though all things received the ‘Ki’ (energy) of heaven and earth, there is no more exalted being than man, because he has a nature possessing the five cardinal virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity, and this original nature is the mind of heaven and earth. If we perform these five cardinal virtues, then the five relations will prevail. This is the exalted basis of humanity. In addition to this, men can distinguish the various colours with their eyes, voices with their ears, tastes with their mouths, smells with their noses, and can understand the way of man and of heaven and earth, and can interpret the principle of all things, reading books and studying ancient thought. This is why men are exalted above other things. Therefore in an ancient classic it says, ‘Man is the head of all things’. Man receives the heart of heaven and earth, and, this in him, becomes the soul of all things. What is the heart of heaven and earth? It is the way of grace by which all things are born and nourished. This law is unchangeable and eternal. Year after year, seeds germinate in spring; in summer all things grow; in autumn they are reaped; in winter they are stored away. This is heaven’s way. This way that prevails during the four seasons is called Gen-Ko-Ri-Tei¹ in the ancient classics.”

“He who, having in mind the grace of heaven and earth by which he is given birth and nourishment, loves and sympathizes with all things, may be said to possess benevolence.”

“To perform this benevolence, one must treat with kindness man, whom heaven and earth creates and loves tenderly. To treat man kindly is to be filial to one’s parents as the first duty, loyal to one’s sovereign, kind to one’s relations, sympathetic with one’s family, faithful to one’s friends, and in sympathy with all men. He should also care for vegetables and animals, because they are created by heaven and earth. This love for man and care for all things is benevolence. Benevolence is compassion; it is love for all men and things. There is no human way apart from benevolence. Righteousness, propriety and wisdom are all contained in it.”

¹ This is the description of the first Hexagram in the Book of Philosophy, and literally means “Originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm”. See “The Yi King”, section 1, page 57, by Legge.

“This is the way to serve heaven and earth, because they love what they create as much as men love their children. Then if one wants to make return for the grace of heaven and earth, he must bear in mind the benevolence he received from them. If he is led by this mind, he will obey the five relations; apart from this there is no human way.”

Ekiken held that the aim of knowledge is practice, and that the aim of practice is knowledge. Knowledge and practice develop together. The Shushi school placed the emphasis on knowing. It held that we must first know, then do. Yomei placed the emphasis on doing. Knowledge is doing. Ekiken held that both alike must be developed. He thought that God abides in a man's heart. God and the divine in a man's heart are identical. There is only a difference between the unity and the individuality. To deceive ourselves is to deceive God.

Like Ito Jinsai he did not make a distinction between the original nature of man and his acquired nature. In this he was opposed to Shushi, although he did not think so himself, because he felt that he put the original nature into his one nature or disposition. He did not feel bound to follow any one of the ancient teachers, but took freely from each what he desired.

He was very loyal to Japanese institutions and to the Japanese emperor. He said: “It is wrong to press the use of Chinese systems into the Japan of to-day.” This was unlike too many of the Chinese thinkers of Japan who worshipped things Chinese. Again he wrote: “Our imperial life has not changed for thousands of years. This is the peculiar pride of our nation. No other country can boast of such a record.” He was very loyal, in an age when loyalty was not so highly developed as it is in modern Japan.

“Even though people are born, if they do not study, it is as if they were not born. But even if they study, if they do not attain true knowledge, it is as if they had not learned. Even if they know, if they do not put it into practice, it is as though they did not know. Therefore men must study, and those who study must know the way and practise it. It is very difficult to know the way. From ancient times talented and virtuous men have not been few, but those who really knew

the way were few. Therefore, we must not give up the benefit of learning and meditation."

"Ganshishui said: 'It is very difficult to be born a man. Therefore we who are fortunate enough to be men must not waste this precious life.' This is a very significant saying. To be born a man, of all creatures, is most difficult. The privilege does not come to us twice. How can we spend this important life uselessly? It is a pity when people live as if they were dreaming, or in a drunken stupor. Apart from the way of virtue, life is waste time, no matter how long we live. Therefore as men, we must know the way. The only method of knowledge is study."

"No man lives to be one hundred years old. How can any man live in profligacy, doing nothing? A wise man of old said: 'Heaven and earth are eternal, but a man cannot live this life twice.' Life at the most is one century. The days of our life pass rapidly. Those who are fortunate enough to be born must spend their lives in the joy of service. They must know how unhappy it is to live a useless, empty life."

"A wise man values time because it passes quickly, and success in virtue is difficult. There are three periods in our lives, each of which has its special value. First, in childhood, when the memory and energy are strong, one can easily learn much, and remember it all. A thing once learned is always remembered. One day's study in childhood is more valuable than ten later on in life. Scholars must value their boyhood. Second, in our youth when mother and father are getting old, we must serve them or lose the opportunity forever. This is the time that youth must value. Third, in old age, when one has retired from service, and there is no more labour, one begins to think of death. Then he must cease study and must rest. This is the time when old men should take pleasure in life. The superior man works well and rests well. We must make one hour as one day, and one day as ten days, and one year as ten years. This is the way to value time. If we do not work well and rest well, the days will pass in vain, and we will die miserably."

"Men, animals, birds and trees are all alike, in that all must die. Men differ from the others in that they have food, clothing, a home, and their several occupations. After death all alike decay. Therefore if a man does not leave a reputation

for virtue, he is no better than the trees, birds or animals. Men should be ashamed to fail. If they are ashamed, learning is the best remedy. If they become learned, their influence will never be destroyed. This is a worthy ambition. In this way superior men differ from useless birds and beasts after death."

"Even a superior man has ordinary circumstances to contend with and unfortunate experiences to bear. In the former he is prudent, and in the latter he puts forth effort to overcome. If, when doing important things, a man's mind is settled, he is a superior man. If he fails when the crisis comes, all his good and noble acts will not save him from being despised as an ordinary man."

"Shibasen (the ancient historian of the Hang dynasty) said: 'A man's true worth is decided on the day of his death.' Most people's conduct is right at the outset, but there are few who continue in the good way until death. Those who rely on the enduring power of virtue must persevere to the end in virtuous conduct. Even if a man has done well at first, if he does not continue to do so to the end, the merit of his first good acts will be lost."

"Ordinary men are apt to forget the pain of poverty when they become rich. Even though a man is wealthy, he must be economical, avoiding luxury. Most men when they are promoted forget their old acquaintances. Such men must sympathize with the friends of their former class. Most men forget their parents when they grow old. We must love our parents as long as we live. Most men when they recover from sickness grow careless. Even when in health, we must not forget the pain of disease. In short, those who wish to cultivate themselves must bear in mind their early experiences."

"The influence of sages after death is very different from that of vulgar men. Good or evil conduct is narrated for thousands of years. A man's life is more than the life of his body. He can never separate himself from the criticism of his conduct. It is not true to say that sages and vulgar men are alike after death."

"Gain does not necessarily violate justice, but one must not sacrifice righteousness for gain. If righteousness is a man's chief aim, gain is right. If gain is a man's chief aim, righteousness is degraded. Gain should be shared by all, and

should not be monopolized by any one person. Confucius rarely spoke of gain. He did not consider it an evil."

"A superior man does not value his body above duty. He is fearless in danger, however trying the circumstances. If a man is timid in danger, his past good conduct is forgotten. If he is brave and righteous, we may call him a superior man."

"To keep the mind calm and the temper mild is the way to nourish both health and virtue."

"A superior man's knowledge is broad and unprejudiced. It is as a man clinging to a high mountain where he can see things afar off in every direction. A mean man's wisdom is narrow and partial. It is as a man looking at heaven through a telescope. He knows parts of it well, but the quantity is small."

"If you know a man's likes and dislikes, you know the man."

"Good continually practised becomes a habit. Evil constantly repeated becomes a habit. It is important to form good habits."

THE SOUTHERN SCHOOL

Tani Jichiu	Shoda Rin-an ¹ Nonaka Kenzan ⁴	Yamazaki Anzai	Ukai Rensai—Ukai Shosai	Yamamoto Shunsai ¹	Miyake Shosai	Haguro Yosen	Fukai Shushi	Yonagawa Soken	Igarashi Bokuto	Yano Setsai	Kawai Toson	Tani Taizan	Nakata Yo-an—Yamamoto Fukusai	Asami Keisai—Waka Bayashi Kansai—Nishiyori Seisai	Yusa Mokusai—Sakuma Dogan	Asai Rin-an—Tanabe Shinsai	Sato Naokata	Tani Itsai	Ogura Sansho	Otakasaka Shiozan	Ogura Sansho	Nagasawa Shoji	Iimuro Goemon	Inaba Usai	Miwa Shitsai—Matsuzaki Hakukei—Kawata Yukin	Hattori Ritsai	Ina b. Mokusai	Nishiyori Bokuzan	Murai Chuzen	Koga Seiri																
				Tada Tokai																											Murashi, Tansei—Okada Kansai*	Miki Shinsei	Ashihara Tozan	Rusu Kiken	Yamamiya Setsuto—Murashi Gyokusai	Hatori Baiho	Kani Yosai	Kume Tetsai	Ishio Sokuken	Sugeno Kenzan ⁴ —Arai Hakuga	Kawada Toho	Mizutani Yukin	Mase Chushu	Matsui Rashu	Kataoka Jyokei	Doi Rokumai

¹ Dr. Inouye and the Dictionary of Biog. both put in after Asami Keishi; however, he is written as a pupil of Miate, in the Shoka Jimbutsushi.
² Dr. Inouye thinks he studied under Murashi Gyokusui.
³ Dr. Inouye thinks he studied under Sato Naokata.
⁴ Dr. Inouye thinks he studied under Tani Itsai.

CHAPTER VIII

YAMAZAKI ANSAI (1618-1682 A.D.) AND ASAMI KEISAI

About the time of Fujiwara, a school of Confucianism was opened in Tosa by Tani Jichiu. Like many others of the scholars of Confucianism, Jichiu commenced his career in a Buddhist temple. He was not satisfied, and acted in an arbitrary way towards the priests who were trying to teach him. He was much impressed with the learning of Shushi. Minamimura Baiken first taught Shushi learning in Tosa. Tani heard him speak on Shushi, and was thus led to study the teaching. He was so influenced by them that he left the temple and became a physician. His teachings were practical and influential. There were several scholars of his school: Nakasawa Senken (1621-1676), a son of Jichiu, Shoda Rin-an (1639-1674), and Otakasaka Shizan (1660-1713). None of them are more famous than Yamazaki Ansai. He lived in Tosa, and his ideas were influenced by Tani Jichiu. His father lived in Kyoto, and became what the Chinese call a needle doctor, practising a Chinese method of healing. His mother came from the Sakuma family. She had four children, two sons and two daughters, of whom Ansai was the youngest. He was born Genna, 4th year (1618 A.D.), on the ninth of December. His grandmother said to him when he was a boy, "Your body is worth one sen, your eyes are worth one hundred yen, therefore you ought not to injure your eyes, but if you do not learn to read Chinese characters you will be as one who is blind". His mother was very fond of her children but very strict. When they ate too greedily she used to say, "No matter how starved a hawk may be, it will not pick up ears of corn. So a samurai's son must have a noble heart".

The influence of these two women on his life was very marked. Once when he was playing with a number of boys, some one showed them cake and said, "If you will do something entertaining, I will give you some cake". All the boys were able to earn the cake except Ansai. He began to cry, but when the gentleman took pity on him and offered him some



YAMAZAKI ANZAI

cake, he refused to take it, saying, "I am not crying for the cake. All except me can do things. I am very sorry".

He was very mischievous. He used to play on the bridge at Horikawa river, and with a long pole push the passers-by into the stream. His father, not knowing what to do with him, sent him to a Buddhist temple at Mt. Hiei, Kyoto, to be trained as a priest. At Mt. Hiei he constantly carried a book in his sleeve. Even when serving tea or waiting on a guest, if he had any time to spare he pulled out his book and read. This showed that he was no ordinary boy. He finally shaved his head and became a priest, called Zetsuzoshu, but he was unlike other priests. One night as he was reading one of the Buddhist Sutras, he commenced to laugh and said, "Buddha's nonsense makes me laugh".

One day one of his companions worsted him in an argument. That night he stole into his companion's room and set fire to his mosquito net. Everybody was anxious to banish him from the temple. When he heard this he said, "I will set fire to the temple". It happened that a nobleman from Tosa was lodging in the temple at that time. He was very much pleased with Ansai, and took him to Tosa, and put him in Ryuko temple to study. Here he studied with Ogura Sansei and Nonaka Kenzan, who advised him to study Shushi's teaching from Tani Jichiu. He followed their advice, let his hair grow, and became a Confucian scholar at the age of twenty-five years. The Tosa lord wearied of him because he was so unruly in his behaviour, and sent him back to Kyoto.

When he was thirty years of age, he finally gave up Buddhism and became a Confucianist. He said: "When I was young I read the four books of Confucius; at twenty-five years of age I read a book of the Shushi school, and was convinced that Buddhism was not the true way, so I became a Confucianist. I am now thirty years old, but I am not yet a perfect scholar. I am sorry I did not become a student of Confucianism earlier." He said men did not know the importance of morality. "The so-called Confucian scholar simply reads books and writes compositions; he is satisfied not to understand morality, and is therefore converted to Buddhism."

In the first year of Manji (1658 A.D.), Ansai went to Yedo. He was so poor that he could not buy books. He there-

fore borrowed books from a bookseller. Lord Inouye heard of him through the bookseller, and, as he himself was very fond of learning, asked to see Ansai. Ansai replied that he had better come and see him if he wished to ask about the way. Lord Inouye admiring this replied: "Recently scholars have gone here and there trying to sell their learning and neglecting to practise what they teach; but here is a man who demands that I go to see him, instead of coming to me. Ordinary people run here and there at the beck and call of a daimio. Here is a true scholar." He immediately called on Ansai and became a disciple.

In the fifth year of Kwanbun (1665 A.D.), Ansai accepted an invitation from the lord of Aizu, Hoshina Masayuki, and became his guest. One day Lord Hoshina said: "Teacher, have you any pleasure?" Ansai said: "Yes, I have three pleasures. First, between heaven and earth there are innumerable living things, and man is the head of all things. This is one great pleasure. Second, between heaven and earth the world alternates between peace and confusion. I am born in a period of peace and can read books, learn the way, and can constantly associate with the ancient sages. This is another of my pleasures." Lord Hoshina, seeing that Ansai did not intend to proceed, said: "You have spoken of only two pleasures. I would like to hear the third."

Ansai—"The third is my greatest joy, but I do not wish to speak of it; you, my lord, would not believe me, and might think it slander."

Lord Hoshina—"I am not clever, but I earnestly seek your good advice. So far you have only given me two of your pleasures. Why do you refuse to tell me the third?"

Ansai—"Since you insist I will tell you all, even though you slay me for it. My greatest joy is that I was born poor, and not in the house of a daimio."

Lord Hoshina—"What do you mean by that? I do not understand you."

Ansai—"Modern daimios are born in a great palace, but grow up without learning and culture. They find pleasure in wine and women, and give themselves over to amusement. Their retainers flatter them, and praise what they think pleases them. Thus the real nature of a daimio is destroyed. Compare this with the condition of the poor man, who from

youth is accustomed to hardship, forced to learn a trade, helped by his friends, and yet in spite of it all, increases in wisdom, and you will conclude that the poor man is the happier. This is why I think my circumstances are a cause for great joy."

The lord of Aizu pondered his words for a while; then heaving a deep sigh, said: "Truly you are right." There is some difference of opinion as to whether this conversation should be attributed to Ansai or to some other scholar, but at any rate it is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Ansai.

The friendship between Ansai and the lord of Aizu was very close. Through the influence of this lord, Ansai became very influential as a scholar. In the 12th year of Kwanbun (1672 A.D.), the lord of Aizu died. Ansai went to his funeral, but after the funeral he broke off relations with the estate, and returned to Yedo after eight years' service.

In September of the second year of Tenna (1682 A.D.), Ansai died at the age of sixty-five years, and was buried in Korotani mountain, Kyoto. He was a great educationalist, and had many disciples, many of whom, such as Kinoshita Junan, became very useful men. Among some six thousand disciples, Asami Keisai, Sato Naokata and Miyake Shosai were most famous. Ansai was a very haughty, narrow-minded man. His personality has been described as fierce. He has been represented as conceited, given to slighting others. Even his friends and relatives were displeased with him. Some despised, while others hated him, and few could keep up a long intercourse with him. He was a great scholar, possessing many rough points and angles. Sato Naokata said: "Yamazaki was born with a violent disposition, he was eccentric, full of prejudice, and was easily angered. If he had had a proper teacher he would probably have grown to resemble Shushi, who used to say that anger was his weakness. In wisdom, however, Ansai took second place to no one."

His method of teaching his disciples resembled that of a lord toward his retainers. He scolded those who were inclined to forget. He treated noblemen in the same way that he treated others. When he made an address he always held a rod with which he beat the table. His students feared him. Sato Naokata said: "When I first began to go to Ansai I was struck with awe, and felt as if I were going to prison. When I

left his home I gave a sigh of relief, and felt I had escaped from a tiger's mouth." Students who were tempted by women or singing girls are said to have imagined they saw Ansai's face, and trembled. Another said: "When I was scolded I felt I did not wish to see him again, but when he said kind words I changed my mind." He was strict, but he was kind. He was delighted when men made progress. But his method of training his disciples was too severe. It is a mistake for any man to be too negative in his treatment of others. It is better to encourage the active and positive elements in a young man's character.

When Ansai became a disciple of Shushi he adored the learning of Shushi as much as his former companions in the temple adored Buddha. There is very little that is original in his work. He took the best extracts from Shushi's teaching, and endeavoured to make them a basis for practical virtue. It was not his purpose to increase learning so much as to exalt virtue and improve the conditions of the people. He said: "Learning is knowing and acting. Knowledge and practice must go hand in hand. The way of learning is knowledge and practice. Culture is the combination of the two. In Kan and To dynasties there were many scholars who emphasized practice, but they did not know the way of culture, consequently their knowledge and conduct did not compare with that of the sages."

But he did not appreciate Japan any the less because of his appreciation of Chinese philosophy. Ansai never lost his Japanese spirit. In his old age he was a very pronounced Shintoist and a founder of a sect of Shintoism. In reply to a question as to what they would do should Confucius and Mencius lead an invading army of Chinese into Japan, he said: "Should such a calamity arise, we would put on our armour, take our swords and fight with them, and make Confucius and Mencius our prisoners. We would thereby fulfil our obligation to our country according to the way of Confucius and Mencius." His whole school was characterized by a spirit of patriotism.

In regard to mixing the teachings of Shushi and Buddhism he said: "Several hundred years ago the teaching of Shushi came to this country. The priest Genne was first to accept it, but he thought the teaching resembled Buddhism. Hide-

yoshi also appreciated Shushi teaching, but he too was perplexed by Buddhism. As late as the age of Keicho (1596-1615) and Genna (1615-1624), Nanpo believed in Shushi, but could not break away from Buddhism. Seikwa declared his belief in Shushi. He was more or less influenced by Riku Shozan, a professed Confucianist, though a Buddhist at heart. Confucianism is right and Buddhism wrong. They are widely separated, and there is no reason why people should believe in both at once."

It is interesting that such a strong advocate of pure Confucianism should become such an ardent representative of Shintoism in its crudest form. Indeed he became so pronounced in his views that his famous disciples, Sato Naokata and Asami Keisai refused to follow him.

He said: "I think the way of the sages unites the high and the low, the far and the near. The teaching of the sages resembles a high mountain; to ascend it you must begin at the bottom and go up. You begin at a near point and go far. Neither those who remain near and low down nor those who go too high are in the way."

"There is only one truth in the universe, so that sages, though born in different places, do not contradict each other's teaching."

His moral teaching emphasized the importance of the inner life as well as the outer conduct. Ansai said: "Regulate the inner mind with reverence and the conduct with righteousness."

"To rise above anger, to check desire, and be alike reverent and righteous is the way of benevolence."

"By reverence make the mind right and by righteousness regulate conduct. There is no wrong where there is respect and righteousness. This is what is meant in the Analects: 'The superior man improves himself by reverential carefulness, purity, truth and culture'."

Professor Lloyd describes Ansai's thought of God as follows: "God, he said, is the mind of the universe, and man, whose mind is the dwelling-place of God, is the head and summit of creation and embodiment, as it were, of God. Between the Impersonal Mind and its embodiment in man he placed many spirits, some good, some bad, who were either the allies or the friends of the Divine Mind, absolute or em-

bodied. By keeping oneself calm and free from disturbing thoughts and lusts, the evil spirits could be kept away and the good spirits called into assistance—and as an aid to this salvation he laid great stress on prayer with an honest heart.”¹

ASAMI KEISAI

Asami Keisai was the most active pupil of Yamazaki Ansai. He was born in Omi, but afterwards went to Kyoto. His father was a rich man with three sons, of whom Keisai was the second. His father was very proud of him and sent him to Ansai for instruction. Keisai was a hard student, but he had a hemorrhage and for a long time was very delicate. Ansai even then did not allow him to relax his efforts, but pushed him as hard as previously. One of Keisai's friends went to Ansai and said: “That man's disease is so severe that it would be well for him to give up study and take a rest.” Ansai would not hear of it, but continued as before. Finally, Keisai regained his strength. Then Ansai said: “Death or life is ordained by heaven. Therefore, how could I encourage him to weaken his determination merely because he might die?”

Keisai, although poor, would not accept any official position, and discontinued friendship with one of his companions because he accepted a position with the lord of Mito. He was so poor that even in winter he had no outer kimono. His house was in such need of repair that the rain came in and flooded it. Keisai went up to mend the roof, but being stout and heavy he broke it in worse than before. His father was greatly disappointed because he did not seek fame, but he received some young men as pupils. At all times he was very dignified and serious. His teaching is not unlike that of his great teacher, but he does not follow him with the same slavish adherence as Ansai followed Shushi.

“Human duty is twofold, to govern oneself, and pacify others. All have a self, father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, elder and younger, brothers and friends. Self is the foundation of the five relations. As I am myself, so are others. By corruption of the original nature, the self may be changed to evil, and the virtue connected with each

¹ Cf. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXIV., part IV.

of the five relations may be lost. To change the self back to its original self is the office of culture. This is done by study, which depends upon caution, wisdom and practice. Wisdom is to make right and wrong clear, and to justify the original righteousness in performing the five relations. Practice is to bring the self back to its original nature. In one word, wisdom is to know righteousness and human duty, and conduct is to put them into practice."

"Apart from mind there can be no knowledge or conduct. All things depend upon mind. It is also true that apart from the body there can be no knowledge or conduct. There is no body apart from mind. The mind must be associated with the body, or there is neither knowledge nor conduct. We must rule knowledge and conduct with our minds. This is called reverence, which is the foundation of all mental service, and is in harmony with the sages."

He points out that although the various sages use different terms, their teaching is similar in regard to knowledge and conduct, which should always be united.

He taught that man is a social being, and it is natural to him to think of bettering the condition of others as well as himself. "To correct any evil in our midst is to give the nation peace. The nation is composed of an aggregate of families, which again are composed of individuals. By correcting the faults of individuals the nation will in time be reformed."

OTHER SCHOLARS OF THE SHUSHI SCHOOL

- Tokida Konan—Tachihara Tori { Aoyama Unryo
Fukita Yukoku—Aizawa Seishisai.
- Sato Itsai { Sawamura Susumu
Ohashi Junzo
Takemura Kwaisai
Soto Kon
Yamada Hokoku—Kawada Oko
Sakuma Shozan { Yoshida Shoin
Kato Hiroyuki
Watanabe Kwazan
Hayashi Kenu
Kikuchi Ri
Nakamura Keiu
- Shu Shunsui { Ando Seian—Ando Doan—Ando Shukei
Asaki Tanhaku
Kuriyama Senho
- Ichikawa Kansei { Okubo shibutsu
Kojima Kaigai
Matsuura Tokusho
- Miyake Sekian { Miyake Shunro
Nakai Shuan
- Goi Jiken—Goi Ranshu { Nakai Chikusan { Nakai Senha
Nakai Riken { Wakiya Guzan—Hoashi Banri
- Matsumoto Kunzan
Goto Shoken
- Koga Seiri { Koga Doan { Koga Sakei
Sakatami Roro
Saito Setsudo—Mishima Chushu
- Rai Shunsui { Rai Sanyo { Rai Matasaburo
Rai Mikisaburo
Goto Ki
Morite Setsai
Fujii Chikugwai
Maki Gei
Rai Kyoho



TOKUGAWA MITSUKUNI



CHAPTER IX

THE MITO SCHOOL

No outline of Japanese Confucianism would be complete without some account of the Mito school, which was an influential branch of the Shushi school. The main purpose of the school was to write a history of Japan, which should especially deal with the conduct of the imperial line. Many scholars were connected with this great work, among whom Kuriyama Sempo (1671-1706), Miyake Kwanran (1675-1712) and a Chinaman, Shu Shunsui, were prominent.

The town of Mito was the home of one of the Tokugawa houses famous for its loyalty. The Mito school was chiefly influential in defining the rightful succession in the imperial line and in fostering such loyalty to the emperor that they finally succeeded in destroying the feudal system and restoring the power of the government to the rightful rulers of Japan.

The Mito school began in the time of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), a grandson of the great Iyeyasu. Mitsukuni was a very high-minded man and a good ruler. He reformed the administration and encouraged morality. Among other things he forbade the custom of retainers taking their own lives when their feudal lord died. He forbade the custom in vogue among Confucian scholars of shaving their heads like priests. He thought it tended to set them apart as a special class. In his opinion this was misleading, because it was the privilege and duty of every one to be versed in Confucian learning.

In those days a man who killed a deer or a stork connected with the temples was liable to be put to death. Mitsukuni thought this penalty was too severe. When some one was found guilty of killing a stork, he banished him to a far province. But he gave the culprit money lest he might be tempted to steal for a living.

When Mitsukuni became heir to the Mito estate, he was the younger brother. He reluctantly accepted the position which should naturally go to the elder brother. As soon as it was possible, he adopted his elder brother's son as

heir. Then at an early age he retired in his favour, and lived for a long time in a small unfenced house. He died in the 13th year of Genroku (1700 A.D.), but his school continued to thrive until after the restoration of the emperor.

The incentive to write this great history came to Mitsukuni from reading Razan's history, in which he stated that the Emperor Jimmu was related to the Chinese Emperor Taikaku of the Shu era, a very great and worthy ruler. As has already been remarked, Chuzan and Razan both held similar views as to the Chinese origin of the imperial house; but as a result of Mitsukuni's opposition to the history, its publication was prohibited. With the intention of writing a history of Japan that should give a correct idea of these important matters, Mitsukuni established an institution known as the "Shoko kwan" and gathered many scholars together for the work. These men wrote the "Dai-Nihon-Shi", or Great Japanese History, which, although historical in its nature, aims to expound the way which they interpreted chiefly as "Respect for the gods, and loyalty to the emperor". Most of these scholars were from Kyoto, and were opposed to the Tokugawa government. Their influence in Japan was very great. The teaching emphasized things Japanese, and made the Chinese teaching merely attributive. Unlike other Confucian schools where Confucius alone was revered, these men also set up the tablet of a Japanese god, Take-Mika-Zuchi-No-Kami, and paid their respects to it. Kuriyama Sempo, the son of a Confucian teacher in Yedo, near Kyoto, was one of the prominent men of the school. He wrote a partial history of Japan.

Miyake Kwanran (1675-1712), a disciple first of Asami Keisai and afterwards of Kinoshita Junan, ranked high among the scholars of his day. He also wrote a book on history. He disagreed with Kuriyama's idea that the mere possession of the three treasures was sufficient to prove the legitimacy of the emperor to the throne. No emperor who had not a righteous claim to the throne could be regarded as a legitimate ruler, even if he had the insignia of the office. The school, however, decided that the southern lines were the legitimate rulers, largely on principles similar to those of Kuriyama.

About fifty years after the death of Mitsukuni the great men of his school had all passed away, and for a time the

influence of the Mito school declined, but was again revived by Tachihara Suiken (1744-1823), a retainer of Mito. His father was an official in the library at Mito; he was too poor to buy books. But Suiken was encouraged to study. He became a disciple of Tokuda Konan, a teacher of the classical school, who came to Mito. Tokuda encountered some opposition to his own views, but he was so liberal and tactful in his attitude that he was able to get along with the government. He did not define the way minutely but exhorted his disciples to strive to be great men. He told them there was no need for new ideas. They must choose from the ancient sacred books. He was a very practical upright man. In a letter to the head of the Mito school he wrote: "Learning has no sect. All schools follow Confucius. At funerals we follow the custom and form of Mito, but that does not mean that we discard Shinto. Ito Jinsai's books are merely intended to give power to learning. If my teaching is not profitable, please appoint some one else to my position." Though they persecuted him, he was trusted by the lord of Mito and remained in the school, and did much to bring about the publication of the "Great History".

Of Shu Shunsui (1600-1682) we have already heard. He had visited Japan twice during the last struggle of the Ming dynasty. But finally, on his third visit, through the kindness of Ando Seian, he became a naturalized Japanese. Mitsukuni heard of his wisdom and invited him to Mito. Other Mito scholars of note were the Fujitas, father and son, who have already been mentioned elsewhere.

CHAPTER X

SHUSHI SCHOLARS AFTER KWANSEI ERA (1789-1799)

After the Genroku age the influence of the Tokugawa government gradually waned. With but a few exceptions the Shoguns were weak, superstitious men. The authorized moral teaching of the government was weakened in influence and power, while other schools were in a more flourishing condition. In the second year of the Kwansei era an effort was made to revive the influence of Shushi learning by an edict suppressing heresy. All teaching not authorized by the government was strictly forbidden. The educational authorities in the provinces were ordered to see that the edict was properly enforced and that all teachers who were not followers of Shushi were dismissed.

Shibano Ritsuzan (1734-1807), Bito Nishu (1745-1813), and Okada Kwansei (1760-1817), were the three greatest Shushi teachers of the age, and were therefore called "The Three Kwansei Doctors". These men were teachers in the government schools, and put forth every effort to revive Shushi learning and defend the attitude of the government, for which they were largely responsible.

The edict called forth a storm of opposition. The Prime Minister received letters protesting against its injustice. Akamatsu Soshiu wrote to Shibano but received no direct reply. Nishiyama Sessai replied for Shibano, and entered upon a lengthy and heated controversy with Soshiu, but nothing was gained by it. The daimios all over the country followed the command of the central government. Many teachers were forced to resign, and a great deal of suffering resulted. The effect of the edict was just what might be expected. One historian says that while many moral teachers arose, few men of strength were among them. The men who carried the degree into effect were regarded as orthodox, but their teaching degenerated into a series of moral platitudes.

Bito Nishu, a man of Iyo, began as a student of the classical school. In 1772 he read the chief work of Muro Kyuso, and was greatly impressed by it. This and other works

led him to become a strong advocate of the Shushi school. He said there was no man like Shushi, neither were there any books equal to the Shushi learning. Among sages Confucius is the greatest; among Confucian scholars Shushi is the greatest. Such extreme admiration for Shushi made him a slave to Shushi teaching, but his literary talent saved him from merely repeating the teachings in a parrot-like way.

Speaking of heaven he said: "Heaven's name is very great and all-inclusive. Its 'Ri' is the Infinite. Its 'Ki' consists of the male and female principles. Overruling it is 'Jotei' (the upper emperor, or God). What heaven has conferred on man we call the ordinances. The gods and spirits are the creative work of heaven and earth. Thus heaven has many divisions and may be variously described. When spoken of as a unity, we say heaven. Ordinary men believe the sky to be heaven, and do not recognize 'Ri' as heaven. The views of scholars are above the popular ideas. They know that 'Ri' is heaven. But even their heaven differs from that of the sages. Heaven is a great name. It includes a vast number of things. If we do not know the Infinite, we do not know heaven. If we do not know the male and female principles, we do not know heaven's 'Ki'. If we do not know 'Jotei', we do not know heaven's sovereignty. If we do not know heaven's ordinances, we do not know what heaven has conferred on us. If we do not know the gods and spirits, we do not know the work of heaven. If we know these things well, and if we know them as a unity, then heaven has a deep meaning for us. Then the Infinite is man's real nature. God's mind is man's passion. The male and female principles are the human breath. The gods are man's soul. Because men have native passion, mind, breath and soul, they also have ears, eyes, a mouth and a nose. The former constitutes the root, the latter the branches. Those who know only the branches are not wise men. Even if men know the stars, the moon and the sun, if they do not know the one 'Ri' they are ignorant. The sun, moon and stars are one form of heaven, corresponding to the ears, eyes, mouth, etc., of men. If there is form, there is certainly reason. If we seek the source of the form, we will arrive at the reason. The Infinite, the male and female principles are not without value. They are as reasonable as the human heart or mind, which, like them, is hidden."

In discussing "Ri" and "Ki" he said: "Cold, warmth, wind and rain are 'Ki', but the reason of these is 'Ri'. It is the nature of 'Ri' to order the seasons at their proper time. Joy, anger, love and hate are all 'Ki'. The reason for these is 'Ri'. It is the nature of 'Ri' that these arise at the proper time. 'Ri' is the Infinite. In men it is called human nature. From the standpoint of heaven 'Ri' is ordinance. From the standpoint of man it is to follow nature, that is, the way. The ancient sage following his nature taught men. 'Ri' was the origin of everything the sage did. For this reason Shushi thought it was important to study 'Ri', and the difference between 'Ri' and 'Ki'. If you are able quickly to distinguish 'Ri' from 'Ki' in heaven and earth, in men and in things, then you have for the first time entered the moral way."

He criticized the classical school. "Shushi lays stress on wisdom, and naturally it becomes clear, and conduct becomes right. Sorai, on the other hand, despises wisdom, and naturally it becomes darkened, and conduct becomes evil."

He made a series of rules which he imposed upon himself. (1) Concentrate on one thing. (2) In conduct imitate the best points in others, without partiality. (3) Exercise care, avoiding arrogance. (4) Avoid useless words. (5) Decide the right course to follow, and follow it. (6) Deliberately choose the best associates. (7) Guard against thoughtlessly following a crowd. (8) Be watchful over yourself, even when you are alone.

Asaka Gonsai (1785-1860) was born in Koriyama, in Mutsu province. His father was a priest of Hachiman, which is the canonical title of the Emperor Ojin, who is now worshipped as the god of war. As a boy Gonsai studied Confucianism from local teachers. When he was sixteen years of age he was adopted into the home of a village chief, whose daughter he married. But as his wife did not like him, he left home, and becoming a student, went to Yedo.

It is difficult to say what would have happened to him, if he had not fallen in with a Buddhist priest who assisted him, and introduced him to Sato Issai who employed him as a servant, allowing him to work by day and study by night. In order to keep awake at night he used to put tobacco juice

in his eyes. He made such progress that by the time he was twenty-four he opened a small school and received students.

Ido Tensui lived near his school, and took such an interest in his struggles that he advertised his work, and assisted him in securing students. In this way he received his first start as a teacher, and when he was fifty-two years of age his former lord invited him to teach his retainers. Ten years later he became a teacher in the employ of the government.

Asaka was without affectation. He loved nature and was much inspired by beautiful scenery. His teaching is free from any depreciation of others. He taught: "Heaven, earth, the sun, the moon, ancient and modern times are all one. Mountains, rivers and seas are one. Men to-day are not essentially different from the ancients. Shishi said: 'If a man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand. Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become strong.'¹ If we repeat a thing over a thousand times or more, there is nothing we cannot learn as well as the ancients did."

"The way is for all people; learning is also for all. Even Confucius and Mencius cannot monopolize the way. Then we who study must study widely. According to the ancient classics, virtue is not learned from any one individual. Therefore whoever possesses good is my teacher. Shun was a great sage, but he thought much on the words of ordinary people. Confucius was also a great sage. He said: 'When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers.' Then it is not necessary to learn from any one person. If Tei, Shushi, Riku-Shosan, Yomei, Laou-tsze, Buddha and Soshi have good to offer us, we will accept it. We will receive also from ordinary men. If we have such a broad spirit, we can call ourselves men of great purpose. Clever goldsmiths can pick out gold from among various metals. So in this way we must learn to take the truth from a multitude of persons. We must then put into practice what we learn. If we cannot work, we are like a man who can pick out gold, but cannot make anything of it."²

¹ The Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter XX., 20 in Legge's translation, page 305.

² Analects, Book VII., Chapter XXI.

Asaka thought that Confucianism might be summed up as faithfulness and truth. "In the Analects faithfulness and truth are most commonly found. Scholars thought them very important in the use of power and in self-control. Sages thought them important in governing. Men do not seek to change lead into iron, nor brass into gold; lead and brass have each their own respective uses. To perform one's heavenly nature and use is faithfulness and truth. When red is red, white is white, black is black, when from inside to outside and from root to branch there is no confusion, then we have faithfulness and truth."¹

¹ Analects, Book IX., Chapter XXIV.

PART III

STUDIES IN THE O-YOMEI SCHOOL OF
CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I

THE O-YOMEI SCHOOL OF CONFUCIANISM

The Yomei school of Confucianism came from China. The scholar who gave the school its permanent influence was Yomei (Wang-Yang-Ming), but the real founder of the school was Riku Shozan, a contemporary of Shushi.¹

Riku Shozan (1042-1094) was one of the leading scholars of the Sung era. Shushi respected him highly. He said he was a man with a very good heart, who daily followed his duty, and urged scholars to become one with "Heavenly Ri", avoiding even the appearance of lust. He and his brother Riku-Shuji were careful about their conduct even when they were alone. They had more than an average amount of sincerity. He regretted that their convictions were so strong and their hearts so narrow that they could not receive good from others.

Like Shushi, Riku-Shozan believed in an absolute "Ri", but his methods of discovering it were different. He said: "The teaching of the ancient sages was usually the same. Man's heart is the same, and the 'Ri' principle is the same. If we study well, we will return to one heart and to one 'Ri'. Mencius called that which we spontaneously know intuitive knowledge, and that which we attain without study intuitive ability. These gifts from heaven we had naturally from the beginning. They are not created, and therefore we can say, 'All things are in me'. If in my heart there is no mistake, that is my greatest joy. The universe is my heart; my heart is the universe. Even though sages appear

¹ For the contents of this chapter I am largely indebted to the books of Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro and Yamaji Aizan.

in the East, West, South or North, this heart and this 'Ri' are the same. Even though they have continued to appear from ancient times up to the present, or even if they appear any time in the distant future, the heart and the 'Ri' are always the same."

Riku Shozan thought the way came from the heart, and the classics served as its commentary. He said: "Seek the heart. Concentrate the heart. If the heart is a slave to the mere verbal meaning of books, and if you cannot make it independent, even though you read the Analects, the heart will be destroyed. If you do not follow one absolute authority, namely, your heart, but follow other things, you will injure your heart, which should be the first and only interest. If a man's spirit is outside of his body, he will merely work till he dies. He must concentrate his spirit and make it his master. When a man's spirit is in his body he cannot be deceived; his pity, his shame, his generosity, or his severity arises spontaneously and is never misplaced. This is the doctrine of concentrating the heart. It is attained not by books or learning, but by believing one's own heart and nature. Concentration is internal as opposed to the external. The heart which has been seeking after learning must be recalled. Return to your true self; have faith in your convictions and make good what you believe to be good. Then with this heart properly concentrated, turn your attention from the inner to the outer world."

He said to Shusaido: "Please be independent; politely, with folded arms, concentrate your heart and become master of yourself."

For Riku Shozan the small world is the great world. "Self is everything; the heart constitutes the six classics. Believe in this heart; move as your heart moves; act as it acts. This is the entrance to the great way. Apart from this there is no way. The ancients knew this way, and did not divide it into respect and investigation."

Sometimes his extreme self-exaltation would almost lead one to suspect that while he was outwardly a Confucianist, he was at heart a Buddhist. He said in one of his poems: "Raising his head he mounts to the Southern star; turning his body he leans on the Northern star; lifting his head he hopes beyond heaven; such a man has no self." He knows everything. He

is like heaven itself. This poem resembles Buddha's declaration, "Between heaven and earth only I am holy".

Riku Shozan did not regard himself as a Buddhist, although Shushi regarded him as such. He once compared the difference between a Buddhist and a Confucianist to the difference between righteousness and gain. "The difference between public spirit¹ and selfish spirit is a difference between righteousness and gain. Because righteousness appeals to all men, it can rule the world. Gain is selfish, and is therefore separated from the world. The aim of Confucian scholars is to govern the world. If we think of the source of their teaching, we can readily distinguish between Confucianism and Buddhism." He said that Confucianism originated in the desire to bring peace to the world. Confucius did not think for himself, but for others. Buddhism separated itself from the world and sought only its own peace and separation from evil. Riku Shozan said his own purpose was to govern the world and give happiness to the people. He was therefore a true Confucian scholar. He resembled Mencius in his idea of human nature.

In the Ming era (1402-1644) the government of China encouraged the Shushi teaching by making it the authorized government teaching. It was probably for this reason that it also became the authorized teaching in Japan. In China as in Japan there were men who could not confine themselves to an enforced system of thought. Among these Yomei (1472-1528) was one of the strongest. He was a statesman, a soldier, a poet, a writer and an educationalist. Unlike so many of the Confucian scholars he did not feel that he was merely a transmitter of ancient learning. But he was not original. He owes nearly everything in his system to Riku Shozan, whose views he set forth very clearly. By his forceful methods of writing and arguing he forced the world to respect his thought.

Like Riku Shozan he underestimates the value of history and books. He placed much emphasis on introspection as the source of wisdom, which was to be found in the heart. Once when some one inquired about the way, he replied: "If you are hungry, you eat; if tired, you rest. This conduct is significant.

¹The word translated "public spirit" is "Ko". "Selfish spirit" is "Shi", literally self.

People do not know the deep meaning of these words and so they seek for something external to themselves such as a god or a Buddha." He once said to a student: "Your body is born from heaven's truth; there is no need to inquire from others for truth. It is only necessary to purify your conscience and perfect your morality. It is not necessary to burden your hearts with ancient books."

He emphasized the value of quiet meditation when one is alone. He said the hours when one is alone and quiet are the foundation of heaven, earth and all things. The mendicant Buddhist priests standing in the gate with their bowls are throwing away the treasure which they possess. All things may be known by introspection, but the priests obey external customs. "You cannot enter the way by studying externals. If you are once enlightened, you will lose all darkness. After men are enlightened there is no need to read the six classics. Just as the quiet moon fills the sky with light, so my heart in quietness is flooded with light."

He thought that heaven, the way, reason and the heart are all one. If man would know the way, he must purify his own heart. Thus he thought that all men are by nature good, and by purifying the heart would enter the way. Between heaven and earth all things are different forms of one nature, which in the sun, moon and stars is called heaven. When unseen it governs all things, we call it heavenly ruler;¹ when it is the energy which causes all things, it is called providence;² when it is lodged in man it is called nature; when it becomes the master of our bodies it is called heart. When all of these are summed up and given a general name it is called nature. Human duty is the virtue which lies in nature, and which is called intuitive wisdom. It is man's duty to reveal it and put it into practice in the real world.

Yomei emphasized intuition to such an extent that he ridiculed the Shushi teaching about investigating the ancient classics. He said: "The sages giving the six classics to man resemble a parent giving a memorandum of his property to his sons. The heart is the true property. The scholars of the world do not know that the sacred books reveal what is in their hearts. They are content to study the letter. It is just

¹ Jo-Tei, literally Upper Emperor.

² Mei, literally command.

as if a son, disregarding the real property which his father has left him, becomes a beggar, but he still treasures the memorandum of his father's estate."

He regarded the six classics as a commentary of the heart which he revered very much. Apart from the heart there was nothing to desire. The heart was not suppressed from without. Its spontaneous movement was human duty. The heart is the "Ri" which we have received from heaven. There is no separation between heaven and man, between ancient and modern times. Although we do not attain absolute truth when we strive after it with all our hearts, we almost attain it. People think we attain learning from others apart from the heart, but this is a mistake. We must strive with all our hearts for learning. Since no learning enters from the outside, learning must be evolved from the heart. This idea is not unlike the idea of Socrates, that learning is recollecting. Socrates said in conclusion of his argument: "If the truth of all things always existed in the heart, then the heart is immortal."¹ Yomei said in illustrating his idea of the evolution of morality, that just as the first life of a tree is in the sprout and gradually develops trunk, branches and leaves, so the love between father and child and between brothers gradually develops into love for people and all things. The heart like the tree constantly develops. Just as water naturally flows and fire gradually burns, so if one has sincerity, the heart gradually grows.

Shushi distinguished between conduct and wisdom. He said that the heart studied "Ri", which was apart from it, and which when known was followed by conduct. Yomei said that apart from human nature there is no "Ri". If there is no way apart from the heart, then there is no need first to study in order to know the way. He therefore did not divide the way into knowing and then doing. Knowing is doing. It is as if the effect is already in the cause, the end in the beginning. He said: "Wisdom is the beginning of conduct, conduct is the effect of wisdom. The learning of the sages was concentrated on one way. We must not make wisdom and conduct two separate ways. If one knows, he will act. If he does not act, he does not

¹ See Plato, *Meno*, in Jowett's translation, 86.

really know. Knowing is the principle of conduct; conduct is the work of knowing." Yomei at times appears to be in harmony with Socrates' idea that virtue is knowledge, but in reality he is saying the very opposite, since Socrates meant by knowledge, speculative knowledge or philosophy.

Yomei thought that just as the whole plant is contained in the seed, so in knowledge lies conduct, and in conduct, wisdom. The desire to go is the will to go. This is the beginning of conduct. The truth and stability of knowledge is conduct. Intelligent conduct is knowing. Knowing and doing are essentially the same.

Shushi said one acts after he knows, but Yomei held that one only knows as he acts. To show this he used a very apt illustration. A dumb man eats a bitter melon. Even though he wished to tell you about it he cannot speak. In order to know, you must eat a piece of it. This is a splendid illustration of his point, that knowing is acting and that a man only really knows that which he has experienced.

Yomei is criticized as being a Buddhist or a Taoist. His defence against this charge is in effect the same as that made by Riku Shozan. He said: "The original essence of Buddha resembles what we call 'Intuitive knowledge'. Their teaching about being always on the watch against lust resembles our effort to make knowledge complete. But they do not resemble us in that their heart is selfish; they seek their own self-interest."

In illustrating the difference between the teachings of Confucianism and Taoism, he quotes from "The Great Learning", and remarks that the teaching of Laou-tsze¹ illustrates shining virtue without reforming the people.

A man named Ennen said to Yomei: "In so far as Buddhists do not follow passion, they seem to be unselfish. That they do not teach practical morality is the only point in which they are lacking."² He replied that in both alike they seek satisfaction for their own selfish hearts. Since Buddhism does not believe in good or evil, it therefore takes no interest in anything; it cannot govern the world. Yomei regarded "Ri" as nature, and nature as "Ri". Heaven and earth compose the ocean of "Ri". All things constitute its body.

¹ See "The Great Learning," Chapter I, section 1.

² Literally, human way.

There is no inner or outer, front or back. Buddhism makes nature one-sided. Its work is merely to see the heart; it has inner but no outer.

In the discussion of the nature of "Ki" (breath or soul) there seems to be a tendency in Chinese thought toward unity. In the earlier Chinese thought there were at least two "Ki", the terrestrial and the celestial. In the Shushi thought this dual "Ki" is still present, but is being absorbed by a greater dualism, that of "Ri" (Reason) and "Ki". "Ri" and "Ki", according to the Shushi school are not separable. In the thought of Yomei this dualism is lost. "Ri" is identical with the heart, apart from which there is nothing. The heart is identical with heaven and the way. Dr. Knox says: "O-Yomei fully accepted idealism. He asserted that apart from our hearts there is nothing . . . But he also teaches a cosmological idealism, as he asserts that there is this all-important, innate knowledge, the best endowment of man, in everything, in grasses, stones, trees, in heaven and earth. By virtue of it each thing is itself, and all partake of the same ethical law."¹

Yomei made intuitive knowledge the basis of his morality. He thought the heart was capable of knowing good and evil. He said: "Lust comes daily. It is like dust on the ground. If you neglect to sweep it for a day, much dust will accumulate. If, however, you sincerely polish the heart, the way will be limitless. The better you know the way the deeper it is. You must study until you are entirely enlightened." "When the good heart arises you can realize its ideal. But if the evil heart arises, you recognize it and stop it. This realizing the ideal and checking evil is the desire of the heart. In performing our daily duty it is important that we should have the heart to do good; it is important that we should realize good as soon as we see it. If there is mistake, we will at once correct it. To act in this way is the direction of man's true culture. If men do this, their lust will gradually disappear and heavenly reason will become clear." "The heart is one. Before it is human it is the heart of the way. When it becomes mixed with human falsehood it is the heart of man."

Some one asked Yomei how good and evil arise. He merely replied, "The evil man's heart is separated from the

¹ The Transactions of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XX, part I, page 12.

original form". Yomei was very practical. He emphasized practical virtue. If a man who plants a tree does not forget to nourish and water it, he need not trouble about the branches and leaves or the fruit and blossoms; they will grow naturally. So a man's duty is to nourish the good heart and give it every opportunity to develop, and it will do so spontaneously.

Yomei's system, like most pantheistic systems, does not logically provide for evil. In so far as he makes evil separate from the original form, his system ends in a dualism, although he would not admit it. Logically all things are a revelation of one nature in which there is no distinction between good and evil, and consequently no place for human duty. This is the case with all Eastern pantheism. It is not true pantheism since it ends in a dualism. So Western theism, whether of the Jew or of the Greek, is not true monotheism since it ends in the dualism, God *versus* the Universe. These two points of view are complementary. The East needs the West. The West needs the East. There can be no real pantheism which makes individuality an illusion. If so, we would be explaining the pantheism by the illusion. True pantheism is true monotheism. It provides for personality and individual responsibility.

In China Yomei did not hesitate to criticize the Shushi school, which was authorized by the government. He compared the evil effect of such teaching to that done by a flood or by wild beasts. In Japan his followers were placed in a similar relation to government teaching. Many of them were strong, brave men who contributed much to their country and its development. Some of them may be counted among the world's best men.



NAKAE TOJU

CHAPTER II

NAKAE TOJIU AND HIS SCHOOL

Nakae Tojiu was born in 1608 A.D., in the province of Omi. His grandfather was a samurai, under a daimio, but his father became a farmer. Tojiu, though born on a farm, was a boy of great intellectual promise. His grandfather, wishing him as his heir, took him to Hoki, where he received his first mental training. His grandfather was not a skilful writer, so Tojiu became his amanuensis. At twelve years of age his grandfather and he removed to Kazahaya, in Iyo province, and he began to read "The Great Learning" of Confucius. When he read the passage, "From the Emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything", he exclaimed, "Happy are we to have this canon; sainthood must be reached through learning". Once when he was taking food he thought: "Who gave me this food? In the first place, my parents; in the second place, my ancestors; in the third place, my master. We must not forget the blessings we have received from them."

At thirteen he went to Ozu, and within two years lost both his grandparents. He remained in Ozu studying the Confucian Analects, much to the displeasure of his friends, who thought the ideal of an accomplished man lay not in learning, but in military tactics. People thought a bookworm was effeminate and weak; so Nakae studied as much as possible alone. At first he was a disciple of the Shushi school, but upon further consideration, the more practical elements of the Yomei school appealed to him, and he became the first and in some respects the greatest representative of Yomei philosophy in Japan.

Nakae was by no means a weakling; he possessed a stern nature. One day when he went to call on a friend he found him already entertaining a guest. When they saw Nakae coming, the guest jokingly remarked, "Here comes Confucius". Nakae angrily retorted that the other was an ignoramus, to be despised for his lack of learning. Nakae was a very diligent student and earnestly strove to attain perfect virtue. He practised the strictest self-abnegation.

He tried to put into practice all that he found recommended in the Confucian teaching.

He is held up as an example of filial piety. His aged mother, who survived her husband, was living alone in Ogawa village in Omi. Her son wished to go and wait on her in her old age and loneliness. When he was twenty-seven years of age he read a Chinese poem in which it said, "The tree longs to be quiet, but the wind blows. A son wishes to serve his parents, but they pass into eternity". Deeply moved by this, he wrote: "A sojourner, far from his home, feels sad as he welcomes the returning spring; as he listens to the nightingale singing sweetly its song of spring on the plum tree. A tree longs for rest, but the wind blows, but happy am I, my mother is not yet gone away; I must go back, go back." Shortly after this he resigned his position, and went back to take care of his old mother. Other stories are told showing how he sacrificed himself and his own comfort, in order to help his mother, whom he dearly loved.

Year by year, he grew in wisdom and knowledge, carefully studying the four Confucian classics. He strove to practise what he learned, but he found it very difficult to harmonize them with the customs and laws of his day. Sometimes he became quite discouraged, and decided that a man living in that age could not walk in the way that leads to perfect manhood. His failure was due to his effort to conform to the outer letter of the law, instead of laying greater stress on its inner meaning. In the midst of this struggle he found a book by Ryohei explaining the teaching of Yomei. He was greatly pleased with it, although he objected to the constant use of Buddhist terms. Shortly after this, at the age of thirty-six, he secured a copy of the teaching of Yomei, in the perusal of which he entered into the true meaning of Confucianism. From this time he was a teacher of Yomei philosophy.

Speaking of his conversion to Yomei thought, he said to his disciples: "I was once an advocate of Confucianism as taught by Shushi, and requested you to do everything commanded by the doctrinal law. Now I have found that I was a formalist only. Of course, formality differs from selfishness, but, like selfishness, it hinders one from living the true life. You must grasp the meaning of the teaching

of the saints and not strive merely to imitate them by walking exactly as they walked."

In a letter to a friend he wrote: "Until recently I have endeavoured to enter the path of virtue by the method of Shushi, but it was in vain, and I had become somewhat of a sceptic. Fortunately I found a book by Yomei, in the study of which my doubt was removed, and I found the true path of virtue, into which I believe I am entering. My happiness and gratitude know no bounds."

In this way Nakae became the founder of Yomei philosophy in Japan, but unfortunately he did not live long to propagate the teaching. Tradition says he was a fat man, but diseased. From the age of thirty he was constantly ill, and in 1648 he died at the early age of forty. A few days before he died, he called his disciples to him and asked them: "I go into eternity. Who can be my successor, and propagate my teaching?" Another account tells how in these last days his filial piety revealed itself most admirably. He was troubled with asthma, and used several pillows to prop himself up. His mother drew near and said: "My son, how are you now?" Throwing out one pillow in order to relieve her fears, he said: "Mother, do not worry, I'm somewhat better." In a few minutes after she left the room, he passed away. Speaking of the filial piety of Nakae, Fujii Raisai, a literary man, says: "In him we have a true Confucian. He himself enjoyed virtue and taught it. He exemplified filial piety in a beautiful way. He abandoned a hopeful position with his lord, and returned to an obscure country life, in order to be with his mother. Did such filial piety come to him naturally or was it developed by learning?"

Nakae was a humble, sincere man, doing everything with a view to realizing his moral ideal, and the villagers respected him as a godly man, calling him "The sage of Omi". One of his disciples says of him: "We knew his life differed from that of the common people. His face was always calm and commanded respect. Indeed he was the only saint-like man that Japan has ever known."

He was sparing of his time, spending it in study and meditation. At times he talked with his disciples on philosophy and morality until midnight, and sometimes even until

morning. He did not confine himself to the study of Confucianism, but endeavoured to get a knowledge of other studies as well. He did not like Buddhism for himself, but as his mother was an earnest believer, he read and even explained some of its scriptures.

He was slightly acquainted with medicine and taught it to the people. A story is told of one of his disciples who was very stupid, unable to learn either military tactics or literature, and yet was an heir in one of the samurai families. His father, perceiving that his son was not bright, decided to give him some mean occupation instead of making him a knight. The son was ashamed of this and decided to become a physician. Nakae had great sympathy for the boy, and undertook to teach him the science of medicine. First, he read him some work on the cultivation of the mind and the attainment of knowledge. He read him a few lines, and repeated it over two hundred times, spending from ten o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon, but by five o'clock the boy had completely forgotten all he had been taught. Months and even years passed by, but the boy had made little progress. His teacher was almost out of patience with him, but they both persevered, and finally he did accomplish his purpose. Speaking of this afterwards he said: "My energy was almost exhausted, and if it had not been for his own natural diligence, I would have given up. You are men with ability, far beyond anything that can be compared with his. If you have his diligence and patience, you can attain any goal."

The influence of this Omi sage was very great. Among his converts were many who had been thieves or disturbers of the peace. His village was so influenced by his noble personality that there were no thieves to be found, and the people did not even shut up their doors at night. They held him in as much respect as if he were a god, and after his death they built him a shrine, called Toju Shoin. The original shrine was once destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt by the people, who even yet pay their respects to this good man. Even scholars have visited the shrine, and showed their appreciation of his life and work by composing poems to his memory.

His greatest disciple was Kumazawa Banzan, his successor. The great Arai Hakuseki was indirectly influenced

by him. He wrote: "When I was seventeen years old I found Nakae's great book, 'Okina Mondo', on a friend's desk, and when I read it I found it contained the way in which man should walk." This was the starting-point of the career of Arai Hakuseki.

Nakae's fondness for study may be traced to his mother's influence. A letter she wrote to his grandfather clearly reveals the typical Confucian mother's interest in her boy. She said: "How is Totaro progressing under your care? It pleases me very much that he is making progress in literature and military tactics. Tell him I do not wish him to return until he has made such progress as will ensure a name for himself in the world. If he were to return before his education were complete, I should not wish to see him. I cannot compare with the mother of Mencius in wisdom, but I would follow her example in cutting the cloth. My one desire for Totaro is that he study hard every day." This quotation from his mother's letter after the loss of her husband, when she was forced to work as never before in her life, gives us some insight into the source of this boy's inspiration and life. His mother, like so many of our Western mothers, really made him what he was. Her reference to the mother of Mencius is significant. Once when Mencius returned from school he found his mother weaving cloth. She inquired how he was getting along. He replied with an air of indifference that he was doing very well. She quietly took her knife and cut her web. He became alarmed, and asked her why she did such a thing. She replied very earnestly that she was doing exactly as he was doing. Her cutting of the web was like his neglect of his study. Mencius profited by this lesson. (Cf. "Life of Mencius", by Legge.)

An incident recorded of Nakae Tojiu gives an insight into the influence of his personality. A samurai was returning from Tokyo with a bag of gold, which had been entrusted to him by his lord. Contrary to custom he carried it on the saddle-bag. When they came to the hotel he paid the horseman and went upstairs. Some time later he suddenly remembered he had forgotten the gold. He did not know the horseman, and he felt that even if he did, it was useless, for the gold would have been disposed of at once. There was only

one thing left to do. He must sit down, and by committing "Harakiri" (suicide, by cutting out his stomach), he would prove to his lord that he did not intend to be unfaithful. He prepared letters to his lord, and to his relatives, and made ready to die. At midnight there was a loud knocking at the hotel door; a servant announced that a coolie wished to see him. It was the horseman with the bag of gold. The samurai was overjoyed and offered the coolie a large reward, but he refused. (That was Japanese samurai spirit.) He accepted only a few sen for all his trouble, although he had returned ten miles. "But", said the samurai, "how is it you are so unselfish, so honest, so true? I never imagined I would find such truth in a horseman." He replied: "In Ogawa village there is a teacher named Nakae Tojiu. He has taught us that we must choose honesty and righteousness in preference to gain. We villagers all obey his teaching." In the hotel Kumazawa Banzan overheard this story, and was so impressed by it he started for Ogawa village. He met Nakae, who persistently refused to acknowledge his ability to teach Banzan. He even seemed surprised that Banzan should desire such a thing. Banzan insisted, but was refused. It was not until he had remained for over three days and nights at the gate, that Tojiu's mother interceded for him, and Nakae agreed to become his teacher.

A samurai from Owari province was passing by Ogawa village, and wished to call at the grave of Nakae. A farmer working in the fields offered to guide him through the narrow foot-paths leading to the grave. On the way they came to a little thatched cottage where the farmer excused himself for a moment. Soon after he came out dressed in ceremonial dress. The samurai thought him very polite. When they came to the grave the farmer opened the little bamboo gate, and very politely paid his respects before the grave. The samurai was surprised at his reverence. He now understood that not for himself but for the teacher he had put on ceremonial dress. He asked him if he were a relative. He said he was not, but his parents had taught him that because of Nakae's influence the village enjoyed peace, families were harmonious and sons filial. They taught him always to remember his teacher's kindness.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NAKAE TOJIU

Nakae died early, but he has left us eight or ten volumes of his books, which give us his point of view. Although he was led to give up the Shushi school, he does not speak ill of his first teacher. He said: "Some say Shushi was a great scholar, but I say he was also a wise man. Some say Yomei was a literary and a military man, but I say he was also a wise man. Shushi learned too much and became merely a speculative philosopher. Yomei was too generous and practical, and grew to resemble a Buddhist. Both men may be called great, because they cast out selfish desires, obeyed the divine law of nature, and did not dare to sacrifice even one person for their own selfish advantage."

Nakae aimed in all his learning at establishing the moral ideal and applying it in a practical way to daily life. He had an idea of God, and a theory of the universe, which was intended as a basis for ethics. In explaining one's ethical relation to others, Nakae gave what was in reality a religious explanation of the universe and man. He had a firm belief in God, and laid stress upon the law of morality, conscience and the realization of it in practical life.

His conception of the universe is monistic, with a tendency to be idealistic. There is one substance which is infinite and real, called God, the soul of the universe, apart from which there is no real existence. The world consists of "Ri" (reason) and "Ki" (the sensible world). "Ri" is the real name of all things. So that one and the same reason is revealed in all things, organic and inorganic. All things are essentially the same in their real nature. This real nature is revealed in "Ki", and so, though their nature is the same, their sensible manifestation differs. He avoids dualism by stating that both "Ri" and "Ki" are manifestations or attributes of one substance; reason is the sovereign, and "Ki" the sensible world, being the mechanism through which the sovereign mind works. Reason is the helm, and "Ki" the ship which is directed. The former cannot do its work without the latter, any more than the ship without the helm can pursue its course. These are not two, but one and the same thing. If we analyse the universe, we can distinguish one from the other; but they cannot be really separated.

Wherever you have the one, you have the other. He says these are the two aspects of God, who is not apparently deistic or transcendental, but is one with the universe. "Ri" and "Ki" are the whole of God. They together constitute the world, but considered as a whole they become one in God. He says: "Just as a tree has root, trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit, so the universe has heaven, earth, man, and one principle pervades them all. The Infinite, the world, and man are constituted by one element. To know this fact is great joy, to teach it is true science, to learn it is true learning." In one place he says: "Mind is the unifying reality, uniting reason and the sensible world. Though mind is the master of the body, it is greater than the universe. In other words, it is the creative power which reveals itself through man." In a letter to a friend he said: "Mind controls 'Ri' and 'Ki', and if so, then mind controls the world; because they are the constituent elements of the world. Man is the world on a small scale, and the world is man on a large scale." "While the sensible manifestation differs, the principle in everything is the same, and as the principle has no quantitative characteristics, we can say that the Infinite and I are one and the same thing." "My mind is the Infinite. Heaven and earth and all things exist in my mind." "The Infinite is man's true self, and therefore all things are in his mind. To be true to one's self is to be true to God." These quotations show a remarkable idealistic tendency, and like the Chinese teacher whom he followed he could say, "All things are mere shadows originating in one's mind". He recognized the existence of universal law which develops all things. From the standpoint of the universe this is the law of the world. From our standpoint this is benevolence. He says: "Ever since the world appeared there has been benevolence, which is the law of the universe." "To obey the law is benevolence."

From his monistic standpoint he tried to explain in a consistent manner the facts of life and death. He taught that from the standpoint of the whole there is no death or life. One who thinks there is truly death and life is not yet fully enlightened. If he could grasp the true fact of the world, he would find an abiding universal law in which there was neither life nor death. "Man's mind is the mind of the sensible world, but we have another mind which is called

Conscience.¹ This is reason itself, and does not belong to form. It is infinite and eternal. As our conscience is one with reason, it has no beginning or end. If we act in accord with reason or conscience, we are ourselves the incarnation of the infinite and eternal, and have eternal life. The infinite and the universe are one. Therefore there is no difference between life and death, being and non-being. Confucianism teaches this fundamental fact." He had grasped the unifying mind which unites all things, even life and death, and had reached the point where he thought he recognized a fundamental reality which transcends the phenomenal world.

From what we have already seen, Nakae was capable of entering into all the difficult speculations of Chinese philosophy, but he was great because he was practical. He had a conception of God, which, while not out of harmony with what we have already given, was of more practical use in impressing on the peasant mind the great truths which he taught, and for which he lived. He spoke to them of God who created the world. He called him "Heaven" or sometimes "Upper Emperor". He described him as transcendental, yet dwelling in the soul of man. God is everywhere, in a breath, in a particle, in darkness. He is not only omnipresent, but omniscient. Good and bad action, pure and simple thoughts, cannot be hidden from him. He approves good and punishes evil by sending fortune or misfortune respectively. Therefore he is greatly to be feared; but people do not fear him because they do not know him. Nakae taught the people that to obey such ancient phrases as "Rest on the ideal good", "Reflect on the divine command", "Be true to yourself", "Seek the righteous mind", "Be careful of yourself", is to obey God. This is the meaning of reverence, and is the beginning and end of all holy learning, that is, the learning taught by the sage.

He distinguished between the universal self and the individual. In one of the foregoing quotations, "Man is the universe on a small scale", universe means heaven, another name for God, the universal self. The "heaven" that abides in man's mind is the individualized self, man's conscience. He said: "Heaven is one with man's mind; our conscience is God living in man; the purest and most sacred in man."

¹The word translated "conscience", is 'Ryo chi': Ryo—Good, knowing without study; Chi—Wisdom.

"Heaven, earth and man are said to be three existences. They appear different, but they are in principle one. This principle has no size. Man's spirit and the infinite must be one." "The conscience is the divine law and the divine command in mind." These quotations make it clear that he thought of conscience in man as God. Thus he thinks that God dwells in man.

In this place we see a very great resemblance between the philosophy and the religious thought of Nakae and the Vedanta philosophy of India, which teaches that Brahma is not only the one substance of the universe but also of the individual mind of man. Brahma being the highest, heaven and earth and all things have their existence in him, and yet Brahma is in me. My mind is Brahma. In other words, Brahma is in me and I in him. When the veil is removed I am Brahma.

Nakae's point of view was not out of harmony with the 10th chapter of St. John and the 20th verse, "I and my father are one", or the 38th verse, "Thou in me and I in thee", or with the 14th chapter and 20th verse, "I am in my father, and ye in me, and I in you". Tojiu thought that as the world's reality is God, I am in God but my conscience is very God; God is in me. So by reflection I can find in him my own inner life, and if by sincere thought I can become unified with God, I become identical with God.

While he did not believe in an anthropomorphic God, Nakae's conception of God was personal and anthropopathic, because, though he ascribes to God personal feelings and passions, he could also say, "The universe is the whole of God." "The body of God fills infinite space. He has no voice or odour, but his wisdom prevails throughout the universe, just as man controls his own body." God is the master of the whole universe, just as man is master of a limited sphere. Both are essentially the same. Like the teachings of Oshiwo Chusai, our mind and the universal mind are identical. Nakae exalted the nature of man's mind. "Infinite is the nature of man's mind. Our conscience is one with the greatest reality of all the universe; therefore in it all things exist. There is only one God in all the universe, absolute, not relative. His reality is in our minds and yet at the same time he is omnipresent. The universe and all things in it are but the mani-

festation of God himself. If we purify ourselves, we can obtain unity with this infinite God himself." Another quotation gives Nakae's conception of God in very much clearer form. "The supreme ruler is the only great divine spirit, the Lord and Father of heaven and earth and all things in them. No particle in the universe and no moment in eternity can escape the penetration of his divine light. Heaven and earth have each their own virtues, but they cannot be compared with the perfection of God. The sun and moon shine alternately, but cannot equal the continuity of divine light. They have shadows of light and darkness, but the divine light has no shadow whatever. Heaven and earth have beginning and end, but divine light is eternal. His beginning is unsearchable. His ending is inconceivable. He disappears only to reappear. He comes and goes, but we cannot catch him. Nothing is unknown before his omniscience; nothing undone by his omnipotence. His substance fills space. Without voice, without smell, his mysterious manifestations overflow infinite space. Being himself unsearchable, his ways are not to be discovered. He stands on nothing, and enters where there is no break. He is the only one to be honoured. He can be compared to none; his virtue is unfathomable. He is the nameless one. Sages reluctantly call him the only, honourable, supreme deity. He created heaven and earth and all things in them. He controls happiness and misery, rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked, filling every particle of the universe, being himself omniscient and unchangeable."¹

Man is composed of "Ri" and "Ki" (reason and the sensible world). The highest reality of these two is heaven, whose form is "Ki" and mind "Ri". Only man has the whole of "Ri", therefore he is the head of all things, the crown of the whole universe. Other living beings have no such mind as man. They have no real intelligence and are moved by physical desires only. In them their real nature "Ri" is clouded, but as the scale of existence rises, "Ri" becomes clear and is expressed most fully in man. The difference between superior men and common men is a difference in the degree of "Ri" realized in each.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Ebina for this quotation.

Mankind has risen from a common source, and therefore all men are brothers. He said: "As all things come from one great root, so men are the branches." "As heaven and earth are the great parents of humanity, I and all other men are brothers, regardless even of race distinctions. Therefore sages perceive only one family in the world, and only one man in an empire. Any man who makes a difference between himself and other men has strayed from the right path."

He believed that all men were essentially one in nature. Mencius and Junshi agreed that man's nature was one and the same in all men. Mencius held that this common nature was essentially good, and Junshi that it was bad. Tojiu agreed with the former view. He said: "If any man acts according to his own nature, his conduct is always good." "Every man born has essentially the same nature, whether he be saint or common man." "The difference between a saint and a vulgar man lies in piety. The one has piety and scarcely knows it; the other has not much piety and does not realize it."

The equality of man is the natural outcome of the teaching that humanity has a common root. Every man has the same latent nature as the sage, who respects virtue above everything, and makes wealth and reputation of secondary importance. Social standing does not make men essentially different. Man's equality lies in his moral nature. He said: "Though there are differences in the social life of man, some being poor and others rich, some noble and others ignoble, yet they are in essence the same." Considering man from the standpoint of nature, all men are equal; there is no division into noble and ignoble." "Emperor, duke, knight and commoner are not the same socially, but in their dignity as men there is no difference at all."

Tojiu thought every man had a heaven-given conscience or mind. This itself is God, heaven, or heavenly divinity. He said: "Heaven is one with mind." "Our conscience is God in man." In a letter to a friend he wrote: "In meditative reflection I find God." His view of God as the master of the universe and of conscience as the master of our bodies led him to consider conscience the greatest thing in the world. His "conscience" resembles the original Buddha of certain Buddhist sects. Nakae himself said: "The conscience is

Tathagata." Tathagata is the reality of all the universe and any one can unite with him. If one succeeds in abolishing delusion, not by external power but by one's own intuition, he has learned the meaning of Tathagata. In some ways Nakae's teaching resembles this very much. For instance, he says: "The conscience is the true nature of man, and it is well to walk in accord with its command." "When man's conscience is clear his nature reveals itself very clearly." "The conscience is divine reason; divine reason is opposed to worldly desires." "When man's mind is ruled by conscience worldly desires are banished; when the desires get the mastery conscience disappears. If we are really sincere toward ourselves, that state belongs to the original heart, because our conscience is sincerity, and sincerity is our conscience."

Nakae was optimistic. He once wrote: "Joy is the true quality of conscience; the real nature of man's mind is delight. In the nature of man's mind there is originally great pleasure." Here he resembles the Vedic thought which teaches that "the self which consists of great pleasure is the supreme one", and that "the inner self is made of delight, and differs from that which is the understanding".

If man's true nature is reason, whence has evil originated? To Nakae good and evil are relative terms. They have no real existence in themselves. In an absolute sense, there is neither good nor evil. They are present in a relative way when we look on human conduct, and pronounce it good or bad. He said: "The mind itself is neither good nor bad. Looking on traces of action that originated in mind, we pronounce them to be good, because compliance with the very nature of mind is invariably right." In thus regarding the mind from these two standpoints, viz., the absolute and the relative, he is following Yomei, who used to say, "The nature of mind is absolutely good, and there is no evil in it". He (Yomei) also taught: "That which has no good and no evil is what we call the absolute good."

Not being able to account for evil from man's conscience, Nakae taught that it originated in the human will. He said: "There are many things that darken the brightest virtue, but their root lies in the will." "Will is the source of all desires and evil. If will prevails, the brightest virtue becomes darkened, and conduct becomes confused and bewildered.

If there is no will, virtue brightens, and things get restored to their original positions." "The root of all evil is the disease, the will." Nakae probably did not give our meaning to the word will. He may have meant something like "desire". If there be desire even in slight measure, the mind loses its tranquillity, and inclines to one side or the other. In this way moral evil makes its first appearance. Here is a difference between Shushi and Yomei. The former said, "Will is the mind's activity"; the latter said, "Will is the inclination of mind which makes it lose its natural tranquillity". The one does not assume that will necessarily inclines to evil; the other makes it the source of all evil. Nakae also defines will as the condition in which the mind loses its natural position, and not as the mind itself acting.

The superior man differs from the vulgar man in not being deluded by selfish desire. When asked where will comes from, Nakae would answer that it is concealed in the mind, and that all evil comes from this concealed will.

What Tojiu calls will we may call selfish desire, but as mind is to be thought of as absolutely good, his thought here becomes very obscure, and he fails to add anything to the problem that still perplexes us. He did not think of it as belonging to "Ki" (the sensible world), for he calls "Ki" the spouse of "Ri", and says, "It is good and not evil". On the other hand, he thought of our bodies as being the source of evil, since they are the source of our desire, and the feeling of like or dislike which springs from selfishness. At times he even calls this selfishness moral evil. He said: "Moral evil comes from worldly desire and not from human nature."

A story is told which describes his thought on this rather interesting question. He had one wife and no concubines. She was not very beautiful, so his mother wanted him to send her home and re-marry. Much as he loved his mother, he refused to obey her in this request.

In regard to the relation of man and wife he wrote: "The relation of man to woman is that of heaven to earth. Heaven is strength, and is the origin of all things; earth is receptive, accepting what heaven makes, and nurtures them. Herein is the harmony between a man and his wife. The former originates, and the latter completes."¹

¹ "Representative Men of Japan", page 166.

CHAPTER III
KUMAZAWA BANZAN

Nakae's most noted disciple was Kumazawa Banzan, also known as Ryokai. As a child he was called Jirohachi. He was born in Kyoto in 1619. He was a very precocious boy. At sixteen he was made an official by the feudal lord of Bizen, who considered him a very promising young man, worthy of promotion. Banzan, however, felt an irresistible desire for learning and culture. He considered the acquisition of culture the first requisite for a statesman or for a loyal retainer of a feudal lord. Accordingly he resigned his position with the lord of Bizen, and set out for Omi, where Nakae's reputation as a scholar and teacher was very great. He called at Nakae's home in Ogawa village, and asked for an audience with the great teacher, but was refused. He returned home disappointed. This was in August, 1641, when he was twenty-three years of age. In November he went again, and by urging his case he was granted an audience. He told Nakae that his one great desire was to get culture, and in order to be free to study he had put his parents in charge of his younger brother. Nakae said to him: "The first principle of culture is filial piety, which requires one to nourish and support his parents. It is a mistake for you to put your parents in charge of your younger brother. If you truly care for them and support them, you can find learning anywhere, and you will thus be able to learn in a true sense."

Banzan returned home and tried to persuade his parents to allow him to support them, but knowing his desire for learning, they urged him to leave them. Seeing that he was determined, they offered to go to Omi and live near Nakae, so that he could get the desired instruction. So the whole family moved to Ogawa village. Banzan supported them, and studied during his spare moments. Nakae was very sympathetic with him in his trying position, for he was very poor and had five brothers and sisters depending on him, in addition to his parents.

At first Banzan studied the Chinese classic on filial piety, then "The Great Learning of Confucius", and after that



KUMAZAWA BANZAN

"The Doctrine of the Mean", adopting the method of Yomei. Although he was very poor he did not cease to study. He made the best of every opportunity. When he was twenty-seven years of age he again became an official of the lord of Bizen. Under his direction the estate became very prosperous and well protected. By the time he was thirty-one years of age he had a reputation for scholarship all over Japan, and his name reflected great credit upon the wisdom and intelligence of his lord.

Under such a lord, Banzan was able to realize his ideal, and held a relation to his lord similar to that of Bismarck to the Emperor Wilhelm, for in feudal times these little daimios were despots in their own territory, and often treated their subjects in a very tyrannical manner. Banzan was opposed to this, and devised a plan of letting his subjects speak. At various centres he hung up "Boxes for Advice", so that the people could express their minds and not reveal their identity. He himself read these anonymous letters with an open mind, and endeavoured to treat the people with justice and respect.

Banzan favoured Confucianism as a means for cultivating the people, and earnestly endeavoured to make its teachings known, opposing both Buddhism and Christianity. His estate enjoyed such a period of peace and prosperity that all Japan wondered at it. When he was thirty-seven years of age he fell from his horse, and hurt his foot and hand. On account of the inconvenience caused by this accident, he resigned his office, in spite of the efforts of his lord to retain him. After his resignation the lord of Bizen employed his son, offering him a salary of 3000 koku of rice. Banzan thought the boy was not worth so much, and asked the lord to reduce his salary to 300 koku, until he was able to earn more.

Banzan now took up his abode in Kyoto, the capital of Japan, at that time, and began to study music. He lived very humbly. One day, dressed as a peasant, he was playing a flute; Abe Hida heard him and said: "Any man who can play such music must be a great man." In Kyoto he quickly gathered a host of admiring friends, among whom were many nobles and some Buddhist priests. But with many of the great men of feudal times, when they became popular their position was dangerous. So when Banzan was at the height

of his power his enemies tried to persuade the official of the Tokugawa government that he was a dangerous man. They said: "Banzan is a man of ability, who is admired by all the feudal lords, with some of whom he is on intimate terms. He is also friendly with many of the great nobles, the direct retainers of His Majesty the Emperor himself; he is probably intriguing against the Tokugawa government." The official thus addressed acknowledged the possibility, and Banzan being warned of danger retired to the mountains. Before going, he said: "My moral attainment is not perfect, and my reason is not deep, therefore I have left an opening for my enemy to ruin me; but my ideal is high, for I do not aim at either wealth or reputation. Therefore in the future, or it may be in the ages to come, my unselfish idea will be clearly seen. It will be as if a dark cloud passed away, revealing the full moon in all its brightness. At such times the sun seems to shine brighter than ever." In this quotation Banzan reveals an admirable faith in the moral order of the universe.

For two years he remained in solitude, studying hard, and earnestly seeking higher moral attainments. After that he took up his abode in Harima. Shortly after this he wrote a letter to the government, demanding reform, and as a result was put under light imprisonment by the Tokugawa government, which was very nervous, because of an insurrection which broke out about this time. Although the uprising was suppressed, it made the government so timid that they confined great men like Banzan and Yamaga Soko to the care of trusted daimios. Ogiu said: "Banzan has the qualities of a great man, and Ito Jinsai is a great scholar. There are none to compare with these two men." Banzan died at the age of seventy-three years.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF KUMAZAWA BANZAN

Banzan was greatly influenced by his teacher, Nakae Tojiu, from whom his views are largely derived; but Banzan was not a blind advocate of the Yomei school. Some one remarked to him that the school had some points of great worth. He replied: "It has some merit, but it also has its weak points. Many of the disciples of Yomei do not clearly understand the sacred books, and are ignorant of the central

thought of morality. They are shallow, and think their own opinions are the opinions of Confucius. Before the time of Yomei, men did not make that mistake. Then Confucianism was not so bad. At present it is none too good. The great defect of the Yomei school is that its advocates lack erudition, and accept as best that to which their own shallow thought is drawn. They lack historical knowledge of Confucianism or Buddhism, although they pretend to have it. Consequently, though the school has much that is commendable, it has also much error."

His criticism of the Yomei school gave offence to many of its advocates, but it was not intended to injure the reputation of his honoured teacher, Nakae Tojiu. Some one once asked him why he did not insist on the opinions of his teacher, instead of on his own, and whether he did not think he was conceited to do as he was doing. Banzan said: "I have learned great principles from my teacher, and I do not violate them. The application of those principles differs from time to time. These principles are not to do evil to any one; not to injure even an insignificant man, in order to set myself on the throne of public favour; to hate unrighteousness, and to be ashamed of evil because I have bright virtue, and to have this bright virtue growing brighter and brighter. In these principles I do not differ from my late teacher, but the application of any principle must differ from time to time, because knowledge is constantly growing. I may not be called a disciple of Nakae's, because I do not value his words as such. My disciples are at perfect liberty to reject my words, but if they stand on the same principles as I, they are truly my comrades." Banzan had learned that a scholar was not one who, parrot-like, repeated over the exact words of his teacher. Although his own theory was quite different from that of Tojiu, the principles on which he based his life were the same.

Speaking of the influence of Yomei on his life, he said: "Tojiu read and perused the work of Yomei, and allowed me to read it also. I found truth in it, which I have retained even to the present."

Banzan was a true student. Even from the first he was inclined to have an opinion of his own, and constantly differed from his teacher. When he first met Nakae he composed a poem, which aptly reveals his disposition. "There is no god

in the shrine to which all men go to worship. God abides in the heart of man." To this, Nakae in his own characteristic way replied: "The shrine, from ancient times, is like the moon to the heart of man. God shines on him who goes there to worship." In these poems we see the constructive tendencies of Nakae, and the almost iconoclastic ideas of Banzan.

Banzan, because of his association with Nakae, is classed as a disciple of the Yomei school in Japan, but in fact he did not himself realize that he belonged to the same school as his teacher. In reply to one who sought his opinion about Shushi and Yomei, he said in his outspoken way: "Some say Shushi was a great scholar; he was also a very clever man, well versed in the classics. He has contributed the most able commentary on Confucianism yet written. I do not know whether his comments were acceptable or not, but it is a fact that people a generation after have derived great benefit from his work. As for Yomei, he was a literary man and a great and wise general. He was able to grasp the depth of the teaching of Mencius about original heart and morality. He initiated a new movement in Confucianism, which lays stress on self-introspection. He thus gave rise to the tendency to direct the attention to one's inner self rather than seek truth in the outer world. We owe much to him for this, because the man who gives his attention to his own inner self finds there the true man, and the truths of the classics revealed."

In answer to the question whether there were any defects in either of these two schools, Banzan answered: "Shushi, like many other scholars, read very deeply, but neglected to study himself. Shushi was clever in speculation¹ about things, but not in the study of the heart.² A book may be compared to the footprints of a rabbit which you wish to catch; but if you can catch the rabbit, there is no longer any need for the footprints. The sacred books are like so many footprints leading us to our deep inner true selves, but if we can catch the nature of our true selves, there is no need of the books. It is necessary to get a general idea of books, but it is not always necessary to spend much time on the words and

¹ Rigakuri = Reason. Gaku = Learning. Rigaku now means physics, but this is not the same.

² Shin-Rishin = heart. Ri = Reason. Shinri is the name now given to Psychology, but of course this cannot be translated Psychology.

characters. Shushi stuck too closely to the words and phrases of the sacred books. On the other hand, Yomei laid too much stress on benevolence; consequently his method seems to be too simple. It therefore resembles Buddhism."

Banzan did not like the criticisms made by the disciples of one school against another. Speaking of this he said: "The disciples of Shushi praise their own teacher and the disciples of Yomei do likewise. Each school tries to cry down the founder of the other. This is a great fault in both. Yomei and Shushi alike were great men, and neither the one nor the other wished for praise. Both alike desired that truth should take deep root in the hearts of the people. Their aim was that men should attain to the art of true living as perfect men. Then why is there need for quarrelling and division into two sects? Since these two sects have been founded, the true teaching of Confucius has been neglected. This will never do. We must grasp the meaning of these two great men, and, setting aside their various forms, find in each of them valuable fruit. We should eat the fruit instead of trying to eat the bark, which is devoid of any real nutrition."

Nevertheless, Banzan had a decided bias in favour of the Yomei school, especially in his method of self-culture. He expressed himself thus: "If I give attention to my inner self, I can find truth; no matter how clever and exact a man's teaching may be, if he does not study his heart, his teaching is empty. A common man becomes a saint through self-examination." From these quotations we see that Banzan was a true follower of Yomei, though he professed to stand on impartial ground between the two schools. His real attitude to the Shushi school is expressed in the following quotation: "The Shushi school explains Confucianism very cleverly, but it does not suit us Japanese. The advocates of the school at present eagerly adhere to its formalism, but they are not superior to common people." He probably thought it wise not to say too much in regard to the school on which the Tokugawa government had based its system of ethics and education. This probably is the reason for his attempt to take an impartial attitude toward the two schools. He is in reality a true disciple of Nakae and Yomei.

His views on religion are not without interest. He thought Buddhism was a delusion. The doctrine of trans-

migration, which is so fundamental to Buddhists, he put down as unprovable imagination and because the fundamental principle is pure delusion, the whole structure was condemned as a castle in the air. He said: "Buddhistic renunciation comes from the fear of transmigration, which does not exist at all. To think so is illusion. Buddha had this illusion, because his mind's eye was diseased. To share in this illusion is to partake of his disease. Buddhism, which is founded on an illusion, contradicts Confucianism. These two systems are antagonistic and cannot stand together. For an enlightened man Buddhism is a most shallow and ignorant religion. Only the foolish could think it the best. All Buddhists must be foolish. Compare what they call an enlightened priest with the common people, and we find him not superior. You Buddhists aim at renunciation, but you cannot bear to go all winter in summer clothes. You cannot stand the pangs of hunger. Why do you try to do the impossible? It is because you do not know that mind is the living being."

He thought Buddhism was the forerunner of Christianity. "The present Buddhists are the guides to Christian propagation. Both religions believe in future life, but Buddhism is the first step toward Christianity."

His first impressions of Christianity were by no means flattering. "It is not difficult to keep back Buddhism, but it is almost impossible to defend ourselves against Christianity, for it is like a disease that takes hold of the body itself. The roots of this disease lie in the superstition and poverty of the people." But later he seems to have learned more about Christianity, for he said: "Christianity is superior to Buddhism, being more reasonable, and having a more clever method of propagation. It cannot be checked by Buddhism, which will be run down by it." In fact, he came to feel that even Confucianism would be vanquished by Christianity, for he wrote: "At present Confucianism cannot expect to become a governmental power. It will be vanquished by Christianity." He did not think that even Confucianism was more adapted to the needs of Japan than either Buddhism or Christianity. He considered Shintoism best for Japan, though Confucianism gave some very necessary elements to the national life. He thought the three treasures, the sword, the mirror and the jewel, which had been handed down through the ages as the

most precious treasures of the imperial house, were the symbols of courage, intelligence and benevolence. "These are the foundation of our state, and the foundation principles of our nation. We do not need anything else. To worship Buddha and serve a foreign god is, in other words, to forget our own master and serve a foreigner." Confucianism had done so much for him he could not cast it off, so he endeavoured to combine it with Shintoism. He said: "Shintoism and Confucianism are originally one and the same thing. They both express the law of human conduct, and show the path that every man should tread." His interpretation of the meaning of the three treasures reveals Confucian or Chinese influence.

After Banzan there were scholars who professed to belong to the same school, but none of them were very directly related to Nakae or Banzan. Some were indirectly influenced by these men, but for the most part they learned their doctrines directly from the writings of the Chinese teacher himself. The following table gives most of the famous scholars of the school.

OTHER YOMEI SCHOLARS OF JAPAN

Miyake Sekian	{	Miyake Shunro	}	Nakai Chikusan
		Nakai Shuan		Sato Issai
		Tominaga Chuki		

Tominaga afterwards opposed Confucian teaching

Sato Issai is also counted in the Shushi School.

Sato Issai	{	Sauma Shozan—Yoshida Shoin—Takasugi Toko	}	
		Kawada Sokai		
		Ikedo Soan		
		Okumiya Zozai		Okamoto Neisai ¹
				Ichikawa Shinsai
				Kawajiri Hokin
				Osaki Guntei
				Nakae Chomin
		Takemura Kwaisai		
		Yamada Hokoku		Kawai Akiyoshi ²
		Yoshimura Shuyo		Mishima Chinshu ³
		Higashi Takusha		Yoshimura Hizan
		Nakajima Sozonsai		Higashi Keiji
Kanako Tokusho	Kurusan Tenzan			
Yanagisawa Shirio				
Disciples of Sato Issai during his adherence to Shushi School.	{	Sawamura Susumu	}	
		Ohashi Junzo		
		Takemura Kwaisai		
		Sato Kon		
		Yoshimura Shin		
		Wakayama Kyoku		
		Yamada Hokoku—Kawada Oko		
		Kawada Ko		
		Sakuma Shozan		Yoshida Shoin
				Kato Hiroyuki
		Hayashi Kwakuryo		
		Mitani Kan		
		Tsukakoshi Un		
Kikuchi Ri				
Nakamura Keiu				

¹These are chiefly known in Tosa province.

²The loyalist leader.

³Once a teacher to the present Emperor.

CHAPTER IV

KITAJIMA SETSUZAN AND OTHERS

Without any relation to the school founded by Nakae, Kitajima learned and enjoyed the learning of Yomei. He was born in the province of Higo in 1637 and died in 1697. In his youth he probably studied the philosophy of Shushi, as he associated with Razan's son, Kinoshita Junan, and other scholars. He made such progress that he won the reputation among scholars of being one of the best in Japan. He was afterwards converted to the school of Yomei, and became an earnest teacher of that philosophy. As retainer to the lord of Kumamoto, he enjoyed a quiet and peaceful life, teaching his students. He received from the feudal lord a salary of 400 koku of grain.

In 1669, while he was yet in his thirty-second year, an edict was issued by the lord of Higo, ordering every official who was teaching Yomei philosophy to cease doing so. This came as a great shock to all Yomei teachers, but Setsuzan consulted with his friends, and decided to resign his office. He said: "It is not manly for one to give up his faith, and act contrary to what he believes, merely that he may receive his salary." He immediately presented his resignation, saying: "My principles have been received from Yomei philosophy, and my conduct towards my parents and sovereign have all been derived from the same source. I cannot give up my principles for all the world. If I could, it would mean the loss of my loyalty and my filial piety. I must resign my office. Farewell."

His loyalty to his convictions won the admiration and respect of his lord, who was very reluctant to let him go. Before leaving the place Setsuzan put the house he had been occupying in order, cleaned up the garden, and handed them over to his lord, who felt such sympathy for him that he gave him three years' salary in advance.

At this time about a score of prominent officials gave up their positions because of the attitude of the government to the philosophy of Yomei. The school had been condemned by the government, largely because it inspired men with the spirit of equality, and because its adherents were loyal to the

Emperor, who had become almost powerless in the hands of the Tokugawa military rulers, who were constantly in dread of a revolution which would rob them of their power.

After this dismissal Setsuzan was free to follow his own will. He was not ashamed to dress in inferior clothes, even though he had to appear among nobles. He prided himself in the fact that clothes did not make the man. If he saw a man shivering with the cold, he would take off the kimono he was wearing and give it to the man, and then hasten home with nothing but his loin cloth to cover his own nakedness.

He was an indefatigable worker. His knowledge of the Yomei philosophy was not obtained from any teacher, but was the result of his own application and study. His influence in educational circles was not so great as his youth gave promise. After his resignation from office he gave himself up to endeavour to excel in writing Chinese characters. Influenced by the attitude of the government toward Yomei philosophy, he did not write any books of importance, though he wrote one on an historical topic. Finally, he became very skillful in writing Chinese characters.

Mie Shoan, who was born in Kyoto about two hundred years ago, became a scholar of the Yomei school through reading the great book of Yomei. He says he read and reread the book before the meaning became clear to him, but when it did, it was very satisfying. He wrote a couple of books on philosophy for his disciples, among whom Toyonitsu Norimoto and Murakami Meiryō were famous. According to him, conscience is the divine light in the mind. It is eternally immutable, possessed by all men, who are therefore of the same original nature. Men are sages, and superior in proportion as they retain this divine light. "The teaching of the sacred books aims to make man faithful to his conscience. If we hang up the motto, 'Awaken your intuitive knowledge',¹ and realize it in our lives, we can get real good from the sacred books. If we do not, we cannot get any real merit from them, and our learning is in vain. Therefore this motto (literally, these three Chinese characters) is the centre of all learning,

¹ Conscience and Intuitive knowledge are literally the same, "Ryochi wo itasu". Ryo—Good. Chi—Knowledge. Intuitive knowledge, sometimes translated conscience. The ordinary man's conscience is clouded and vague. This teaching aims to bring it out and make it clear.

and the first principle of the teaching of the previous sages. This is the essence of Yomei philosophy."

Shoan also emphasized the importance of the relation of parent and child. "It is not difficult to have filial piety when your parents are loving and kind, but true filial piety requires that we serve and treat with kindness parents who are cruel and unloving." "As children are reproductions of their parents, they are the parents themselves. Since parents divide themselves in their children, we can see the parent in the child. It follows that for parents to let their children go uneducated is for them to do injury to themselves. This is the beginning of filial piety." He also taught that all men are by nature equal, and tried to show that the real difference between a sovereign and a vassal, is due to circumstances rather than to any real difference in their natures. "Birth makes men vassals or sovereigns. Essentially all men are the children of the universe. Therefore all men are brethren." He was pantheistic in his viewpoint, holding that "Ri" and "Ki" were one and the same, and therefore all things are one.

Miyake Sekian was born at Kyoto in 1665. When a boy he was very studious and diligent. He lost his parents at an early age, and as he devoted his whole time to study, he became so poor that he had to sell all his possessions in order to get enough to live on. One day he said to his younger brother, Kwanran, who was also very fond of study: "We are very poor, but if we are content to live on plain food, and dress in inferior clothes, this money will keep us going for several years." They studied together until their funds were exhausted, and then they went up to Yedo and opened a private school, which scarcely supplied their needs. Some years later Sekian went back to Kyoto where he fell in with a nobleman from Sanuki, who invited him to come and teach the young men in his country. He accepted the call, and spent four years in Sanuki where his influence was great. The moral condition of the people was improved and their love of learning awakened by his earnest effort.

Leaving Sanuki, he returned to Osaka and began to teach the doctrines of the Shushi school. His disciples planned to build a school for him, and petitioned the government to make a grant for this purpose. The government knowing the fame of Sekian, granted a plot of land for the

school, and appointed Sekian as principal, though he several times refused to accept the position.

Sekian was a simple, modest man, kind-hearted toward all men. His one subject of conversation was "Humanity" (benevolence). He dressed in cotton clothes, and throughout his life never once put on silk.

He was finally convinced that the Yomei school excelled all others, and became a staunch believer in it. His efforts to propagate the doctrine of the school were very successful. He did not depreciate his former learning. He says: "Shushi and Yomei are both great scholars. The disciples of each school depreciate the founder of the opposite school, but the fact is that the founders are not enemies. They are one in purpose and aim, and only differ in method. In one word, I would express their aim as this, to sacrifice themselves for society."

Sekian died at the age of sixty-six years. He left a few books in which he expressed his opinion of Yomei philosophy.

CHAPTER V
MIWA SHITSUSAI

Miwa Shitsusai was born in Kyoto in 1669. His forefathers had been Shinto priests, but his father was a physician. He lost his mother when he was four, and his father when he was fourteen years of age. When he was eighteen he went with a relative, Omura Hikotaro, to visit a temple in Kitano, in Kyoto, and there in earnest prayer and meditation they requested the god to indicate what occupation in life they were to follow and the best means of obtaining success. Receiving the answer that Shitsusai should become a physician or scholar and Hikotaro should become a merchant, they set out together to Yedo. At Shinagawa, on the outskirts of Yedo, they parted, agreeing to meet at Nihonbashi, in the evening of the same day five years later. Shitsusai then entered Yedo, and became a student of medicine under several of the best physicians of the day; but the following year he became a student of Sato Naokata, a noted Shushi scholar. This was the beginning of his career as a scholar. Naokata was a very influential teacher, and taught one of the feudal lords named Sakai. The application and natural genius of Shitsusai enabled him at the end of a very short time to take his teacher's place in case of necessity. When Shitsusai was twenty-two, Naokata introduced him to the feudal lord, who gave him a salary and a free house, thus making him independent.

Shortly after this, on the evening of March 3, he went to the bridge to meet Hikotaro. When he arrived with a servant, he found his friend with a servant waiting for him. They spent the night talking over their experiences, and parted in the morning without having told where they were living, but agreeing to meet in the same place in three years. At the end of that time Shitsusai took four servants and went to the bridge, where Hikotaro was waiting for him with exactly the same number of servants. Shitsusai now told his friend he was a teacher and the recipient of a large salary from a feudal lord. Hikotaro told how he had opened a business on a small scale, and had gradually increased it until

at the time of their second meeting he was worth much money, and able to employ a large retinue of servants. From this time the two friends met and enjoyed each other's company as they had done when boys together in Kyoto. Hikotaro is the founder of a well-known mercer's store, known in Japan as Shirokiya, and for generations every master of that store has been known as Hikotaro.

While Shitsusai was taught in the Shushi philosophy by Naokata he was eagerly investigating other schools of thought of which the Yomei school pleased him most. When Naokata heard this he was very angry, and refused to have anything further to do with him. This action nearly broke Shitsusai's heart, but he would not give up his convictions. When Naokata saw that he was not prompted by mere pride of learning, or by any other inferior motive, he was quite willing to renew the former relationship. He admired Shitsusai because he was moved by nothing, except a pure desire for the truth.

One day Naokata became very ill and sent for Shitsusai, but when he arrived his teacher and benefactor had breathed his last. He was filled with grief, and wrote many poems expressing his deep sorrow. Only a Japanese can appreciate the beauty of these sayings, but we will try to give the meaning of one of them. "Just as the full moon to-night is covered with a dark cloud, so our beloved teacher, kind and good, has been concealed from our eyes. No sorrow can be greater than this."

After a journey to Kyoto and Osaka he returned to Tokyo, opened a private school, and gathered around him many students. He worked hard to propagate Confucianism, and made a very important contribution to the higher life of Japan. Shortly before his death he returned to Kyoto at the age of seventy-six. In the fourth year of Kwanpo on January 23 he was taken with severe illness, and knowing the end was near, he shaved his beard, and worshipped at the ancestral shrine for the last time, bidding the god a long farewell. Next day he sent for his relatives and servants, and said good-bye to them also. Then he requested paper and brush, and wrote: "Miwa Shitsusai died January 25, fourth year of Kwanpo" (1744). The next day (on January 25) his spirit took its flight.

Shitsusai enjoys the rather enviable reputation of being one of the best composers of Japanese verse among Confucian scholars. He was a good writer of Chinese poems and Japanese prose. Among his Chinese poems there are many excellent ones. In one of them he says: "Do not criticize other people. To do so is to make a mistake. If one makes a mistake himself, how can he correct others? Do not criticize other people."

In a letter he expresses his opinion of human life. "In former times it was said that truth is in the human mind, and is manifested as clearly as the sun. It is as a great road which cannot be overlooked by any one. All human conduct comes from the mind, as do also like and dislike, good and evil. There is no excuse for not knowing this great fact. Why, then, does man not walk in this way illuminated by his conscience? This way is well said to be near man, and easily realized by him. Since the death of Mencius scholars have forgotten this fundamental principle, and have sought after the mere letter of Confucianism only. They have mistaken the branches for the trunk or root. As a consequence, a whole lifetime cannot root out the foolish and harmful lusts which hide man's original good nature. More learning seems to increase man's haughtiness, and the better a man is informed in the letter, the more hypercritical he becomes. To-day every scholar insists on his own ideas being the true ideas of his great master. Alas, Taoism and Buddhism are better than the Confucianism of to-day. Even a genius or a virtuous man would find it difficult to elevate the principles of Confucianism to their original place. But as I have already said, the truth is not far from one's true self. It is like the sun in the sky, or like a wide path. If we turn back unto ourselves, we can find the truth clearly, without fail."

His most important work was the publication of Yomei's greatest book, "Denshuroku". After the death of Nakae and Banzan, Yomei thought declined in Japan, but the publication of this classic revived interest in it.

Shitsusai had great reverence for Nakae, whom he considered the greatest man since Yomei. He said: "The revered teacher, virtuous and orthodox, is the founder of true Confucian thought in Japan. He taught it, and the people have lovingly followed his example, respected his virtue, and

put forth earnest effort to do good and become virtuous." Once he visited Ogawa village and delivered a lecture. Under his voice the people wept, and regarded him as Nakae Tojiu come to life.

He was first taught by a famous Shushi scholar, but was converted to the philosophy of Yomei at the age of thirty. In a letter to a friend he mentions this fact. "I read Yomei's book for the first time when I was thirty years of age. I felt I received help from it, and I have looked upon the method of Yomei as the true one since then, and have endeavoured to act according to it." From that time, without belittling the teaching of Shushi, he tried to show the superiority of the Yomei school.

Shitsusai's teaching is very practical. He thought there were ten steps in the attainment of perfection or sainthood. The first one was the determination of one's will. The soul is the crystallization of heavenly reason, and will is the action of the soul. In the soul there is no evil, and therefore in the will there is also no evil. It is of the very nature of the will to will perfection. To will heresy is unnatural, and arises from delusion. The term found in Confucian books for will implies that we will the orthodox. To will to attain perfection is the end of learning, the all and in all of learning. To have the will determined to attain perfection is the realization of reason. We should concentrate our wills, as a cat fixes its eye on a rat. Though we have our wills fixed firmly there are desires that are opposed to it, which cover its bright light as the clouds cover the sun. Then the conscience becomes darkened, and the will is overwhelmed by desire for worldly things. We must take care therefore to reprove and humiliate ourselves if we see any tendency for desire to subjugate will. "If we are not careful even in little things, great virtue will be destroyed. Words and actions are the clothing of the will. If we are imprudent in speech or action even in things that appear insignificant, the will¹ will be chilled. Righteousness and the way are food for the will. If we do not obey these, the will will starve. If it is chilled and starved, even though we try to lash it into action it will not move."

¹ Kokorozashi (Will) originally was written the "Going Heart."

The second step is to be sensible of shame. Both body and soul come from our parents. In a sense, they are our parents themselves. If our true nature is injured, it is as if we have killed our parents. We would count the man who killed our parents our mortal enemy, and follow him until we had taken vengeance on him. Why, then, should we not seek to destroy our inner enemy, and count him as one who kills our parents? He is within our reach, and if we do not kill him, we should be ashamed of our neglect to our parents. Truly such disgraceful neglect should cause us to feel contempt for ourselves.

The third step toward perfection is filial piety and brotherly love. These are the virtues which produce all things in the universe, and in man become righteousness and humanity, filial piety and brotherly love. These virtues are natural to every man, but his will must be firmly fixed before he can realize them in himself. Apart from man's will he cannot reveal his true nature.

The next step is to nourish "Ki", our bodies. "Ki" is the life of the body which feels cold, warmth, pain and pleasure. It is not separable from the soul; the latter may be considered as the living content, and the former as the vessel. If the will be fixed in righteousness, the body will assist the soul, becoming one with it. They will act together as they ought to do. But if the body prevails over the will, the moral consciousness will become weak and dim. Therefore, sages and philosophers fix the will first, and do not permit the body to follow its own arbitrary way. With the will thus fixed, the body must obey reason (the principle "Ri"), and there is no danger of degeneration. In short, though the body has an independent function, it must be governed by the soul. It should be nourished and fed, that it may become the strong energy that Mencius called "the universal energy".¹ If the body becomes strong, and is subject to the soul, then we can withstand anything.

The fifth step is generosity. Man's nature is good by the will of heaven. The virtue of the soul is as broad as heaven and earth, and so man must be as broad as his virtue. It is a sorry sight to see man, under the influence of natural desire,

¹ "Kozen no ki," literally Great "Ki", but usually applied to righteousness, and may freely be translated the spirit of righteousness.

becoming narrow. We must cut out desire and become broadminded, and then we shall be able to understand the sacred teachings. The good acts of a narrow-minded man are superficial and unnatural. He is too much concerned about his social position, and has no firm foundation for thought and action.

The sixth step is to keep our temper calm. An ordinary person has not always an even temper. It changes from time to time. When the temper is calm, the soul comes to consciousness, but when the temper is bad, this is impossible. Therefore, tranquillity of temper is a necessary condition in the realization of our nobler natures. If the temper can be subdued and kept calm, we shall be conscious that every good act comes from our inner natures, and is a part of our own souls. When we reach this stage, all uneasiness of mind, bad feeling toward others, and sorrow, which torment ordinary people, will be banished, and peace will prevail in our inner world.

The seventh step is self-examination. Language is the voice of the soul, and conduct, the footprints. Selfish desire destroys the harmony between the soul and our conduct. If our language and our conduct are in harmony, it may be as a result of our conscience, or it may spring from selfishness. Man alone knows his own motive. So he must examine himself and cast out selfishness, in order that his soul may have a chance to realize itself. If we examine ourselves, we can find within ourselves divine reason which is universal and in all things. We do not need to seek in the outward world for the reason found in ourselves.

The eighth step is to develop our intuitive knowledge or conscience. We have innate knowledge, which Mencius called inborn virtue, and which resembles conscience. This is where men differ from animals. Learning aims to develop this true nature of man. In the ordinary man the higher nature is darkened as by a cloud of selfish desire and social anxiety. Sometimes this nature comes to the surface in the manner mentioned by Mencius, when he said that even a thief will save a drowning child. This is a manifestation of the inborn virtue. The act is not the result of meditation, but comes from the sudden stimulation of this inner nature. Every man has a conscience. He can distinguish between

good and evil. This is innate knowledge. It is the illustrious virtue. If a man realize his nature, he can clearly distinguish between good and evil and escape self-deception. He can then always be true to himself.

The ninth step is to be careful in thought, word and deed. Thought is the movement, speech the voice, and conduct the footprints of the soul. Every man has these three, but they are not always true to the soul itself. Therefore we must be careful not to think, speak or act falsely. We must first inquire from our higher self if we should realize the truest thought, speech and action.

The last step in attaining perfection is to strike the mean. An ancient sage said that selfish desire was strong and conscience weak, and that therefore we must be careful to seek the mean. This great truth has been handed down from the sages. Man has a body and with it a tendency which separates him from the right way. In the ordinary man, without any higher ideal, selfishness prevails over conscience, which, thus oppressed, scarcely shows itself on the surface of his thought. This was what led the sage to remark that conscience was weak and desire strong.

It is our conscience that distinguishes between good and evil, and not the body. But the separation from good and the approach to evil comes from the body. Men criticize themselves from the standpoint of self-interest. Selfish desire and our original nature cannot stand together. If one is strong, the other loses its footing. Therefore, sages were diligent to overthrow selfishness and give true heart its proper place. This was their one object. This is the end of learning.

“What is the mean? It is the soul. To walk in the way of righteousness, by unceasingly examining ourselves, and by being watchful over ourselves even when we are alone, in this way we can perceive and strike the mean, and in this way our consciences will always be bright.”

CHAPTER VI

NAKANE TORI AND HAYASHI SHIHEI

Nakane Tori was born in Idzu in 1694. When Nakane was thirteen, his father, who was a physician of some reputation, died; and his mother thinking to secure salvation for her husband, made her son a priest. At this time they were believers of the Zen sect, but Nakane did not like the way they neglected books and laid stress on meditation and intuition, so he went to Tokyo and became a priest of the Jodo sect. Here he began to study very earnestly the Buddhistic canon. The abbot of the temple was acquainted with Ogiu Sorai, the noted scholar of the classical school, and often spoke of Tori to Sorai, who thus became rather interested in the young man. At nineteen years of age he was making such progress that he was looked upon as one of the coming scholars of Japan, even by Sorai. One day when he was forced to rest because of sickness, he accidentally picked up the teaching of Mencius. He was struck by the truths he found there, and exclaimed with strong feeling: "Truth is simple and broad. Why should we carelessly follow Buddhist deception?" Shortly after this he went home, and requested his mother to permit him to give up all thought of becoming a priest. She was very reluctant to grant his request, but his uncle, who overheard the request, interceded for him, saying that it was a pity that such a wise and clever youth should be buried as a hermit. Obtaining his mother's permission to leave the temple, he returned to Tokyo. After his hair had grown long he called upon Sorai, who was quite displeased that Tori had taken such an important step without first consulting him, for according to Japanese custom he should have done so. Tori, however, was too independent to care. In his twenty-third year he published a criticism of the views of Sorai, and pleaded for some more adequate conception of truth. After that he spent two years with Muro Kyuso, in Kaga province, and again returned to Tokyo. For a time he became a merchant in Kamakura, selling Japanese clogs. A story is told that while he was there, he sold out all his books and clothes, so that he might buy medicine and food for a sick

friend, who was too poor to help himself. He did not stay there long, but moved to Tokyo where he remained for years, teaching young men and selling needles, thread and sandals for a living. He was nicknamed "Sandal Teacher". If he was fortunate enough to make a large sale of needles and thread, he quietly remained at home and studied till he was forced by lack of food to go out again with his wares.

He now bought Yomei's book, but not knowing its true value, he read it very carelessly at first. Soon he became intensely interested in it and said: "The true method of Confucianism is explained in this book. Why did I not read this earlier?" From that time his views were completely changed.

When he was an old man at Uruga, living with his relatives, he wrote several essays explaining the "All-One-Theory", or Pantheism. He died at the age of seventy without any family. His works were published by his disciples after his death. Being a pure-hearted man who lived a righteous life, not caring anything either for wealth or reputation, he was very much respected. His filial piety is famous. His father, who used to drink wine to excess, often returned home very late at night, but Tori always remained awake to help him. One night, his father being unusually late, the boy became uneasy and went in search of him, and found him lying under a tree, where he had fallen in his drunkenness. Not being able to persuade the old man to stagger home, he went and asked his mother for a mosquito net, explaining to her that the place where the old man was lying had other guests, and he needed a net. He then went and hung it from the tree, and remained watching his drunken father until morning.

Tori was rather skilful in both prose and poetry, but in his later days he gave himself up to the practical teaching of the Yomei school.

He was as independent as he was changeable. First a priest, then a student of Sorai of the classical school, then of Muro Kyuso of the Shushi school, he finally became an earnest believer in the teachings of Yomei. His convictions were then permanently established, for the more he studied this philosophy, the more firmly he held to it.

Like Yomei, he was a pantheist. He insisted on the oneness of all existence. All things are one in essence and are

not absolutely different from each other. He held that the truth of the "All-One" was the foundation of morality. Heaven and earth are one great person. The male and female principles are his breath, and the seasons are the expansion and contraction of his body. There is no absolute individuality; what seems so is merely a name. The essence of all things is one. He personified existence and thought. "Man is the mind of the universe, which is his body. The universe is the complete man, and the man is the universe." He emphasized this idea very strongly. Only that man who realizes his oneness with the universe can attain perfection. Man should aim to reproduce in himself such a man as is seen in the unity of existence. If man can attain this ideal, he will be able to crush out selfishness, which is the opposite of morality, and which results from a dualistic view of the universe and an individualistic view of man.

The essence of this great man's nature is benevolence. He said: "Heaven and earth are said to be the great parents of all things, of which man is the most excellent. If heaven and earth are the parents, then all things are their offspring. Parents and offspring are one in essence. Again, man is said to be the virtue of heaven and earth, or the mind of the universe. Then the universe is his body; body, mind and virtue are one, and not separate from each other. All things which we see in the universe are essentially the same thing, just as in the body we have eyes, mouth, ears, nose, neck, feet and shoulders, all in one. Some of these members are noble, and some are ignoble; but spirit penetrates into all of them, and shows that they belong to one unit. Humanity is one body."

If man can understand the oneness of the world, the difference between self and non-self, between I and another, will be abolished, and the barrier of individuality will disappear, and he will realize the identity of the world and himself. He tried to show that humanity or benevolence comes from this realization. He said: "The aim of learning is but to abolish the 'fence' which separates man from man. In other words, the distinction between 'he and I' will be abolished when we are truly educated. If a man will thus crush his selfishness, he can immediately realize humanity or benevolence." "The aim of the learning of the sages is

to perform benevolence, which arises from the conviction of the oneness of all things, in which all virtue lies. There are an innumerable number of different things in the universe, but their essential nature is the same as that of the universe. Their body is the body of the universe. The universe and humanity are one, and my parents, brothers, and all men are my self. Sun, moon, rain, dew, mountains, rivers, birds, animals and fish are also my self. Therefore, I should love and sympathize with others, because they are 'MY SELF', and not separable from me. It is not difficult to learn this truth, but it is the end of learning. Why do the scholars of this age aim at erudition, forgetting this simple truth?"

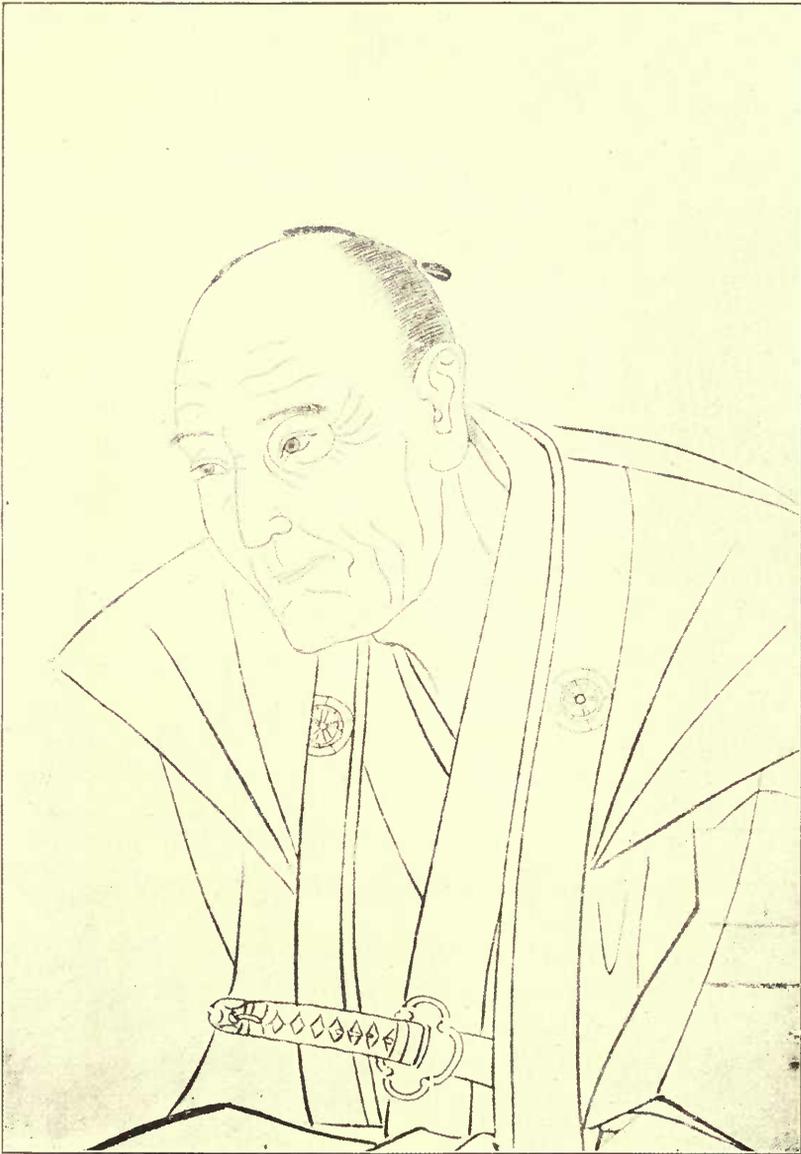
He feared that the scholars were neglecting the spirit and laying hold on the mere form of Confucianism, so he said: "An ordinary man thinks learning consists in reading books. He thinks if he can understand and explain the latter, he has succeeded. But the central point of Confucianism is simple, and written in large letters which need no explanation. I cannot understand why so many scholars endeavour to read difficult books and explain difficult phrases, instead of grasping the true meaning of Confucianism." In a letter he wrote: "All the truth of Confucianism is implied in the four sacred books and the five ancient classics, and in the books by Yomei, called 'Denshu-Roku' and 'Bun-Roku'. We need not seek the truth outside of these books."

Tori's moral standard is so admired that some say he almost attained to the standard of the sage. In another letter he said: "Students of holy learning should conquer selfishness and cultivate virtue. If they do so, they will understand the oneness of the world and have peace of mind. Then they will feel as if the dark world had become light, or as if they had been relieved of a heavy burden, or as if the blind man had opened his eyes. Past sin, remorse and sorrow will become as if it were last night's dream; peace will fill their souls. To grasp this truth will not cause them to tire of their studies, for they can now enjoy what they learn. It is my great regret that both teachers and students spend all their energy learning the letter, neglecting to seek peace of mind. I myself did not know this great truth for many years, but henceforth I shall enjoy it."

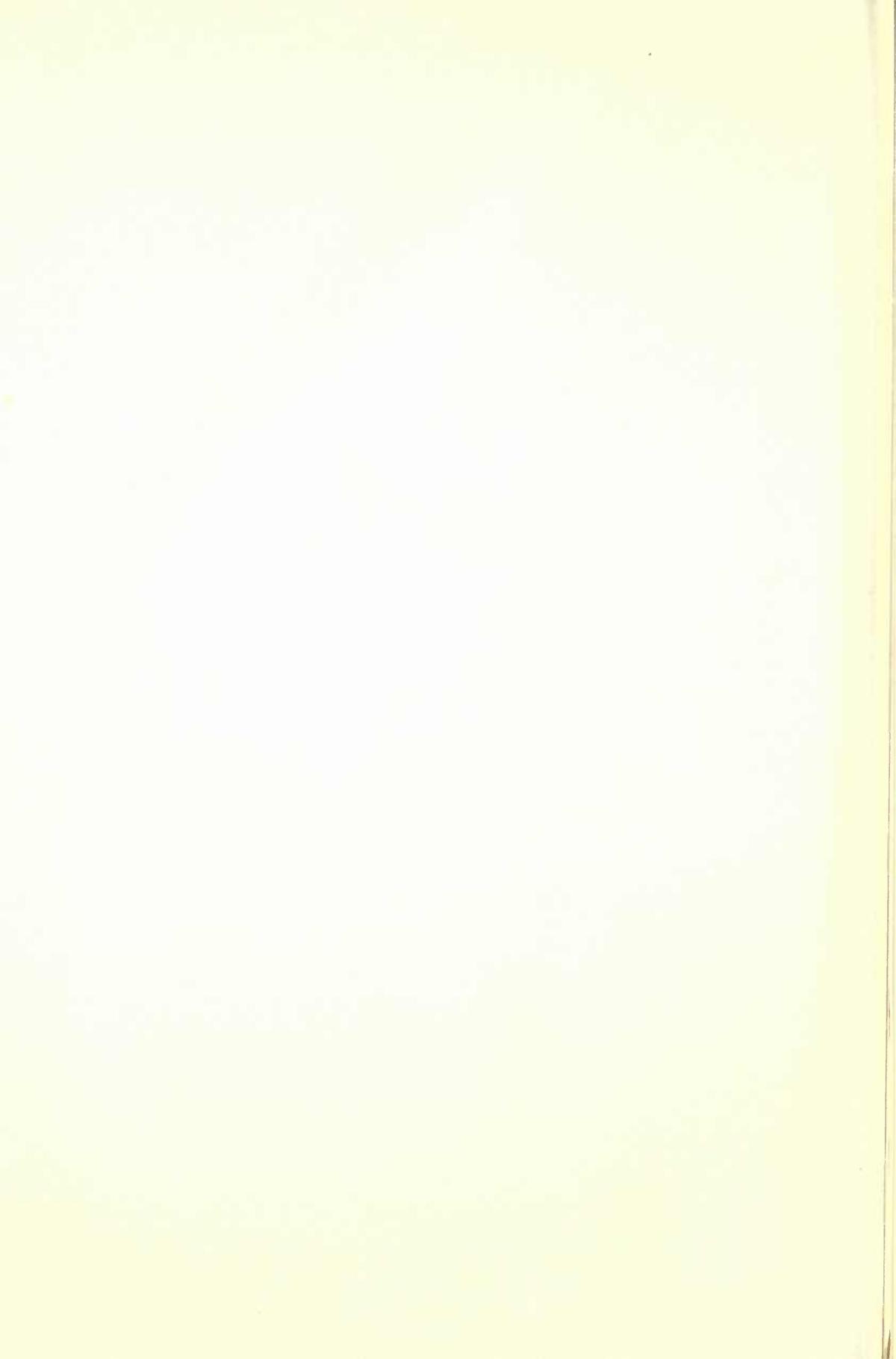
“Ambition for a good name hinders learning. We must forget the name and seek the reality. Every one is more or less afflicted with the disease of wishing for a good reputation. I confess I myself am not free from this disease. Of course, desire for a good reputation is not wrong in itself, but we must make it our chief aim to aspire after righteousness. Holy learning cares little for reputation, but honours righteousness. A man who cares only for reputation will not do good for its own sake, but simply to enhance his reputation. He will cringe before the opinion of others. A great name, without righteousness, is not only worthless but shameful. I do not envy any one his name, but I desire righteousness. If our thought and conduct is righteous we can enjoy peace and pleasure in our souls, which the criticism or slander of others cannot disturb. We should not mistake the stone-reputation for the jewel-reality. They are very different.”

Hayashi Shihei was born at Sendai. He was an eccentric man. His books were all condemned by the government. One of his poems was called “The Six No Poem”. It says: “I have no parents, no wife, no son, no block for printing, no money, and I wish for ‘no death’.” He used to sit in his room, scarcely ever going out. He died at the age of fifty-six.

He taught that every man has a conscience. One should recognize one’s conscience and endeavour to do good. “Every man has a conscience to distinguish good from evil. This intuitive knowledge of good and evil is conscience. It is not the result of study, but exists naturally in the heart of man, and is divine. Therefore, every man should consult his conscience in everything pertaining to daily life. To obey conscience, one must conquer himself. This is courage.” He said that it requires courage to do what the sages, Buddhas or Shintoists teach, but it is also necessary, in order to realize the noble personality of a true samurai, and is essential to the struggle for higher life.



SATO ISSAI



CHAPTER VII

SATO ISSAI AND OSHIWO CHUSAI

Sato Issai was born in Yedo in 1772. His father and his grandfather were samurai. As a boy he was a skilful fencer, a clever student, and was especially expert in writing Chinese characters. At nineteen years of age he became the retainer of the lord of Yuwamura, but after a year's service gave up his position and went to Osaka to study under Nakai Chikuzan, a famous teacher of Chinese philosophy. He also studied in Kyoto for a time, under Minagawa Kien, but returned to Osaka after a few months' absence. When he returned, Nakai handed him this maxim: "After suffering, one rests. After falling, one stands again." Being told it came from Yomei, Issai decided to study the Yomei learning.

In 1793, Issai, who is best known as an educationalist, became a regular teacher of Confucianism, and made tours through the country accompanied by his father. He received invitations from various lords to teach their retainers, but accepted that of Lord Hirado in Nagasaki. After spending several months there, part of the time in association with a scholar from China, he returned to Edo, where as a government teacher he afterwards had very many disciples. He died at the ripe age of eighty-eight years. His most noted disciple was the great loyalist, Sakuma Shozan.

Issai was a literary genius. Both his poems and his prose are very much admired. His works are nearly all preserved. Many critics say of him that he was outwardly a Shushi scholar, but at heart a scholar of the Yomei school. If he took this false attitude, it was doubtless because he was in the government employ, and for that reason it was unwise for him openly to advocate the Yomei philosophy. He was not the only scholar who tried to harmonize these two schools, but it is to be regretted if the fear of authority caused him to be untrue to his convictions.

Issai did not formulate a new system, but his knowledge was very wide. Speaking of "Reason" and "The Sensible World", he said: "All things are divisions of the universe. Reason does not exist outside of the sensible world. Reason

and the sensible world are essentially one. We can distinguish the one from the other in that one is the principle, and the other is the action. Reason governs, and the sensible world acts. Without the governing principle there is no action. The principle is revealed in action. These two are one; to separate them, and to insist that they are two, is a disease of scholars." He was, like Yomei, a monist.

He was also a fatalist. He believed all things follow their predestined course. "Man and society, day and night, the four seasons, birth and death, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, are governed by an unchangeable law of necessity. We cannot see the working of this law. It is like the machinery behind the puppet show. Many men who do not know this law, relying on their own knowledge, attempt the impossible. They are to be pitied." "Nature and human affairs change gradually. Necessity cannot be put off in the distance or brought near. It comes at the appointed time." Issai left no place for freedom of will or for human responsibility, for he had not yet learned that there is a difference between external and internal necessity. Man is determined, but he is largely self-determined.

Issai believed that mind comes from heaven, and dwells in the body which is of the earth. "All things have their respective sources. Our bodies come from our parents, and are made up of the essential elements of the earth in their proper relations. The mind is 'heaven' which comes and lives in our bodies after they are formed. Then perception begins, and continues as long as heaven lives in our bodies. The source of mind is the infinite. Every man knows heaven as the blue sky, and earth as the soil; but few know that the body with its skin, bone and hair is earth, and the mind with its perception is heaven."

"Human nature comes from heaven and is essentially and always good. Body comes from the earth, and is both good and bad. Evil conduct springs from man's body, not from his real nature. Man's nature comes from heaven, but his body is made up of concrete matter, and has both good and bad qualities." "Good and bad are not two things. In the essential nature of the universe there is no evil. It arises where there is either lack or excess. In the essential nature of the universe there is no good. It is called good when there

is neither lack nor excess." "Whence comes wrong? It comes from the body. The eyes, ears, nose, mouth and limbs are the instruments. If there is no eye or ear, there is no indulgence in the sinful pleasure that enters through these channels. Because there is a mouth and a nose, men are tempted to evil by the sense of taste and smell. Man's limbs lead him into luxury. Abolish these causes and there is no evil."

"Death is not a thing to be dreaded. Birth and death are like day and night." "All living beings fear death. Man, being the most excellent of all beings, should find a way to destroy this fear of death. Man belongs to heaven, so also does his destiny. His birth and death are controlled by heaven, therefore he should quietly obey the will of heaven." "Birth comes naturally, and does not give pleasure, and so death, coming in the same way, should not give pain or sadness. Both being natural, there should be neither pleasure nor pain in them. So we have no reason to fear death. The state after death is the same as the state before birth. By birth man comes into existence; by death, he returns to his former state. His nature transcends both birth and death. Birth and death resemble day and night, which are controlled by one principle. So is man's life."

"To know the state after death, one must know the state before birth. Day and night may be compared to birth and death. Waking and sleeping are birth and death on a small scale. Buddha thought birth and death very serious matters. Day and night are the birth and death of one day; expiration and inspiration are the birth and death of one moment. They are very ordinary experiences. Man's true nature transcends them both. We must see and recognize this truth."

Oshiwo Chusai was born in Awa in 1793 in the home of one of the retainers of Lord Tokushima in Awa. At an early age he lost his parents, and was adopted by the Shiwoda family and afterwards by the Oshiwo family. There are few records of his youth, but one anecdote describes him out walking, when he saw two boys quarreling and striking each other with clenched fists. Oshiwo took hold of them by the hair of their heads and shouted: "If giving yourselves over to anger, you neglect your master's business, I shall punish you

in a way you deserve." The boys, surprised at his rough manner, went off to their respective duties.

His teacher is not known; some say he studied under Nakai Chikuzan. He first studied military tactics and became a policeman; his experience in this capacity led him to feel deeply that knowledge is essential to humanity, so he went to Yedo and became a pupil in the private school of Hayashi Jussai, who admired him very much for his earnestness and application, holding him up as an example to the other students. He was now twenty years of age. Shortly after this his grandfather's death made it necessary for him to return to Osaka, where he became a constable in the employ of the city. In spite of the rigid class distinctions of the time, Oshiwo's ability brought him to the front. When Takai Yamashiro-no-Kami became governor of Osaka, his keen insight soon perceived the ability of Chusai, whom he appointed judge. Previously the administration of justice had been very much influenced by bribery and corruption. Criminals were able to buy their freedom. Consequently the people had little respect for the judges who accepted bribes. Chusai resolved to reform these conditions. At the time of his appointment there was a case which had continued in the courts for years, without any decision being passed upon it. As soon as Chusai's appointment was announced, the plaintiff in this case called on him after dark, and begged him to pass judgment in his favour, leaving what appeared to be a box of cake as a present. The following morning the case was called, and after listening to all the evidence Oshiwo decided that his guest of the previous evening was guilty; after close cross-examination, he led him to confess his guilt, and a just decision was reached. Then Oshiwo took out the box of cake and opened it, saying to his fellow judges: "You are fond of cake, and therefore could not decide this case." Removing the cover, the box proved to be filled with glittering coin. Every man in the court felt ashamed of the incident.

A woman in Kyoto was accused of being a witch and of having learned magic from a Christian. She was reported to have the power to perform miracles. She had many admirers in and around Kyoto. Chusai went with a policeman, and seizing her, crucified her, and cast her relatives into prison.

An old policeman and his followers were in the habit of intimidating the citizens, and using them unjustly. The police would not arrest him, but Chusai accepted the commission to do so, went to his house, and seizing him and his companions, cast them all into prison. Their property was confiscated and divided among the poor. In this way, in a remarkably short time after his appointment to the bench, he succeeded in completely reforming the administration of justice and in improving the character of the officials.

At this time Buddhist priests were very corrupt. Many of them not only drank wine to excess, but kept their own mistresses, in spite of the attempts of the officials to prevent them. Chusai took them in hand and cast the worst of them into prison. The result was that open violation of the law ceased. Chusai thus became famous all over Japan. Saito Setsudo wrote in a letter to him: "From the three capitals, through all the provinces, your good name is spread abroad. All eyes are upon you to see what you will do next. All Japan feels your influence."

When the governor of Osaka resigned his office in 1829, Chusai also resigned and became an educationalist. He gathered a class of students and taught them. He also went out on lecturing tours. His words and his appearance were so dignified that he was recognized everywhere he went as "The Teacher Oshiwo". When he went to visit the tomb of Nakae Tojiu in 1832, he wrote: "I went to Ogawa village to visit Nakae's tomb and pay my respects to the dead scholar. On my way home, as we were crossing Lake Biwa, a sudden storm arose, and all the ships except ours immediately hastened to the shore. Our boatman tried to proceed on his journey. When the storm became terrific, he apologized for his rashness and told us all would perish. My servant and the students who were with me were so seasick they could do nothing, so we were expecting every moment to be the last. I felt both fear and sorrow, when suddenly the words of my poem on Nakae's shrine flashed across my mind. 'No one makes his conscience so clear as Tojiu.' I reflected, if my own conscience is not clear, I should not advise others to make their conscience clear. Then I recalled Isen's words, 'Be true and reverent', and my own conscience awakened. I sat down and began to meditate. Soon all fear and sorrow over the

fate Providence had prescribed for me passed away, and I felt as if I were in the very presence of Yomei and Isen. However, the wind calmed and we were able to arrive at our destination in safety. The following day we climbed Mt. Hiei, and as my disciples admired the beauty of nature, the mountains, the clear blue sky, the lake, so calm and peaceful, and listened to the nightingale in the valley, one of my disciples remarked that the previous day's storm was very unfortunate. I replied: 'No, it was, on the contrary, a blessing to me, for through it I learned a great fundamental truth.'

After he resigned his office, most of the governors of Osaka held him in great respect, and frequently asked his advice about difficult problems. But one governor named Atobe, because of Oshiwo's low social standing, despised him. For several years the crops had been a failure, and in 1836 the people were in a starving condition. Oshiwo felt great sympathy for them, and tried to persuade the governor to give them rice, but though he seemed to listen, he was at the same time planning to send all the rice to Yedo. Then Chusai tried to persuade the rich merchants to lend him money for the suffering people, but this so angered the governor that he forbade them to do so. Chusai then sold out all his books, realizing about 650 Ryo, and distributed it to the people in a systematic way. The governor told Chusai's son, who was a policeman, that his father had done this generous act to gain a reputation for himself. This taunt so angered Chusai that he gathered several hundred men, and attacking the homes of the rich, plundered them, giving the spoils to the starving people. He was soon overpowered and would have been arrested by government troops, but he set fire to the house in which he and his son had taken refuge, and died. He was not a socialist in the modern sense, but he believed in the equality of man, and circumstances drove him to a rather inglorious method of helping his fellow men. Among the several books which he had written, one on morality he prized so much that, fearing lest it should be destroyed, he put one copy into a stone cave on Mount Fuji, and two copies into the library stores at Ise shrine.

Though he did not unnecessarily attack the Shushi school, he strongly insisted on the superiority of the Yomei philosophy. He was a scholar and a hero, and taught what he

felt it was right to teach. He taught the intuitive knowledge of Yomei, by which we may know good and evil, and attain to the higher life. He taught that a man who found his own true nature and endeavoured to realize it could attain to the ideal man. His philosophy centres around the "Infinite" (literally "The Infinite sky"). Space is infinite. Every one knows this. But it does not merely apply to heaven. If there is space in our bodies, it is connected with infinite space. The space occupied by our eyes, nose, mouth and ears is connected with infinite space, and is part of it. So our minds are connected with the infinite mind. The mind and the infinite are one and the same thing; just as the finite space in our body is part of the same infinite space, so our mind has the infinite, and can comprehend the universe with which it is connected. Therefore all sorrows and pleasures outside our bodies are really our own. He said: "External space is heaven, heaven is my mind. Mind comprehends all things, and therefore we feel sad when we witness a death. Even the broken grass, or the fallen tree, or the cut stone gives us sorrow, because we feel they are in our minds." In harmony with the teaching of Yomei, that mind is reason, and that there is no event or reason outside of mind, Chusai thought that mind comprehended all things in infinite nature, even our own bodies. Applying this idea to morality, he thought that the mean man, not knowing the transcendence of mind, is the slave of bodily desire. His mind thus becomes isolated from the infinite, and he cannot realize the higher life which is of his real nature. "Both the sage and the vulgar man have the same (infinite) space in their minds, but they keep it in different rooms. The one is a fine, spacious, pure room; the other is a dirty, small room; but both are connected with the infinite. Therefore, if the vulgar man will put away his sensual desires, he will become one with the infinite, just as if he had opened the door, which darkened his mental room, and let in the light." In order to attain higher life we must be true to ourselves and watchful over ourselves even when we are alone. In this way passions and emotions which hinder life will be removed, and we will become one with the infinite, the ideal for man. If we can empty the mind of bodily desire, we may become as sages. He said: "In attaining this oneness with the infinite we must practise self-denial and self-watching."

In the stress here laid upon self-denial and meditation, Chusai's thought bears a very strong resemblance to some Buddhist ideas. His method is different, and the state of the man after he attains to the infinite is different; morality is still a necessity.

CHAPTER VIII

SEVERAL YOMEI SCHOLARS

Utsugi Seiku was the son of a samurai, belonging to the lord of Hikone. In his youth he was forced to become a priest, but at seventeen he felt it was disgraceful for the son of a samurai to remain a priest, so he gave up that calling and went to Kyoto. He read many books, but his livelihood was so scant that in winter he was unable to provide himself with warm clothing, and often went without proper food. He studied under the famous teachers, Rai Sanyo and Nakashima Soin, in Kyoto, and afterwards went to Osaka to become the pupil of Oshiwo. After several months under Oshiwo he went to Nagasaki and opened a private school. He had not been there long when he decided to visit his parents. As he passed through Osaka he called on Oshiwo, who was just then planning his insurrection against the city authorities. Oshiwo wanted him to join the company, but he refused, and tried to dissuade them from such a treasonable undertaking. Knowing that if he refused to join them he would be killed, he wrote to his parents: "I was on my way to visit you, and called on Oshiwo Chusai as I passed through Osaka. He revealed to me a plot against the Tokugawa government, and urged me to join him. I cannot be a party to an act of treason, and yet as a samurai I cannot flee to you just now. Filial piety urges me to fly to you, but Bushido compels me to remain here, and die fighting either for or against this plot. I will try to dissuade them, but I know it is useless. Please think it was my destiny to die thus, but be assured of this, I did not take part in the treason of Oshiwo. Farewell." His servant took the letter to his parents. That night he was murdered by the traitors.

Hayashi Ryosai's ancestors were retainers in the employ of Lord Tadotsu in Sanuki, but he was so delicate in health that he resigned the position, and opened a private school for Yomei philosophy. The date of his birth is not exactly known, but his death took place in 1849.

In a letter to a friend he said: "The essential characteristic of a sage is unselfishness, which is begotten of heaven. Desire

creates a selfish self, opposed to the higher self, which is at one with heaven. All we can do is to destroy the selfish desire, and return to our true selves by being watchful of self in private as well as public. If our own true hearts are darkened, it is profitless even to read books." "The learning of a sage aims at unselfishness, by being watchful over self even when alone. This is the central truth of the sages, who, though differing from one another, are one, in that the truth is one. If we merely read books we will become proud and clever hypocrites, and lust will become strong. It is valueless so far as virtue is concerned."

From this time the scholars of the Yomei school are few, though many of the makers of the Restoration and of modern progress were very much influenced by this teaching. We shall now briefly outline the lives of some of these men.

Yoshimura Shuyo, born in Aki in 1797, was a disciple of Sato Issai, who taught him Yomei philosophy. He opened a private school, first in Hiroshima, and afterwards in Miabara. He died at the age of seventy. His books still remain, but contain little original thought. He was succeeded by his son Hizan, who also taught Yomei thought in the private school. Like all Yomei scholars they laid great stress on the inner nature of man, which was assumed to be pure and good.

Yamada Hokoku was born in Bitchiu in 1805. His ancestors had been samurai, but his father was a farmer. This boy was very precocious. In his eighth or ninth year he was able to write Chinese poems and prose. Even at this early age, when some one asked him what his purpose was in studying, he replied that his purpose was to govern the State well. When twenty-five years of age the feudal lord who had educated him made him a teacher. Two years later he went to Kyoto, and later still to Yedo, and became a pupil of Sato Issai. He continued there for eight years, after which he returned to Matsuyama and again entered the service of the lord of Bitchiu, taking charge of his school. The next lord of Bitchiu recognized his executive ability, and put him in charge of the finances of the estate. Under his rule bribery was abolished and luxury prohibited. He widened the roads, built waterways for irrigation, and organized an army to defend the estate. Evidences of the success of his reforms could be seen everywhere, and many visitors came from other

parts to see what he had done. In 1861 he contracted consumption, but he did not cease working. He reorganized a school of Kumazawa Banzan's, which had been long neglected, and taught several hundred students. He was practical rather than theoretical. Though he was earnest in the propagation of the Yomei philosophy, he was not narrow in his point of view, as the following quotation will show: "The ancient sages derived their theories from their own experiences. Some of them laid stress on virtue, and taught erudition as the most important thing. Yomei insisted on the realization of the conscientious¹ nature of man. Whatever means a man may employ to realize his aims, his method is the true way for him, for his convictions are the result of his experience. We should avoid adhering obstinately to outward form at the expense of the real meaning."

Yokoi Shonan, usually called Yokoi Heishiro, was born in Kumamoto. In the second year of Meiji, at sixty-one years of age, he was murdered by an assassin. Katsu Kaishu, a prominent figure in the revolution at the beginning of the Meiji age, said of Yokoi: "I have met two very great men in my life, viz., Saigo Nanshu and Yokoi. Yokoi seemed to lack knowledge of western civilization, but the high tone of his thought is remarkable, and is beyond my comprehension. He may not be able to put his own thought into practice, but if the right type of man accept it, wonderful and fearful events will follow." Yokoi admired Shushi, but as he laid greater stress on the practical than on book learning, he practised Yomei thought. In his commentary on learning in the Analects of Confucius, he says: "Learning does not mean merely the reading of books; it means the development of man's higher life. Although the term scholar seems at present to mean a reader of books, it was not so in ancient times. Yaou, Shun and Confucius did not read so many books, for in their time books were scarce. Their learning lies in the practice of the good, and in obedience to conscience. Seeking learning in books only is useless, and makes us slaves of the ancients. Apart from the practical life, learning has no meaning." Speaking of the relation of man to heaven he said: "Humanity, past, present and future, is one. The men of the

¹ Ryochi.

present have received the attainments of the men of the past, and will pass them on to future generations, just as Confucius received from Yaou and Shun, and thus led generations. Such men do the will of heaven. All men should realize the mission heaven has given them to perform, and not be led astray by the allurements of pleasure. We should make it our one object to serve heaven."

He said of western learning: "The learning of the West treats of business and enterprise, and is not concerned with realizing the virtue that belongs to man by nature. If their learning were different, man would know benevolence and war would cease."

In a letter to one of his relatives he said: "If the moral principle of Yaou and Shun and Confucius, combined with the mechanical arts of western civilization, be adopted, the result will be that we shall not only have a strong army and much wealth, but our nation will propagate righteousness throughout the world."

Okumiya Zosai was born in 1811, and when he was twenty-one, went to Yedo to study under Sato Issai. On his return he was the first to propagate Yomei philosophy in Tosa province. He was afterwards very much interested in the learning of the Zen sect of Buddhism. His son, who is now living, says: "My father's views were quite modified in his latter days. He thought that as learning aims at a knowledge of the truth of the universe and man, we should not specify ourselves as belonging to the Shushi school, the Yomei school, or any other particular school. We should choose what is true from Shintoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, and make it into a system." He died at the age of sixty-five.

Ikeda Soan was born in Tajima in 1813. His father was a farmer. Soan became a pupil of a Buddhist priest, but when he was eighteen years of age he abandoned his intention of becoming a priest, and went to Kyoto where he studied Yomei philosophy for several years.

He was a remarkably diligent student and was constantly engaged in study. In one of his works he says: "Living in the valleys, I seek alone in silence the old truth in the ancient sacred books. I hope thereby to achieve a success which cannot perish. Whether I can realize my ideal or not I do not

know." After a short time in Kyoto he went to his native place and opened up a private school, in which he had at least fifty or sixty students. He kept a boarding house, and the students, over whom he had great influence, cooked his food. He refused to become an official. He lived until the eleventh year of the Meiji era (1878 A.D.). Among his best known ideas the following quotations are interesting: "One may enjoy brilliant honour, vast wealth or long life, but they are all like the clouds in front of a cliff, or the dew on the grass. They are not worth pursuing. I cannot understand why people seek them so unceasingly."

"Moral evil is ignorance of and indifference to one's own degeneration. If one discovers that he is degenerating in some point, and if he is earnest in his effort to reform, he can do so. Moral evil, like an eclipse of the sun or moon, will quickly pass away, and the sun will shine brighter than ever."

"It is difficult to overcome anger, but if one gains victory over it he has great courage."

"When one's spiritual power is roused he does not fear even a great army, and there is no pass so impenetrable that he cannot pass it. If our spiritual life is at a low ebb, fear and difficulty will come forth and bring us disappointment."

"The benevolent man thinks of others as himself. He thinks of the whole nation or state as himself. The man who is not benevolent thinks of his body as himself, and separates himself even from his brothers and relations, regarding them as strangers. Much less will he be likely to consider the nation or state as himself. Therefore all men respect and love the great man. When he dies they mourn for him, but they feel that the selfish man is a burden, and are glad when he dies."

"Unless a man knows himself, he cannot succeed. You can deceive or impose upon any other man, but you cannot deceive or impose on yourself. Therefore be not self-deceived but watchful of yourself even when alone, and be diligent to take what is beneficial for the advancement of the inner life."

CHAPTER IX

FUJITA TOKO

Fujita Toko was born in Mito in 1806. He learned Confucianism from his father, Fujita Yukoku. At fourteen years of age he went to Yedo to be trained in the use of the sword and spear. When his father, who had accompanied him, was about to return to Mito, he reminded his son of the importance of being proficient both in military arts and learning. Only inferior men neglect either of them. After his father's death he became a samurai in the employ of Mito, and went to Yedo at the request of his lord. Soon after that, his lord, who was a strong loyalist, offended the Tokugawa government, and he and Toko were confined to their houses.

Under similar circumstances Buntensho, a famous Chinese loyalist, when imprisoned by the Gan dynasty, wrote a poem giving expression to his feelings. When Toko was thus detained in his home he did not complain. He compared his own lot with that of Buntensho and said: "Even much suffering cannot affect the spirit of righteousness." He then wrote the following well-known lines on the Spirit of Righteousness¹:

"The spirit of righteousness is everywhere present in the universe, but is especially concentrated in the kingdom of God (Japan). Its majesty is seen in the loftiness of Mount Fuji; as the waters of the Pacific Ocean surround every part of the empire, so does the influence of this spirit of righteousness reach to every part of Japan, so great is its breadth; its beauty blooms in the cherry blossom, the cherry blossom with ten thousand flowers, matchless among the flowers of the world; its power is like that of the sword a hundred times hammered, which is able to pierce the helmet of the enemy.

"All (Japanese) subjects are bears in strength; all soldiers are champions and conquerors. There is no monarch besides ours to whom we have looked up as our true emperor for ten thousand ages, whose imperial influence pervades the entire

¹ I am indebted to Rev. J. H. McArthur, formerly of Japan, for the privilege of reproducing this translation here.

universe in all six directions (heavenward, earthward, North, South, East, and West), and the light of whose virtue is like the shining of the sun. There may be an evil generation, but this evil the spirit of righteousness in due time will disperse by the shining of its light.

“When Buddhism first came to Japan there was one man who rejected it as a strange and foreign religion, believing that the spirit of righteousness was sufficient for the Japanese. This righteous man believed that if we would adopt that foreign religion we should become unfaithful to our native god. As adviser to the emperor he strongly insisted upon rejecting Buddha; whereupon the emperor gave the sacred book and image of Buddha, which had been presented to him by the king of Korea, to his adviser, Soga-No-Inami, who converted his house into a temple, which was the first Buddhist temple in Japan. But that temple was burned down with a great fire kindled by Mononobe, having been inspired so to do by the spirit of righteousness.

“Likewise the hero, Fujiwara, moved by the spirit of righteousness, slew two pretenders to the throne, father and son.

“With this same spirit of righteousness Wake-No-Kiyomaro terrified the evil-minded priest, who with ambitious designs was plotting for the throne. He thus saved the sacred empire from this great danger.

“When the Mongolian king, Koppitsuratse (Kublai Khan), conquered China, he then turned his attention with ambitious designs towards Japan. He sent ambassadors to Japan to ask the Japanese to become subjects of Mongolia, and to pay tribute to the Mongolian king. He demanded an instant answer, whereupon the king's adviser, Hojo Tokimune, said, ‘I will give you an immediate answer’, and moved by the spirit of righteousness, he cut off their heads. Then the Mongolian king sent other messengers on the same mission, who were treated in like manner. The Mongolian king became very angry and said: ‘I have conquered the great nation of China; why cannot I conquer the little island of Japan?’ He then made ready a large army and sent it across the sea to reduce the island to submission. This army was so great in number that the Japanese with their small army could scarcely hope to repel its attack. But trusting to the spirit of

righteousness they fought bravely, and because of the spirit of righteousness heaven looked down in sympathy and sent a great storm which wrecked the enemy's vessels, and 100,000 Mongolian soldiers were drowned in the sea, leaving only three survivors, whom the Japanese sent back to the Mongolian king with the sad news of their defeat.

"By the same spirit of righteousness Fujiwara-No-Moro-Kata gave up his life, that he might save the life of the Emperor Godaigo.

"By the spirit of righteousness the hero, Murakami Yoshimitsu, seeing the dangerous position in which the emperor was placed during the progress of the battle, put himself in that place and fought against the enemy until he was slain, thus saving the emperor's life.

"By the spirit of righteousness Komiyama Tomonobu, having been unjustly imprisoned by his lord, still maintained his integrity, for he knew that his lord had been deceived by certain jealous officers; and in a time of great danger, when all the other subjects fled, he, by the spirit of righteousness, stood by his lord and fought.

"For two hundred years of peace this spirit of righteousness continued to exercise its ennobling influence over the nation. But at a time when its lamp of life burned low, heaven sent the forty-seven righteous men to awaken again by their example the spirit of righteousness in the nation.

"Therefore we must ever remember that while men may pass away, that grand spirit of righteousness still remains. It exists eternally between heaven and earth to preserve the moral relation between man and man, and to unfold the life of the nation.

"What man is there now to support the spirit of righteousness if not my lord, Prince Nari-aki, who with unexcelled patriotism dwells upon the eastern coast? This man has set us a good example. With all sincerity of mind he shows due respect to the emperor, and with deep piety he pays homage to the God of heaven. He encourages intellectual culture, and seeks to intensify the military spirit for the purpose of national defence, with a view to keeping from our sacred shores the unclean and dangerous foreign elements. But the time was not favourable for his cause and he was imprisoned within his own residence. I felt that I should not have

allowed him to suffer in this way, but being myself imprisoned in Yedo, far distant from my native place, I was not only unable to save my lord, but was also unable to serve my parents.

“I have now been in prison for two years, accompanied by none but the spirit of righteousness.

‘Oh, spirit of righteousness,
Though I die ten thousand times,
How can I be parted from thee,
I care not whether I die or live.’

“If I live, I will be a true and loyal subject, and will endeavour to cleanse the reputed dishonour of my lord and to encourage the spirit of righteousness among the people. If I die, I will become a guardian angel of righteousness and of loyalty, to protect the foundation of the imperial dynasty until the heavens disappear.”

Toko was liberated after three years and returned to Mito where he was known as an intense loyalist. He had great influence over Saigo Takamori, the leader of the revolution of 1868. He looked to Saigo to carry out his plans for the restoration of the emperor and the expulsion of the foreigner. Toko died in 1855, in the great earthquake.

CHAPTER X

SAIGO TAKAMORI

Saigo Takamori was born in 1827, in Kagoshima. He was not a remarkable boy, but was destined to have the honour of leading the imperial forces in the restoration of the emperor. He was awakened to this important mission by watching a relative commit suicide, by cutting his abdomen, and also by the exhortation he received at the time to be loyal to his lord and country. He became a disciple of Sato Issai and learned to appreciate Yomei philosophy. He was also influenced by Fujita Toko, and by his own lord of Satsuma, a very great man, who so fortified the city of Kagoshima that he was able to embarrass the British fleet in 1863 when they attempted to enter.

Surrounded by such men, Saigo concocted the scheme of uniting the empire under the emperor, and of extending its influence. But although he is appreciated because of the work he achieved as a military leader and statesman, he is also very highly esteemed as a man and as a scholar. He was also profoundly influenced by Yomei philosophy, which as we have seen has much that resembles Christian teaching. Saigo loved to wander over the hills and through the country alone. During these trips he used to meditate much on heaven and man.

An indication of his loyalty to the emperor is seen in his sympathy for a royalist priest, Gessho. He was unable to shelter this priest from the Tokugawa soldiers, so he proposed that they go into the sea and die together. Accordingly one moonlight night they went hand in hand into the sea, but fortunately the splash was heard by his retainers, who soon discovered their bodies. Saigo was saved, but from this time he was a marked man by the government, and was more than once exiled. His feudal lord and the lord of Choshu combined, and the Tokugawa government was finally overthrown. Once a messenger came from a certain priest and asked him for reinforcements. He promised to send them when every one of them was dead on the field.

The Koreans had very often offered insult to Japanese ambassadors sent to Korea. Saigo wished to go and demand amends for her insolence, and it was decided that he should go; but the deputation which had been to Europe, Iwakura, Okubo and Kido, returned, and exerted every effort in their power to prevent him from going. Saigo then resigned and went back to Satsuma. On the 24th of September, 1877, he died.

He was an exceedingly generous man; he lived on plain food and gave liberally to the needy. He gave his income to support a school in Kagoshima, but he left nothing to his family.

Saigo loved to roam the hills in very simple costume, followed by his favourite dogs. Once two youths seeing him mistook him for a farmer and made him mend the strings of their sandals. He quietly submitted, but when they learned that they had thus been insolent to the great Saigo, they apologized very humbly. Another time he could not find his sandals as he came out of the imperial palace, and not caring to disturb any one, he started home in the rain barefooted. The sentinel thinking him to be a vagrant, refused to let him pass until he was identified.

Some of his sayings are worthy of note: "He who follows the heavenly way abhors not himself, even though the whole world speaks ill of him; neither thinks he himself sufficient though in unison they praise his name. Whatever we do must be right. We should never depend on deception in doing anything. Many expect to get out of difficulty by deception, but it only increases the difficulty, for sooner or later the insincerity will be revealed. It may seem foolish to be sincere and just, but in the long run it is wise, and insures success."

"The way is natural. The aim of learning is to respect heaven and love men. By self-denial we become great in virtue and in deeds. True self-denial frees us from foregone conclusions, arbitrary predetermination, obstinacy and egoism." We read of men in history who undertook great deeds. Some failed because, although they practised self-denial at the outset, they grew selfish, and failed when success was almost won. "Benevolence is a natural law. Therefore

man should respect heaven in accord with it. Heaven loves all men equally, so we must love others as we love ourselves."

"Care not for the blame or praise of men, but fear only heaven. Do your best without blaming others, thinking of the insufficiency of your own sincerity."

"Selfishness is the first principle of evil. All failures spring from it."

He despised learning as such, but he thought that if a man were "strong in sincerity he would be strong everywhere". He said: "A man succeeds by overcoming himself, and fails by loving himself."¹ "A man that seeks neither life nor name, nor rank, nor money is the most difficult man to handle. But only with such life's tribulation can be shared, and such only can bring great good to their country."²

"Be determined and do, and even the gods will flee before you."³ "Of opportunities there are two kinds: those that come without our seeking, and those that are our own make. The world usually calls the former opportunity. But the true opportunity comes by acting in accordance with reason in compliance with the need of the time. When crises are at hand opportunities must be made by us." "Whatever be the ways and institutions we speak about, they are impotent unless there are men to work them: man first; then the working of means. Man is the first treasure, and let every one of us try to be a man." For him civilization is "an effectual working of righteousness".⁴

In these stormy and uncertain times he said: "Unless there is a spirit in us to walk in the ways of righteousness and fall with the country for righteousness' sake, no satisfactory relation with foreign powers can be expected. Afraid of their greatness, hankering after peace, and abjectly following their wishes we simply invite their contempt. Friendly relations will thus begin to cease, and at last we shall be made to serve them."⁵ "When a nation's honour is in any way injured, the plain duty of the government is to follow the ways of justice and righteousness even though the nation's existence be jeopardized thereby. A government that trembles at the

¹ Representative Men of Japan, page 40.

² Ibid. 40.

³ Ibid. 41.

⁴ Ibid. 28.

⁵ Ibid. 42.

word 'war' and only makes it a business to buy slothful peace should be called a commercial regulator, and should not be called a government."¹ In common with many others of his class, he despised money and commerce to such an extent that when asked the price of a certain property belonging to him, he remained silent and let the national bank take the land, although it was valued at many thousands of dollars.

His poems are still prized. One of them says:

"Only one way, Yea and Nay,
Heart ever of steel and iron,
Poverty makes great men,
Deeds are born in distress.
Through snow, plums are white,
Through frosts, maples are red,
If but heaven will be known
Who shall seek for slothful ease."²

He says again: "Virtue is the source of wealth, virtue prospers and wealth comes by itself."³ "The small man aims at selfish gain, the great man at giving profit to the people. Selfishness brings decay, magnanimity prosperity." The world says: "Take, and you have wealth; give, and you lose it."⁴ This is a great mistake. The covetous farmer spares his seed and sows sparingly, and in return he reaps starvation. The good farmer sows seeds abundantly and gives all his care to their cultivation, and reaps one hundred fold, having more than he can use. He that is intent on gathering knows only of harvesting and not of planting. But the wise man is diligent in planting and the harvest comes without seeking." "The wise man economizes to give in charity. He cares not about his own distress, but for that of his people. Hence wealth flows to him as water gushes from the spring. To him who is diligent in virtue wealth comes without seeking it. Hence what the world calls loss is not loss, and what it calls gain is not gain. The ancient sages thought it gain to bless and give to the people, and loss to take from them. It is quite otherwise now."⁵

¹ Ibid. 42.

² Ibid. 46.

³ Ibid. 46.

⁴ Ibid. 47.

⁵ Ibid. 48.

CHAPTER XI

YOSHIDA SHOIN, SAKUMA SHOZAN, AND OTHER SCHOLARS AT THE TIME OF THE RESTORATION

Yoshida Shoin, one of the most noted men of modern times, was born in Choshu. He was a very fervent loyalist, and did much to bring about the restoration of the emperor. Like most men of his day, he was taught military tactics and Confucian thought. His learning was not exclusively of the Yomei school, but he was greatly influenced by it.

Many stories are told of his early days. One of them describes him as a student in the house of a man named Hayashi. A fire broke out in the house and all his belongings were in danger. Shoin did not make any effort to save them, but began to help Hayashi. This little incident shows us the spirit of the man.

In 1851, in company with his lord, he visited many places, and among others he visited Mito. Here he met Fujita Toko, with whom he had much in common. Both men were very anxious for the restoration of the emperor and the expulsion of the foreigner. With Toko the expulsion of the foreigner was no mere policy, but it would appear that Shoin regarded it as a very good war-cry with which to arouse his countrymen from their indifference.

When Commodore Perry first arrived in Japan, Shoin went to Yedo. About that time he met Sakuma Shozan, and was very much impressed by his ideas. Shozan thought that Japan, being an island empire, should develop her fleet. The government would not listen to him. In conversation with Shoin he said that it would be well for some Japanese to go abroad, and having seen the actual conditions in other countries to return and serve Japan. This suggestion pleased Shoin so much, that when Perry returned in 1854 he attempted to go abroad. One dark night he and a companion named Kaneko launched a fisherman's boat and secretly visited the American fleet. They drew up alongside the *Mississippi* and tried to make their purpose known to the officers. They wrote in Chinese, "We wish to go to America, please ask the admiral to take us". The officers did



YOSHIDA SHOIN

not respond, so they next drew up alongside the flagship. The sailors mistook their purpose and drove them off as vagrants. They were determined to go abroad, and finally climbed up on board. The Americans, however, refused to take them. They admired their purpose, but feared to do anything which might interfere with the commercial treaties. Shoin and his friend were forced to give up their idea of going abroad. They returned to shore without being detected, but the government officials recognized their baggage and arrested them.

In the baggage was a poem which Sakuma Shozan had written to commemorate Shoin's departure to America. Shozan was also arrested and put into prison. During their imprisonment Shoin and Sakuma exchanged poems in which they expressed their determination not to give up their plans for any reason. Sakuma was soon pardoned, but Shoin was sent to the prison in his native province. But even there he was busy. He taught the way of man to outcasts, fellow prisoners and petty prison officials. Towards the end of the following year he was released from prison, but detained in his own house. Six months after that they gave him permission to teach military tactics in his home. This he did, but into the hearts of his disciples he inculcated the spirit of the reformation.

In 1857 he became a teacher in the Matsumoto Sonjuku School. The building soon became too small to accommodate the pupils who wished to be taught. They had no money to rebuild, so the students by their own labour enlarged the room. The house still stands in Hagi, near Yamaguchi. After two years he was again imprisoned. When the students heard of his imprisonment, they were so disappointed that they drew their swords and slashed the posts in the school-room. Among his students were several great men, but none greater than the late Prince Ito.

Shoin was not like other teachers. They usually sat in a very dignified manner when teaching, but Shoin made himself one of his class. He taught as he worked. When criticized for his familiarity he said: "As I am not a great man, I have no special policy in dealing with men. I merely attempt to become very intimate with them. If I differ from them, I reprove them frankly, and then become as intimate as ever. This is the only method I have. If you do not like it,

please be perfectly frank about it. If I am making a mistake, I will at once correct it."

Yoshida was anxious to restore the direct rule of the emperor. In order to discount the influence of the Shogun and arouse the people, he and others like him censured the government for welcoming the foreigner. He wrote letters to several lords about the necessity of a change. He advocated very strong measures, and even went so far as to organize a company to assassinate Manabe, an official who had arrested all the loyalists in Kyoto.

The government again became suspicious of him and ordered him to be detained in his own home. He protested, on the ground that the government should name the crime he had committed. He was then sent to prison. Eight of his disciples became so angry that they went to the official and demanded reasons for Shoin's arrest. The official refused to see them. They then went rudely into his presence. Shortly afterwards they were all thrown into prison.

About the same time two loyalist lords came to Choshu, seeking information about the government's enemies. Shoin sent some of his disciples to find out why they had come. When he heard that they were seeking assistance, he advised his disciples to go with them. With the exception of two brothers, all his disciples refused to take the risk. The two brothers were arrested and thrown into prison.

In the sixth year of Ansei, 1859, Shoin was taken to Yedo in a cage. He was asked whether he had written an anonymous letter which had been secretly thrown into the imperial palace at Kyoto, and also whether he had entered into a secret plot with one Umeda. Shoin denied both charges, but confessed sending a letter to Ohara, and his plot to assassinate Manabe. The government were surprised at his confession and his frankness. He was sent back to prison.

When he heard that he must die, Shoin wrote to his parents. He enclosed a poem in which he eulogizes the love of his parents, and remembers the pain his death will bring to them. He was executed at the early age of twenty-seven years, in 1859. His plans had apparently all failed, but the influence of his teaching has borne fruit in the work of the Restoration carried on by Saigo Takamori.

In his diary, written in prison, we find these words: "Mind springs from 'Ri', reason. Body springs from 'Ki', the sensible world. The body is self, the mind principle. Great men put self under principle, and sacrifice self for principle. Small men, on the contrary, sacrifice principle to self, and therefore when their bodies die, they perish eternally. Great men being united with 'Ri', eternal principle, their minds live even when the body dies. Masashige, who died at Minatogawa because of his loyalty, is living even yet, and many a man is being inspired by his loyalty. Are such men not the resurrection of Masashige? He is living in their inner lives. Although we are not related to him by blood relationship, we have great sympathy for him because we possess the same mind, which has come from 'Ri', although our bodies are different."

In another place he said: "It is foolish not to have true knowledge about life. Life for seventeen or eighteen years is not short. If such a life is short, that of ninety or one hundred years will not be long. There are worms which live only half a day, and do not feel time short. Some live for centuries and do not feel time long. From the standpoint of eternity all lives are short. Hakui has lived from the Shu era up to the present. He lives though dead because he walked in righteousness. On the other hand, though men live forever they do not long for death. Men live about fifty years, though a few live seventy. I feel I should make good use of my life."

He had several precepts which he regarded as important and practical: "If we are born as men, we must be able to distinguish between men and beasts or birds. For men there are five relations, among which that of lord and retainer, father and son are most important. Loyalty and filial piety are essential to perfection." "If we are born in Japan, we must know the excellence of Japan. The imperial line is one. The lords and their retainers have loyally served the Mikado for centuries. If we are filial to our parents, then we shall be loyal to the emperor. Filial piety and loyalty under such conditions as exist in Japan are one."

"Righteousness is of first importance to samurai. It depends on courage. Courage increases that we may be righteous."

"Truth is essential in the conduct of samurai. It is a shame to cover up one's faults with deception. Just and impartial conduct springs from truth."

"Those who do not know ancient things or the classics are useless. To become great it is necessary to read books; it is also necessary to have good teachers and companions. We must be careful not to get mixed up with evil men."

"The meaning of the saying, 'Do it till you die and give up only at death', is important. The words are few, but the meaning is deep. Without great patience, decision and stability it cannot be followed."

Yoshida Shoin was executed, but his influence and loyalty still live. From one standpoint he failed to accomplish much, but from another point of view his work will never be forgotten,

Sakuma Shozan was born in Shinshu in 1811, and was assassinated at the age of 53 in the first year of Genji era (1864). He studied with Sato Issai in Yedo. His own disciples included men like Kobayashi Kansui, Yoshida Shoin and Kato Hiroyuki, one of the present-day scholars of Japan.

When Shozan was in prison he wrote: "I feel peace in the truth which I enjoy, and act according to it. The accusation brought against me does not destroy my inner peace, for crime springs from within oneself and cannot be forced on one from without." "What others do not know, I know, and what they cannot do, I can do. This is heaven's great blessing to me. Therefore I should not care for my own selfish interests only, but I must do my utmost for society. If I do not do so, I am very ungrateful." "Though I die today, the coming age will judge whether I am guilty or not, so I have no cause for fear or regret." "Though I am now in prison, there is no shame in my heart. I enjoy my usual peace and clearness of mind. Through this experience I have been led to recognize the spirituality of mind, and the immutability of the reign of peace in the inner life." "Through this bitter experience I have attained a knowledge of spiritual things not attainable by any other means. I have learned that pain is the ladder by which I can reach higher truth."¹ "Good reputation adds nothing to my true worth.

¹ Literally, "People say, 'Stumble once and you attain one step in knowledge'. This is true."

If one merely relies upon a good reputation and has not virtue, it is vain. A bad reputation does not deprive a man of what he has. If by a bad reputation one becomes more virtuous, it is a great gain." In a letter he said: "Truth is one. There are not two contradictory truths. The truth acquired by Western nations in science and art does not contradict, but rather assists, the truth of Confucianism. But to my regret, almost all ordinary Confucianists do not recognize this fact, and consider Western science and art as being the enemies of Confucianism, and refuse to accept it. Great men obtain truth from all spheres of culture and should be ready to receive new truth."

Kasuga Senan was born in Kyoto in 1812. As his father died during his childhood, he had a hard struggle with adversity. He first studied Shushi learning. In his twenty-seventh year he read Yomei philosophy for the first time. He recommended it very highly, saying that all learning should lead up to its truth. He was an upright man and was always very grave and serious. As a retainer of Lord Kuga Michiaki, he was so honest that many of his fellow-retainers who were stealing money from their lord tried to poison him, but were discovered. He succeeded in saving his lord from financial ruin. When Commodore Perry visited Japan, he requested the Japanese to make a commercial treaty. Senan said: "Foreigners like tea. If we trade with them, the price of tea will go up." He brought tea plants from a distant province and planted them. Since then his example has been followed by many men, with the result that the tea business has become very prosperous.

He took sides with the emperor against the opening up of the country to foreign intercourse. The emperor secretly ordered Lord Mito to expel the foreigner. The Tokugawa government seized all the imperial messengers and sympathizers with the plot. Senan was cast into prison, but after a few years he was released and became a staff officer to the governor of Yamato province. Afterwards he became governor of Nara. The great Saigo had much respect for him, and not only sought but followed his advice. In the beginning of Meiji he resigned his official duties and became a teacher. He died in the eleventh year of Meiji, 1878 A.D.

On his deathbed he said to his son: "Do not engrave any inscription on my tombstone. It is not the letters on a man's grave which shine, but a man's personality."

These are some quotations from one of his works: "The best library is mere decoration, unless one attains the essential truth. The best reader is not one who reads much, but one who finds truth."

"It is a great pleasure to acquire truth; but it does not add anything to one's possessions, for it is that which the mind has from the beginning."

"If the mind be clear and pure, the universe is manifested in its true nature; but if the mind be dark and impure, the real nature of the universe is shut out."

"You cannot remove evil desire by removing the object of desire. The desire is only removed by self-denial and self-victory."

"If one's mind becomes truly active, its greatness can only be compared to space or to the boundless ocean."

"History is a great blessing to us, for therein we get a glance at antiquity."

"The great man is broadminded and liberal; the small man is narrow and mean."

Katsu Awa was born in Yedo in 1823. Before he was nineteen he was trained in fencing and in the Buddhist philosophy of the Zen sect. He studied Dutch from a physician in Yedo, and was appointed translator of foreign books to the Shogun. At thirty-two years of age he became president of the naval training school at Nagasaki.

In 1854, when he saw the American fleet sailing up Yedo bay against wind and tide, he turned to one of his attendants and said: "People who can make ships that sail against wind and tide are not such barbarians." In 1860, when the first envoys were sent to America, Katsu went along as escort. He sailed to San Francisco in a little boat of two hundred and fifty tons. On his return he was made president of the Naval College at Kobe, and advocated a system of centralization for both navy and army. In 1863 he was Minister of Marine. He took a prominent part in the negotiations for peace in the revolution of 1868.

He belonged to the Yomei school. He thought that the desire for a reputation was a very poor ambition, and emphasized the importance of sincerity. He said: "We must act in harmony with our sincere minds, irrespective of good reputation. We must have sincerity by which to adapt ourselves to circumstances. He died in the thirty-second year of Meiji (1899 A.D.).

PART IV
STUDIES IN THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL OF
CONFUCIANISM IN JAPAN

CHAPTER I
THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL¹

Since the revival of learning in China in the twelfth century, there have been two rival schools of thought in China and Japan, viz. the Shushi school and the Yomei school. In Japan we have now to record the founding of a new school, which claimed to teach classical Confucianism. Both Yamaga Soko and Ito Jinsai have some claim to be recognized as founders of this school. Both of them urged a return to the sages of old. Yamaga, having been suspected of treason by the government, was forced to destroy his published works. Ito Jinsai's works were all published and scattered over Japan, so his influence is very great. He is usually regarded as the father of the classical school. Even in the time of Ogiu Sorai, another famous representative of this school, Ito Jinsai was better known than Yamaga. These three men claimed to go back to the sages, but that does not mean that their thought was the same. Soko combined military tactics with Confucianism, and "beating them into one ball", became what we may term "The Father of Bushido", the spirit of knight-hood in Japan. Ito was a man of virtue, and his teachings emphasize the practice of individual morality. Sorai was the politician and man of letters. All three men were active and practical in their thought. They were very much opposed to the older schools.

In attempting to outline the thought of the classical school we are chiefly concerned with the teachings of Ito Jinsai and Ogiu Sorai.

¹ The studies in this part of the work were carried on with the assistance of Messrs. Komai, Hayashi and Takatsu.

Jinsai laid great stress on activity. He was opposed to the dualism and passivity of the Shushi school. He held that law arose in the activity of the sensible world, which is constantly in a state of flux. The movement of the sensible world alternates between the great male and female principles. From this movement various existences arise, and in it spontaneously there arises a certain permanence or law. In this he resembles the thought of Heraclitus.

Jinsai had an exaggerated idea of the ancient sages. He said: "The two sacred books, the Analects of Confucius and the works of Mencius, sum up all the truth in the universe."

Sorai admired the activity of the system of Jinsai, and also opposed the passivity of the Buddhist and Shushi philosophers. Both Sorai and Jinsai opposed the idea of the Shushi school, that human nature could be divided into two parts, one being the original heart-nature, and the other the contingent disposition. Sorai went further, and held that not only was there only one nature, but it was unchangeable.

Sorai advocated going back to the ancient kings. Jinsai favoured going back as far as Confucius and Mencius. The Shushi school did not hold especially to one or other of these views, although they had great respect for the ancients.

The Shushi school identified the way with law, Jinsai held that the way was benevolence and righteousness. Sorai held that man's nature was evil and must be rectified by music, propriety, correction and administration. When men are born, desires spring up; when desires cannot be realized, struggle arises, bringing confusion and suffering in their train. The ancient kings (i.e. administration) disliked confusion and made laws to establish propriety and righteousness. Then music and correction were introduced as a means of soul culture. Hence Sorai differed from both Shushi and Jinsai in holding that the way was made, not natural.

Jinsai and the Shushi school alike emphasized the individual culture of virtue. Sorai taught politics and social obligation. Jinsai and the Shushi school made benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom virtues. Sorai regarded the first two as virtues, but propriety and music as the way. Virtue for Jinsai was subjective, for Sorai it was an objective creation, made by ancient kings according to the will of heaven. This brief résumé of the views of the classical school will be amplified by a study of the various scholars of the school.

CHAPTER II

YAMAGA SOKO

Yamaga Jingozaemon in his boyhood was called by many names, the best known of which is Soko. His ancestors came from Chikuzen province. Yamaga Rokuemon-Takamichi, his father, was a retainer of Seki Kazumasa, lord of Kameyama in Ise, receiving an annual salary of 200 koku of rice (about 1000 bushels). For some unknown reason Takamichi killed one of his companions, and fled to Mutsu, where he lived with Lord Gamo Tada-Sato, and became very familiar with his chief retainer, Machida Sakon, who gave him a yearly gift of 250 koku of rice, made him a guest in his home, and gave him his waiting-maid as concubine. This concubine was the mother of Soko, who was born in the eighth year of Genna, 1620 A.D. He was born when Kinoshita Junan, Kumazawa Banzan and Yamazaki Anzai were still boys, and shortly after the death of Fujiwara Seikwa.

Soon after his birth, Lord Gamo Tadasato was banished by the government, and Machida was employed by the government as a horseman.¹ Takamichi gave up his position as retainer, in favour of his eldest son Sozaemon, and, becoming a doctor, went to Yedo, where Soko was cared for by a nun of Saishoji Temple. Soko began the study of Chinese classics and arithmetic at six years of age, and poetry and literature at eight years of age. At nine he became a disciple of Hayashi Razan, who allowed him to read the Chinese introduction of the Analects, and other books. He read this book quite easily, in spite of the fact that it was not punctuated. He composed his first poem when he was eleven years of age, at New Year, for which Razan praised him very much. At fourteen he could compose impromptu poetry in the presence of nobles, and at fifteen he gave his first lecture before a large audience on "The Great Learning".

About this time he became a pupil of military tactics under Obata Kagenori. After five years he completely sur-

¹ He was put in charge of one hundred men. His position resembled that of a Roman centurion. As head of this company he had twenty helpers. One of these was Sozaemon.

passed his fellow students, and when he was twenty-one years of age, Obata gave him a diploma bearing his own seal of approval. He also made himself proficient in Shinto learning, Japanese and Chinese literature, and even studied Buddhism. In a word, he was a scholar in all the learning of his day. At seventeen, Lord Tokugawa Yorinobu of Kii province wished to employ him at a salary of one bushel per day (literally "rice for seventy mouths").¹ He agreed to accept this, but at the same time another lord tried to engage him, through his former teacher, Obata Kagenori. The result was that he refused both of them. The next year he was invited by Lord Maeda of Kaga to become his retainer at a salary of 700 koku² of rice, but his father refused to let him go for less than 1000 koku.

In the Shoho era (1644-1648) he was a famous tactician, and many of the leading lords of the empire studied his methods. The Shogun sent two of his leading retainers to take lessons from him, intending to make Soko his own retainer. Soko learned of it, and was making preparations to go, when the Shogun died. He therefore became the tactician and trusted retainer of Asano-Takumi-No-Kami, who is famous in Japan because his death was avenged by the forty-seven ronins. He was made a guest of honour in the castle, and given a salary of 1000 koku of rice. Soko remained there for eight years. In the third year of Manji (1660) he wished to resign his post. Takumi, thinking perhaps the salary was too small, offered to increase it, but Soko told him he had other reasons for resigning. He went to Yedo, and became a teacher of literature and military tactics. He became very famous, and at one time he had as many as 2000 disciples.

Just when his fame was at its height, he received a letter from Hojo-Awa-No-Kami which alarmed him. It read: "I have something to ask you. Come at once to my private residence." Soko replied without hesitation that he would go, but he feared his book must have given offence to the Tokugawa government. He prepared for the worst, for he felt something important was about to happen. Twenty or

¹ Four "Go" of rice was regarded as enough for one man. This was reckoned at the rate for seventy men or about 2.80 "To" or about one bushel.

² 1 koku = 4.9629 bushels.

thirty years later he wrote: "I ate my meal, took a bath, and as I thought the situation a serious one, I made my will. If I were sentenced to death, I intended to give this document to the government before I died. After writing several letters, and without taking leave of my mother, I went to the temple to worship. I was accompanied by only two of my retainers. I went on horseback to the residence of Awa-No-Kami as instructed. Many men and horses were gathered before the gate ready to start. If I had not come, they intended to attack my house, I thought. I handed my sword to the servant, and went into the room, and smilingly said: 'What is the matter? Many people are gathered before your gate.' So saying I went into the inner room. Soon Hojo appeared and greeted me. 'You have written a bad book. You are to be placed under the care of Asa-No-Takumi-No-Kami, and you must go there immediately. If you have anything to say to your family, you must do it through me.' He spoke very kindly. Fukushima Dambei brought me an inkstone and said: 'If you have any message for your family, I will take it to them.' I said: 'Thank you for your kindness, but when I leave my house, I am accustomed not to be uneasy about my family. I have nothing to write.' Then Shimada Tojuro appeared, and he and Hojo sat down together, calling me to them. Laying aside my short sword, I went before them, and Hojo again repeated what he had said: 'You have written an obnoxious book and are to be kept under guard by Asa-No-Takumi-No-Kami.' I said: 'Thank you for your kindness, but in what have I offended the government? In what part of the book? I should like to hear.' Both answered: 'You, Jingozaemon, naturally have some apology to make, but after this sentence you need not apologize or make excuse: we will not hear it.' So I said: 'If you say so, I will be silent.' Then one of Hojo's retainers came and called the retainers of Asa-No-Takumi-No-Kami, and I smilingly took leave of them, saying, 'Farewell'. Asa-No-Takumi's retainers told me that evening that my etiquette was perfect."

Soko was somewhat surprised at the treatment he had received. He had studied under Hayashi Razan, and was thought to be of the orthodox school. At forty years of age he began to doubt the truth of these doctrines, and as a

consequence burnt all his earlier writings. Then he published three volumes, entitled "Seikyo Yoroku" ("Outlines of the Sacred Teachings"). It was a small series of pamphlets in which he attacked the scholars of the orthodox school for rejecting true Confucianism. In the introduction of his book his disciples have written: "As many ages had passed since the death of Confucius, his teachings were unknown. The scholars of Kan, To, So and Min eras were all mistaken in his teachings. If this condition existed in China, it was naturally much worse in Japan. Our master, two thousand years after the death of Confucius, came forth, and studied Confucian classics, and for the first time published and declared the sacred teachings."

It is said that Soko was advised by his disciples not to show his book freely to everyone, because his opinions differed from other scholars, who might lay a complaint against him to the government. Soko replied: "You talk nonsense. Truth is truth for the whole world. It should not be hidden. The world must know it and follow it forever. If my book gives courage even to one vulgar man, then it is a benefit to the world. A good man acts virtuously, even in killing his own body. I cannot hide my words. The man who preaches falsehood and misleads men is the enemy of the world. The learning of Kan, To, So and Min scholars is misleading men. This is most terrible. The sacred teachings are visible in the world, and the world must interpret them correctly. I may have my own faults; when my words are published the world will attack them, and I may be corrected by these attacks. If so, that is fortunate for the cause of truth. I am taught by the ancient sages and not by the scholars of Kan, To, So and Min dynasties. My learning aims at interpreting the sacred teachings and not at heresy. I aim at making my life useful. I cannot enjoy the truth of the sages alone, I must share it. If I cannot spread it throughout the world, it is not truth. I am determined that good men of the future shall appreciate my work."

This quotation gives us some idea of Yamaga's purpose. He would sweep away the work of other scholars, and go directly to the sages. He threw down the glove, and others took it up. The consequence was that they resented his impertinence. History repeats itself. Martyrs are usually self-

made. Soko in attacking these scholars was attacking his own teacher, Hayashi Razan, who had already become an official, and had established the learning of Shushi as the standard of education under the Tokugawa government. Razan was dead, it was true, but his son Shurisai and his grandson Hoko were alive, and were ardent in their admiration for Razan. In opposing the teaching of Razan he was attempting to destroy the principles on which the government education was based. He was anxious to destroy it from the root up. Such ideas were a challenge to the nation. Dr. Inouye compares it to the soldiers of one province set against the mighty national army. No wonder he met with calamity.

In the publication of his works he became estranged from a very strong, brave man, Hoshina-Masayuki, a great lover of books. Hoshina Masayuki was the son of the second shogun, Hidetada, and afterwards guardian of the fourth shogun. He had given up the study of the works of Laou-Tsze and Buddha in favour of the learning of Shushi. He had burned all his former works on Buddhism and Taoism, and had employed Yamazaki-Anzai as his tutor. When Soko's book, "Seikyo Yoroku", appeared he wrote in his diary: "A ronin, Yamaga Jingozaemon, a tactician, published a work entitled 'Outlines of the Sacred Writings'. He studied the truth, but his action is very haughty and offensive. To-day he was summoned to the house of Hojo-Awa-No-Kami and was put under guard in the home of his former lord, Asa-No-Takumi-No-Kami. Shimada Tojuro, the constable, assisted Hojo in this matter."

In a letter concerning the event, Yamaga Soko was criticized for publishing and distributing his book among his disciples, but especially for presuming to attack Shushi and claiming to have discovered truth that had remained hidden for three thousand years. The letter says in addition to this: "Soko was very haughty, and when we think of two hundred disciples visiting his house daily, it is hard to say what evil the rascal might do; so he is imprisoned. We need to be careful."

The book was published at a time when the government was panic-stricken over a rebellious plot which had been discovered sometime previously. Soko was a tactician, even

more noted in scholarship and military tactics than Shosetsu,¹ the instigator of the plot. It was only natural for the government to fear his influence, especially as large crowds entered his gate daily. Remembering the Japanese proverb, "One who has once burnt his mouth with hot broth will blow even cold meat; and the bird which has been wounded by a bow will be startled even at a crooked tree", the government was alarmed when Soko's book appeared. They were suspicious of him already, so when his bold protest against the foundation of their educational system appeared they hastened to banish him.

For some days Soko remained quietly in the house of his former lord at Yedo. On the ninth of October he started from Yedo to Ako in Harima province near Kobe, reaching there on the 24th of the same month. He writes of these events as follows: "On the 9th at dawn I started from Yedo. The government said: 'This man has many disciples, among whom may be some conspirators who may attempt to liberate him. You must take care.' The officers in charge of me were very much afraid. From morning till night they did not permit me out of their sight. On the 24th we arrived at Ako. In spite of my being a very insignificant man, the government imagines I influenced many people. This is unfortunate for me, but they seem to have considered me a true samurai. When we got to Ako I lived quietly there."

Soko's letter, written when he thought he might be facing a death sentence, is characteristic. It was addressed to Hojo. "It is 2000 years since the death of Confucius. I hoped to correct all the errors of the scholars by publishing this book. But vulgar pedants, who are loose in their morals, lacking in loyalty and filial piety, neglecting the things of the world and of their own country, without refuting one word of my book, appealed to high officials and slandered me. The public do not know these things, but taking for granted that these men speak the truth, they do not examine for themselves whether these men are true or false. Without knowing the principles and teaching of my book, they ridicule and condemn me. They

¹ Tradition says that several years before Soko had met Shosetsu. He was not favourably impressed with him, and advised the feudal lord who entertained them to avoid him. When the rebellion took place his friends remembered what he had said, and admired him for his ability to "size up" a man.

can condemn me, but they cannot destroy truth. Those who condemn the sages pollute their own generation. Those who follow the truth meet with calamity. There are many examples of this. My only regret is, that posterity will condemn this age in which we live as disgraceful. I regret that I cannot blot out the mistakes of this age."

The Japanese admire the calm, quiet behaviour manifested by Soko at the time of his arrest. In his calamity Soko conducted himself like a true samurai. Commenting on this, one scholar says, that having passed forty years of age he had come into great truth. Within himself he possessed the eternal, so that such disturbances could not annoy him. He was tranquil even in the midst of storm. Dr. Inouye thinks a man's ideal is developed at thirty, and at forty it is completely settled. As examples of this, he quotes Mohammed, Confucius and Mencius, who at forty were immovable. Saicho founded the Tendai sect at thirty-nine. Honen Shonin founded the Jodo sect at forty-three. Shinran founded the Shin sect at forty. Nakae Toju became established in his thought after thirty-four, and Ito Jinsai at about thirty-seven or thirty-eight. Soko changed his views at forty, but at forty-five he completely understood the world and human life. This method of thought is interesting, as revealing the influence of the sages on Eastern scholars of to-day.

Asa-No-Takumi-No-Kami made Soko's exile very comfortable for him. His chief retainer, Oishi, grandfather of the leader of the forty-seven ronins, used to bring Soko vegetables. Soko thought he was too well treated for a prisoner. For ten years he remained in exile, during which time he continued to rise early and obey all the rules of propriety. He was not weary of his enforced imprisonment, and among the anecdotes of the philosophers, it is related that Soko said to his master at this time: "I cannot repay your kindness to me by giving my life in your battles, but I will teach your retainers Chinese classics and tactics. My power is given completely to these studies, so if they learn well, should any great accident occur, since I have taught them the way of a samurai, it will prove useful." Fifty years later when the lord of Ako was forced to commit suicide and his place confiscated, the forty-seven ronins avenged his death and presented the head of the enemy

at the grave of their lord. Afterwards they all committed harakiri. This event may have been partly due to the influence of Yamaga's teaching.

During his imprisonment he wrote a book in which he describes death as follows: "It is the duty of retainers to sacrifice their lives if need be for their lord. When an emergency occurs, they will throw away their bodies, making light of death. Considering the importance of dying nobly, it is necessary to forget self and family. Death is a serious matter. One must study to die well. This is the way to attain perfection in death. A retainer must not lose sight of courage, even when he is with his wives and concubines. On leaving home he must forget household affairs. When in the presence of the imperial court, he must observe propriety and not look impolitely at any one. No matter what emergency may arise, he must not be surprised nor alarmed, but must keep perfectly calm. At such times if one is not guarded or well disciplined, his face will change colour and his voice tremble. If by look or word he shows alarm, his heart is not well disciplined nor just. He who is not just is lacking in wisdom. When his wisdom is darkened his words and actions are wrong; he cannot behave one-tenth as well as at regular times."

He also speaks of revenge: "One (wishing to revenge the death of his lord) will go to his enemy's place in disguise, pretending not to know where he is. He should learn the daily behaviour of his enemy, and the roads he must pass, the friends he has, and whether he is or is not on guard. He should consider well the opportune time to strike, whether to enter the house and strike the enemy, or wait in ambush and kill him in the way. If you do not take these precautions, you may make a mistake and kill someone else or let the enemy escape. In either case your efforts are fruitless. Be careful to keep your eyes on the enemy; lay your plans well. When the proper time has come, go and with all your might combat your enemy. If even with these precautions he escapes, or you yourself are killed, although it is not the best way, throw your body away and this will avenge him. But if through neglect or carelessness he should die, death is of no value. If one has done his best and then died, that cannot be helped; but careless sacrifice of life is foolish."

Before Soko left Ako he taught the youthful Oishi Yoshio, the leader of the forty-seven ronins. The ronins were doubtless influenced by Soko's teaching. Their method was to pretend to have forgotten their master's death, but when their enemy was off guard, they fell upon his castle, and when they had obtained his head, they calmly presented it to their lord, and themselves died. The Japanese are proud of this. They say that in the Occident or the Orient it has no parallel.

After ten years of exile, just when Soko seems to have been expecting to die, he was suddenly pardoned by the government. He removed to Yedo and took up his abode in Asakusa. Here he was forbidden to gather ronin and teach them. Three years after his release, his mother died. Soko himself became sick and unable to visit the nobles of his acquaintance. He gradually failed, and died in the second year of Teikyo (1685). He was buried at Sosan Temple, of the Zen sect, at Waseda, on Enokimachi. Many lords followed his coffin to the grave. His sons erected a monument for him, with this inscription: "Our late father, Takasuke Yamaga, familiarly named Soko, born in the 'dog' year of Genna, died in the 'cow' year of Teikyo in the ninth month. His orphans, Masazane and Takamoto, weeping and bowing in grief, erect this."

He left two sons and two daughters to mourn his loss. One of the sons was an adopted boy. His own son followed his father's calling, and became a great tactician. When he went out in his basket he was followed by many samurai, who made for him a retinue not unlike that of a daimio.

Although his disciples are not very famous, the tactics he taught are still known as belonging to "The Yamaga School". One of the greatest men in modern times, Yoshida Shoin, said he recommended the teachings of Soko to his disciples because he admired not only his tactics, but his personality and conduct. He used to begin his course of lectures as follows: "If you wish to know the truth, please put the teachings of Soko into your stomach. There are many books on olden and modern times. Why do I give honour to the works of Yamaga? His teachings are easily understood, but if I tell you of some results of his teachings, you will understand. When he was summoned by Hojo, and exiled to Ako, he was quite calm. That shows what kind of man he was.

Again, when we see the forty-seven ronins defending their lord, we see his influence on Oishi Yoshio. Again, in Soko's time many scholars were praising China and belittling Japan, but he held aloof from such disloyalty. He appreciated the sacred truth in ancient Japan and contradicted these false views, saying: "I am a criminal, and not permitted to mix freely with other people, yet I think I should make return for my country's kindness, by following the duty of a samurai. My determination to do so will not change even if I die. Then turning to his assembled relations he exhorted them to unite with him in this." Soko's patriotism and loyalty have made him great among the Japanese.

In a quotation from "Sentetsu Sodan" we learn that when Soko conversed with men, if they did not speak the truth, he became very angry and scolded them; but people knowing his uprightness did not resent this. He used to upbraid men of high rank without hesitation. Soko wrote once of a conversation he had with a high official, who asked him what the world was saying about him. "I replied, I am not acquainted with the world's rumours at all. Even if I were, they amount to nothing. He said: 'There are many able men in the world. Their reputation is surely of some importance.' I replied: 'Among men of high rank wise and virtuous men are few. Among lower classes there are none at all. If there were, they would not circulate rumours. Many gossipmongers frequent the daimio's castle. They are very low class men of the world.' He said in reply: 'I wish to know the gossip of these men of the world.' I replied: 'I do not agree with you. Men of the world are selfish. If a man of rank praises an inferior man, he is loved in return; if he gives reproof, he is slandered in return. Inferior men are mere flatterers. Those who excel are spoken ill of by others who wish to bring profit to themselves. They slander under pretence of speaking kindly. This is the way of a man of the world. If you listen to such men, it is a great mistake on your part.' He replied: 'Even Yaou and Shun liked to hear what low class people had to say, and I also would like to hear.' I said: 'What low class people know, you must learn from low class people.' We talked for a long time and he became somewhat angry, but I said plainly what I thought. This probably appeared rude." This conversation gave Soko the

reputation of being impolite, and in enumerating the great scholars of his time he is ignored, but from a modern standpoint he is a greater teacher because of his independent point of view than some of those who won a greater reputation. Dr. Inouye places him among the greatest men of his age.

When Soko was forty-two years of age he forsook the learning of the Chinese scholars of the Han, Tang, Sung and Ming dynasties, and became the founder of the classical school. He may justly claim to be the founder of this school, for while Ito Jinsai lived and taught about the same time, Yamaga's first book was published nearly half a century earlier than any of Ito's works.

In his attempt to check the scholars of the orthodox school, Soko went directly to the sage Confucius. He did not grant Mencius the standing of a sage. He held that Confucius had no successor; that the scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not pure Confucianists. They were influenced by the teachings of Buddha, Laou-Tsze and others. He felt that it was his own task to bring the teaching of the sage to perfection. For him the sage was a standard of daily life and conduct. True learning was to walk in the way of the sage. In a book written during his exile in Ako he said: "The important point in the learning of a sage is not merely to know the Chinese characters. What is learned must be practiced in the daily life. There is no need for speculation or for excessive sitting in respectful attitudes."

Benevolence was the principle that united the five cardinal virtues and fulfilled the highest teaching of Confucius. The scholars of Han dynasty interpreted it as love; those of Sung called it nature, but Soko said: "None of them know the benevolence of the sage. There is not as much error in the teaching of Han and Tang as there is in the teaching of the Sung scholars, whose teaching was too abstract to be practical.

In regard to the meaning of (Ri) reason or principle, Soko differed from the scholars of Sung. He said: "In all things there is a law or principle called 'Ri'. If this law be disturbed, then the root and completion of all things as well as the succession of events will be disturbed. In all things, heaven and earth, and in all human affairs, there is natural law, which I call 'Ri'." Soko recognized something

akin to moral order in all the universe. The Sung scholars, on the contrary, thought this reason or principle was largely confined to human nature and heaven, as opposed to the sensible world. Soko therefore declared they were mistaken.

Regarding the doctrine of the mean, he agreed with most Sung scholars that it meant, to avoid running to either extreme. He strongly rejected the explanation that the mean was nature not yet stirred. Of their saying, "Even when nature is not stirred, we ought to be respectful", he said: "If one depends only on respect, and neglects investigation and knowledge, all his self-culture and watchful self-scrutiny will result in mere passivity. This probably accounts for the emphasis they place on sitting quietly in a respectful position, concentrating the mind, giving up knowledge. Notwithstanding their claim to expel heresy, they have themselves become heretics. Those who follow the scholars of Sung dynasty become merely silent, discreet, small men, not knowing the harmony of the 'Great Root', the universal way; they only know the letters." Soko attacked these scholars very strongly. He thought they failed to grasp the fundamental principles of Confucianism, and resembled the Buddhists, who lay great stress on meditation and mental concentration. Soko, thinking that propriety and respect went together, said: "The sage emphasized propriety. Where it exists there will certainly be respect, but if respect alone is emphasized, propriety will be neglected." He felt that too much emphasis on the respectful posture and concentration of the Sung scholars produced men of little practical use to the world.

Soko thought nature existed where reason and the sensible world were united. Nature is given by heaven, and cannot be described as good or bad. Mencius' teaching that nature is essentially good is not the teaching of the sage. The Sung and Ming scholars agreed with Mencius, and exhorted men to follow their natural disposition. Soko said the desire to follow the natural disposition was the teaching of heretics.

He rejected the teaching of the "Great Limit" and "The Limitless" as heretical. He called Shushi, who first used the term, a criminal from the standpoint of the sage, and a heretic from the standpoint of future generations.

It is evident Soko was very much opposed to the Sung scholars. This is not strange when we remember that they blended Confucianism and Buddhism, while he tried to go back to the original pure teaching. Is it not strange that it should be left to this Japanese to carry men back to the sage, especially when there were such heated discussions between the disciples of Wang-Yang-Ming and Shu-Shi?

Soko conceived of the universe without body and without form, without beginning or end. In this he is very different from Sho-Shi¹ who held that "since there is prosperity and decay, there could not but be beginning and end. Although the universe is large it is nothing but form and energy", and by his mysterious method of measuring time he estimates that the limit of the universe is 129,600 years. Soko rejected this teaching. "The universe is not to be measured. How can there be any such limited number? We cannot know the beginning and end of the creation of things. The universe is always the same. There is no ancient or modern age. Such terms are applied only by human beings. If there is beginning and end in the universe, we cannot call it eternal." Again he said: "How can there be a beginning of the universe. If there is no beginning, there is no reason to sanction the discussion carried on by Sung scholars that all is not yet created. The universe was originally the universe. A million years ago, or a million years hence, the universe is the same universe as now. It does not prosper or decay, increase or decrease." In saying this Soko has given expression to ideas almost akin to the scientific theory of the conservation of energy. He failed, however, to see that there is permanence amid change, even in the universe.

His theory is carried into his conception of man. "Human beings are as eternal as the universe. They have flourished and been nourished from olden times; the people of the present time are descendants of ancient times, and the material things of the present are products of ancient times. Even the sun and moon rise and set, grow large and wane. Then why should we wonder at birth or death, at the rising or falling of human beings?" This points to permanence amid change. He said: "Creation and destruction, or appearance

¹ Sho-Shi was a scholar who lived before Shushi.

and disappearance are without real foundation. They exist only for those who think them real, but we cannot apply them to the universe or man." He did not deny that there was temporary prosperity and decay. "There are the positive and negative forces, and all that exists in the universe, prosperity and decay, going and returning, extending and contracting, never cease to flourish together."

Among his many thoughts about morality, attention must be drawn to his distinction between righteousness and interest.¹ "The difference between a superior man and a mean man lies in the attitude they take toward righteousness and interest. Because man has wisdom, he also has self-interest, but he cannot satisfy his self-interest. The superior man thinks righteousness is profitable, but the mean man knows pleasure only. The superior man's pleasure leads to success. The mean man's pleasure leads to destruction. Interest and righteousness do not conflict. Interest is but the harmony of righteousness, and where righteousness exists it is accompanied by interest. Every man desires to be a sage. If he does not attain righteousness, he falls into heresy. Heresy is the slave of feeling, and is not the way of the sages. The difference between these two ideas, self-interest and righteousness, constitutes the difference between a sage and a heretic."

Dr. Inouye calls attention to the fact that Taoism and Buddhism, both of which Soko classed as heresy, never sought for interest as the chief end of life. But he was right in saying that the superior man knew only right, while the mean man knew only interest.

Again he said: "Interest is one of the four virtues² in the ancient book of Philosophy and one of the three virtues in the book of History, and it is not to be abandoned. Every mind has two tendencies, one to desire interest, and the other to dislike harm. This is called a mind of likes and dislikes by which a man may attain to the excellence of a sage. He who has no fancy is not a man, but a stone or piece of wood. The sage has rarely spoken of interest, because it is so often selfish. But many scholars are apt to repel it altogether, thinking it a

¹ Ri—Gain interest. Shiri—Self-interest. Kori—Common interest.

² See the Yi King: "Great and originating, penetrating, advantageous and correct."

vice. This is because they have not perfected their knowledge." Again he said: "Human nature gives great importance to interest. If there is not interest, the distinction between master and servant, superior and inferior, will be lost, and man will not be able to distinguish between good and bad."

Speaking of wealth he said: "All wealth belongs to the world and should be utilized by being circulated. It is called treasure. Some rich men become so miserly they dislike to spend their treasure. They do not know how to use it. However much wealth there is in the house, if it is not properly used, it will remain unproductive, and will be of no benefit to the public. Could anything be more harmful than this? If a man loves money only, he will become a miser. The superior man therefore never lives to make money and lay up wealth. He never sets his heart on accumulating things that are rare."

Many Chinese scholars in Japan at the time of Soko considered China superior to Japan in every way. Soko was one of the few who felt that Japan was superior to China. He called Japan the "Central Kingdom of Civilization", and wrote an article on "The True Central Kingdom". In one of his works he says: "To learn is to investigate things, and to perfect knowledge. It does not consist in following foreign customs. Therefore superior men especially will not imitate foreign customs."

Japan has its own peculiar constitution. It is a serious matter for a Japanese to become intoxicated with a foreign constitution, despising his own. Most Japanese consider their own constitution much superior to that of China. Speaking of how he came to esteem his own country so highly Soko said: "I do not know the books which have been issued recently, but until ten years ago I read nearly all the books that came from China; I was well informed in things Chinese. At that time I thought our country was inferior to China in everything. We not only had less land, but all the sages appeared in China. This opinion is not modern, but all scholars from olden times have been inclined to exalt China at the expense of Japan. Recently I became convinced that this was a serious mistake. It is a common mistake to believe what one hears, and to disbelieve what

one sees; to forget the things that are near and look only on those that are far away. Until the time of the Fujiwara family, there were many great retainers. This shows that bad men were few. This was because the grace of our emperor was very influential. Up to the time of the Emperor Nintoku, all emperors were virtuous. Our emperors are all descendants of the Sun Goddess. There is no foreign blood in our veins. In bravery our country is respected by other countries and has never been conquered. She has never had to give up even a small tract of land. Wisdom, benevolence and courage are three virtues which belong to a sage. When we compare our country to others in regard to these three virtues, Japan is superior. Truly she deserves to be called the Central Kingdom of Civilization."

If Soko were living in this age, he would imagine he had even greater reason to make those claims for his country, for has she not proven herself able to take her place among first-class modern nations? Japanese can well boast that their country has no parallel in the world, in that their imperial line has been comparatively unbroken for hundreds of years, and no foreign country has ever subjected them to any indignity. But they are so proud of these things and so limited in their vision as to the real nature of loyalty that there have been occasions when they have seemed anxious to hide the real facts of their history from the growing students, thus laying the foundation for a terrible awakening. Truth will out, and the fact that they have had a northern and a southern line of emperors on the same throne cannot be blotted out; and the fact that they have had no authentic history much before 400 A.D. cannot long be hidden.

In his earlier years Soko was interested in Taoism and Buddhism, but he grew to regard them as heretical, and became, as we have seen, an ardent representative of Confucius. In one of his books he said: "I early learned the teaching of Shushi, and then I became interested in Taoism, and the teaching of the Zen sect of Buddhism. I am convinced that the teachings of Shushi will make a man silent, and cause him to fall into a state in which he puts forth no actual effort in the world. The teachings of Laou-Tsze and

the Zen sect are better than this. They have unchangeable truth, but they also tend to make a separation between learning and the world."

Thus we see Soko had a wide training. It was after he had investigated not only the learning of Shushi, but that of Taoism and Buddhism, that he finally became the scholar of the classical school. This enabled him to detect the influence of Zen teaching on Shu-Shi learning. In one of his books he says: "Most of the teachings of Shu-Shi and Tei, Cho and Ri-Enpei are derived from Zen or from some other sect of Buddhism. Although Shushi, who came out of their school, clearly criticized the impure teachings of his day, yet the origin of his philosophy is Buddhism, because he was taught by scholars who owed much to the Zen sect of Buddhism." He also declared that the introspection of Rikushozan and the intuition of Yomei are derived unmistakably from Buddhism. Soko rejected mere speculation. He was a practical man of the world, and came to regard Confucius as the one ideal man in the world.

Yamaga Soko has been called the father of Bushido, the knightly way of Japan. Bushido is a mental discipline, developed after the age of Kamakura, and extending down through the feudal age. It contained the moral principles of the Japanese knights, and resembled similar codes of honour which existed in the days of chivalry in Europe. Japanese, however, claim that it is a special product of Japan; but no movement is peculiar to any one part of the world. If we lay aside mere names and make all due allowance for local influences, this movement was very similar to the knight-hood of the Middle Ages in Europe. Dr. Inouye says: "Stoicism in Greece, knight-hood in the Middle Ages, and the gentlemanly spirit of modern Europe have all some points of resemblance; but Bushido is never to be thought identical with these". It originated in the union of the best elements of Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Bushido impels a man to take his own life in order to prove his own honour. Such a thing as "Harakiri" is not found in the West. It is only found in Bushido.

Soko was a typical knight of Japan. He combined in himself the highest scholarship with the best military tactics. His knightly spirit found its ripe fruitage in the deeds of the

retainers whom he taught. The Table of Contents of his discussions on Bushido gives us an idea of his views. The first part on laying foundations dealt with such subjects as "Know your duty", "Follow after Truth", "Endeavour to walk in the path of moral conduct". The second part on "How to polish the mind" deals with a variety of subjects, such as, "Keep your conscience clear and strengthen your will", "Be generous, be chaste and noble", "Let your manners be always quiet and courteous", "Hold yourself above worldliness with all its luxury, pleasure and gold", "Be calm and resigned at all times, avoid self-interest, and exalt righteousness", "Avoid lust, be honest and exalt valour." The third part on "The Cultivation of Virtue and the Completion of Knowledge" deals with such subjects as "Loyalty and Filial Piety", "Benevolence and Righteousness", "Investigate everything and read widely". The fourth part deals with "Self-Reflection". The fifth part on "Etiquette and Dignity" deals with such subjects as "Be respectful at all times"; "Be careful what you see and hear. Be careful what you say and how you act. Hide your feelings, no matter how sad you are"; "Be temperate in eating"; "Be careful how you dress"; "Live in a home suited to your standing, and furnish it accordingly"; "Be polite at all times". The sixth part on "Daily Life" exhorts to "Be careful of giving and receiving. Be moderate in your pleasure and not over-indulgent". Yamaga said the true samurai kept these precepts *in the spirit*. He himself has been called the "Incarnation of Bushido".

Soko, according to Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, is to be commended for his desire to follow the sage directly, but he is open to criticism for rejecting the scholars of Sung and Ming too completely. The Confucian teaching, according to them, is a development of the thought of Confucius and Mencius, but contains deeper thought. Their teaching united Buddhism and Confucianism, and is a more highly developed theory than the older ideas of the sages. Soko is to be criticized because he is too narrow in his views. The end of learning is to investigate truth, and it does not matter whether that truth is found in Confucianism or in Buddhism. From the standpoint of learning, the scholars of later days are very superior to Confucius. The later scholars are to be praised

because they developed the teaching of Confucius. Soko is to be criticized for not giving that development its true value, and for aspiring to go back to the simple teachings of Confucius. In doing so he opposes the natural evolution of human thought.

Soko has been compared to a stork among hens because he advocated a deeper regard for the national constitution, at a time when all other scholars were neglecting it because of their infatuation for China. Dr. Inouye admires Soko because of his relation to Bushido, and he criticizes Dr. Nitobe's book on "Bushido" because it ignores Yamaga Soko's works, which may be called the constitution of Bushido.



ITO JINSAI

CHAPTER III

ITO JINSAI

Ito Jinsai, the second of the great classical school of Confucianism, is one of the best scholars Japan has produced. His ancestors lived in Sakai, near Osaka, in Idzumi province. His grandfather lived in Setsu province, also near Osaka. He was adopted by Ito Ryosetsu of Amagasaki, in Setsu, and took the name of Ito Ryokei. In the period of Genki-Tensho (1570 to 1591 A.D.), because of a local war in his own province he moved to Kyoto and took up his abode in East Horikawa Street. His son, Ito Nagakatsu, a dealer in timber, married one of the Satomura family. They had three children, of whom Jinsai, the eldest, was born at Horikawa Street, Kyoto, in the fourth year of Kanei, on July 20, 1627.

Jinsai was naturally a well behaved boy. When he was eleven years of age he went to a Confucian teacher, and began the study of "The Great Learning". It is related that when he heard what he was to study he said: "Even to-day, are there men who know such things?" He also became a writer of Japanese poems. At nineteen years of age he visited Lake Biwa, and on seeing it he wrote the following: "They say that this great lake originated in one night. I cannot believe this popular tradition. Such old traditions are foolish. One hundred rivers unceasingly flow. Many valleys mutually help to supply them. In this natural way the lake was formed. All people under heaven are to be pitied because they love strange things."

When he went to the top of Mii-dera Omi he composed another saying: "After climbing for five or six ri, I have reached a place where I can see far off. I see ships in the darkness gliding slowly. The sky is everywhere extended. To the north are many villages, and back of them, half encircling them, are the mountains. To the east of the temple is Lake Biwa. Behold the little streams uniting to form the great lake, and draw a lesson from them. Men must not waste their lives and allow themselves to die without first having accomplished something useful." From his early boyhood Jinsai showed an intellectual power and a thoughtful

spirit that were prophetic of the place he afterwards took among scholars of Japan. When we translate such poems into English, they often seem scrappy, and the moral seems forced and unnatural, yet these ancient Japanese looked upon nature much as modern poets do. Nature breathes into the soul of Wordsworth inspiration and life; so with Jinsai. He loved nature. It brought to him messages which were divine.

He was greatly influenced by great men and by books of the past. In an early essay he says that, under the influence of a book by Empei, he had forgotten worldly rank and wealth and had lost all vulgar ambition, and had come to feel that it was the duty of a scholar to separate himself from the world and live in obscurity.

He read other standard works such as the philosophy of Shu-Shi. These books called from his pen several essays, such as the discussion on "The Great Limit" and "Human Nature is Good". These essays were all collected by his disciples and published in two volumes. They were written when he was not more than twenty years of age.

Soon after that he fell ill and was confined to his room for about ten years. During his illness he only saw one or two of his most intimate friends, and so closely did he confine himself that his neighbours did not know what his face looked like. When he became ill he considered it a calamity, for he was very ambitious, and a hard student. But according to the saying of Mencius, "When heaven is about to confer a great office on a man, it first exercises his mind with suffering", so it was with Jinsai. Suffering refined and beautified his spirit so that he became one of the most admirable of the Japanese scholars.

Another serious barrier to his becoming a great scholar was the fact that his ancestors were business men and despised learning. This would not of necessity be a barrier in the West, but in Japan even to-day one may still meet students who say that their parents disparage learning as useless.

Ito's family did not appreciate the value of the teaching of Confucius, and taunted him, saying it was impractical, and would not help him to obtain money. They said: "Scholarship belongs to the Chinese. It is useless in Japan. Even though you obtain it you cannot sell it. Far better become

a physician and make money." To all such taunts he turned a deaf ear. He was a scholar in his boyhood. He meant to become a great scholar. His difficulties were greatly increased, when from some unknown cause his family became very poor. Then they redoubled their censure of his learning; but his determination remained unshaken, and finally he had his way. In a letter to a friend he wrote: "According to present-day ideas, it is valuable to become a physician, but a scholar is not appreciated. Many scholars like to be physicians as well. I loved learning from the time I was sixteen years of age. At that time I determined to study the teachings of all the sages. In spite of the efforts of my friends to dissuade me, I refused to change my plan. When my parents became old and poor they blamed me for neglecting them. About that time my grandfather's brother came to Kyoto. He was so angry because I would not become a physician that he refused to see me, and it was only after some friends had interceded for me that he agreed to meet me. The people who loved me best blamed me most. I was like a prisoner because of this sad treatment. The instruments of torture lay around me. Every one persecuted me, but I loved learning. My determination remained unshaken, until finally I became what I am at present."

Once his disciple Namikawa said: "In our country scholars who do not receive salaries ought to become physicians. If they are merely scholars, they cannot get a living, and in the end they will fail to realize their desires." Even though it was very difficult to obtain a living as a mere scholar, Ito said in one of his works: "If physicians wish to become scholars, that is all right; but for scholars to become physicians is not wise." This quotation shows how determined he was in his opinion on this matter, and he was willing to endure hardship in order to realize his purpose. No wonder he succeeded. He gave his house and his property to his younger brother, and went away where he could be alone, in order that he might the more quietly and earnestly pursue his studies. He also studied Buddhism and Taoism, but afterwards abandoned both of these subjects as useless.

In the second year of Kanbun, 1662 A.D., there was a great earthquake, and he returned to his own house. About this time he began to give expression to his views on the

learning of Confucius, which had long been in process of formation. He had gradually become convinced that much of what passed for Confucianism was in reality the result of the teaching of Buddhism and Taoism. According to his opinion "The Great Learning" was not the thought either of Confucius or Mencius. He called his home "Kogido" ("Old school lecture hall"), and began to receive his first pupils. Many flocked to hear him. Those who believed his doctrines thought he was a very remarkable man, but others thought he had adopted the heretical opinions of Rikushozan. Ito himself was indifferent to either praise or blame. When he thus became decided in his own mind, he was only thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age. He organized the Doshi-Kwai, a society for the veneration of Confucius. The members gave lectures on the Chinese classics and corrected one another's errors. They criticized the great scholars. They examined their pupils or gave them essays to write; they expressed their attitude to Confucius by bowing reverently before his picture which hung on the wall. Every month this society met and assisted the students.

One of the noblemen of Kyoto who was very fond of learning used to gather the scholars from time to time for discussion in order that he might know their doctrine. Most of these men would begin to speak in a calm, self-contained manner, but as they became interested in their subject, they would become very noisy. Ito alone retained the same calm composed manner from beginning to end. This manner being one of power, many men were drawn to him and respected him.

Jinsai lost all his property in a fire in the first year of Empō, 1673 A.D. At the time of the fire Jinsai showed no concern for anything except the manuscript of one of his books. Taking this with him he fled to Ho-onji temple, where he abode for a time.

His mother was now very old and an invalid. Jinsai nursed her tenderly for years. While thus engaged he was invited by the lord of Higo to come to his estate at a salary of 1000 koku (about 5000 bushels) of rice per year. On account of his mother's condition he refused the offer. On one occasion he said: "I will not serve any lord, be the salary great or

small, but if you wish to consult me on affairs pertaining to the state, I will go, even for a trifling matter."

Shortly after this his mother died in the temple. As she died she folded her hands in the attitude of worship, and thanked her son for his true filial devotion. Next year his father died, and for four years Jinsai wore mourning for them. When he finally gave up mourning he wrote: "For three years one must wear mourning. To-day I reluctantly throw it off." It seems that in earlier times people observed three years of mourning, but during the warlike times between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the custom was discontinued. After the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the custom was again observed.

In the fourth year of Empō (1676 A.D.), the three years of mourning were complete, and in October he began his lectures. He lectured on the days of the month in which a three or an eight appeared (that is, 3, 8, 13, 18, etc.). His subjects were: "The Analects", "Mencius", and "The Mean". He repeated them very often. He also read the older classics as well as "The Great Learning" and other books of Confucian learning. In this way for over forty years he lectured on Confucianism. It was his method to set forth the purpose of the books on which he was lecturing, and then to give his own opinion. He took a book as a whole rather than in detail. He said: "*We* must make Confucian teaching very clear. We should be as conscientious as if we were standing on the street managing our own business. We must not speak merely to please." Jinsai's reputation gradually increased and his disciples soon numbered over three thousand. His son said that his father taught students for over forty years, and nearly all the provinces in Japan were represented among them.

In the second year of Ho-ei (A.D. 1705) he died of dysentery, at the age of seventy-eight years. His first wife came from the Ogata family and his second wife from the Sazaki family. He had five sons and three daughters. Jinsai was buried in a temple at Ogurayama, near Kyoto.

When living in Kyoto, Ito made a small shrine in his house, where he paid his respects to his ancestors. Even now his descendants are said to be living in Kyoto in the same part of the city and paying their respects to Jinsai and his son at this same shrine.

Jinsai possessed a very fine figure. There is a story that once the magistrate of Kyoto, meeting him, mistook him for a prince, and dismounting from his horse, respectfully walked past him. One of the princes is quoted as saying: "Jinsai is more noble in appearance than the vice-minister of state."¹ But better than physical beauty Jinsai was beautiful in character and conduct. His son said of him: "My father was a very modest man. I never saw him angry. He made friends of every one. He did not put much thought on his dress, and always looked like a peasant, but he never did things to surprise or shock people. He was not eccentric. To old and young alike he was always very frank. He never made a disagreeable face over any guest, but welcomed all who came. When expounding a truth, he was so firm that he was irresistible."

Once when Jinsai was criticized by a certain man, his disciples came to him and said: "This man has attacked you, please reply to his accusation." Jinsai, without making reply, simply smiled, so they again said: "When one man speaks ill of another it does not do to be silent, unless you are forced to it; if you do not reply to his words, we will do so for you." Jinsai replied: "A virtuous man does not quarrel with any one. If he is in the right, and I am in the wrong, he is a profitable friend to have. If I am in the right, and he is in the wrong, he will understand me some time, when he has learned better, without my making any explanations. You must remember that the true use of scholarship is to keep the mind always calm. It is very important that we use our scholarship to develop ourselves. If I speak ill of that man and make a storm of words in self-defence, what value is there in that?" This little circumstance gives us some insight into the magnanimity of his character.

Concerning one's convictions in regard to truth, one must be very bold and straightforward. Jinsai was not lacking in this respect when he rejected the teaching of the twelfth century scholars. It is recorded in one of the ancient books, that a contemporary of Jinsai's said he was a man with whom he would like to live. "He is like a great immovable mountain." Another said: "Jinsai, like Togai his son, is a

¹ "Dainagon" was a high official next in rank to the Minister of State in the ancient system of government.

very modest man, but his eyes pierce every one whom he meets. I think after great study he has attained great virtue."

The Japanese admired three things in Jinsai. First: he was a self-taught man. Second: he would not take service under any lord at any price. Third: he taught, and brought up a noble son. It was said: "When you see Ito's face he appears very modest; when you hear his words he seems meek. He strikes one as being a very virtuous man. When he reads a book his eyes seem to pierce the page. There never was a man with such bright eyes."

Ogiu Sorai, who was in some respects Ito's rival, said of him after reading his commentary on the Confucian classics: "I read it and became acquainted with Ito. I am not able to meet him, but when I saw that book I knew that he was a great man. In that book there are some excellent words. In destroying bad books he is the first scholar of his time. Seeing this I am forced to admire him." Another scholar wrote: "Ito was like the clouds or the stars. You can admire him but you cannot reach him. He should have lived in the age of sages. He does not belong to this day. He is one by himself." Others said: "Many hundred years after the So dynasty, when learning had degenerated, Jinsai spread wisdom peculiar to himself; he is the founder of Japanese literature." "He is the head of Japanese learning and literature." "Since the restoration of peace he is one of the four greatest men." Professor Shimada says: "In Jinsai's teaching there are good and bad points, but he had excellent ability, and studied for a long time. He then crushed the bad customs of his day, and opened up a way of progressive learning. Truly he was a great man."

But while many scholars admire Ito, Kaibara Ekiken censures the scholars of his time, as if they were merely pedantic lovers of fame and selfish glory. In doing so he was not altogether unreasonable, for they spoke and wrote, as a rule, in the language not intended for the common people to understand. The same criticism still holds of many Japanese teachers who seem to think that difficult language is indicative of scholarship. Kaibara said to a friend in a letter: "You ask me what I think of the learning at Kyoto. I do not like the customs of the Kyoto scholars. They are all boasting

of their knowledge. Yamazaki Anzai is a very proud, haughty man, and his adherents imitate him. They all criticize the older scholars, and think they only are famous. Ito's disciples are also proud of their doctrines, and attack all the old scholars. Again, the representatives of the Shushi school think their way alone is best. They love worldly reputation. Their aim is to surprise the people, and to accomplish this they do some very ridiculous things. If the public think that Confucianism has become separated from human life, and is opposed to present-day customs, making Japan like China, then Confucianism will be very harmful. The ancients said: 'Learning must be practical. Mere speculation is not good.' This is right. Even if one be scholarly, if he cannot put his scholarship into practice, his learning is useless. Learning is intended to make the truth clear. The customs of present-day scholars are not so intended. They only intend to make the literal meaning of the Chinese classics clear. Yamazaki, Ito and others study the meaning only. Their purpose is to become famous. True learning, aiming at the truth, does not distinguish between self and others. Reason is impartial, and is for the public."

Dr. Inouye thinks this criticism of the Chinese scholars in general is true, but he does not think it just to Ito and Yamazaki. They did not merely study the letter. They sought after more than Kaibara gives them credit for. He agrees with Kaibara's criticism that Ito was "obstinate and prejudiced". Another Chinese scholar speaking of Ito said: "When I read Jinsai's works I do not understand his meaning. Jinsai is not without a knowledge of the books of Tei and Shushi, but he is too self-opinionated, and misleads the people. Scholars must take warning lest they fall into the same error."

Other scholars feel the same toward Ito, but it is recorded of him that he was willing to help the coolies clean the well. This indicates a spirit of true humility for so great a Japanese scholar. He also took much pleasure out of the popular custom of Setsubun. This is a yearly festival, when all the boys and girls gather at different homes, and beans are scattered while they repeat: "Without are devils, within is happiness." The children pick up the beans and go to home after home, where this act is repeated. It is not unlike the custom of calling at different houses on Hallowe'en for apples.

Jinsai relaxed sufficiently to enjoy this festival. When he passed a temple he made the customary bow. In this way, scholar though he was, he tried to keep in touch with the common people. His son Togai explains these things by the fact that his father disliked to be conspicuous.

Jinsai was exceedingly fond of making Chinese poems and of writing Chinese characters. He used to rise early in the morning and fill many sheets of paper with Chinese characters. When the weather was fine he and several of his disciples used to go for a walk, and as they walked they composed Chinese poems.

Although he was always poverty-stricken and could scarcely obtain a living, he did not complain, but spent his time quietly in study. He himself said: "In regard to love of learning I will not take second place even to the sages."

Some one wrote of him: "Jinsai was very poor, so poor that at the end of the year he could not make New Year's rice cakes, but he was very calm about it. His wife came, and kneeling before him said: 'I will do the housework under any circumstances, but there is one thing which is unbearable. Our boy Genzo does not understand the meaning of our poverty; he envies the neighbour's children their rice cakes. I scold him, but my heart is torn in two.' Jinsai continued to pore over his books without making any reply. Then taking off his garment, he handed it to his wife, as much as to say, 'Sell this and buy the boy some rice cakes'."

Jinsai did not put himself about to cultivate the friendship of other scholars, but he held the respect of a great many of them. Sorai once wrote to him, but he did not reply, so they had no further correspondence. Once he met Kaibara, but they could not agree, and did not form a friendship. His son Ito Togai said: "There were then two great scholars in the western part of Japan, Ando Seian and Sonken. My father did not know Seian, but they frequently corresponded, and had mutual respect for each other. He met Sonken once at the house of a noble, but they did not become intimate." Jinsai did not care to travel, and during his lifetime scarcely ever went away from home at all. He intended to be an example to his age. He felt that he was superior to other scholars of his time. He read much under teachers, but he owed his own opinions to none of them. In a letter to Ando

Seian he said: "Men like me have no true teacher." He kept so aloof from men and travel that he scarcely knew the vulgar ways of men. On his tomb was written the epitaph: "The master was noble-minded. He cared nothing either for profit or fame." His loyalty to his life purpose was admirable. He would fulfil it no matter what hardship he had to endure or what pleasure he had to forego.

Like most scholars who dared to think for themselves in the Tokugawa period, Jinsai was suspected of heresy and treason. A very ingenious story was concocted by his enemies. They said Ito had given a letter to a feudal lord, in which he had spoken of the emperor and the shogun as follows: "There are not two suns in the sky, and since the commands of the two do not agree, the shogun must therefore become emperor, and the emperor must take the title of lord." This letter was said to have angered the feudal lord, who told Jinsai that if he were to send it to Tokyo, the shogun would put him to death. He advised him not to write or speak such things. In Japan there could be no more damaging story concocted. Any one who was disloyal and a traitor would be despised by the nation, although his letter at the time would scarcely displease the shogun. It is denied that Ito wrote the letter, and it is disproved by a poem of his in which he described the sun and moon as giving light, and then used this as an illustration to describe the illustrious imperial line. He also exhorted the people to make that age greater than that of the Chinese kings. In other poems he expressed the hope that the way which is the heart of the people might never be lost, even though all other virtue perish. He speaks of the long period during which the emperors, generation after generation, have unceasingly continued to rule, and says: "Our respect for our emperor is like heaven. We reverence him as we do a god. Truly China is inferior to Japan; Confucius was right in saying he would like to go to the barbarous tribes."¹ Ito was not the man to be embarrassed by such scandals. He did not try to refute his enemies, but trusted that time would reveal the virtue of his life and conduct. His self-control is worthy of imitation by scholars all over the world.

¹ Jinsai took it, that Japan belonged to the peoples which Confucius described as Barbarians. Other scholars do not hold this point of view.

On one occasion Jinsai was held up by a band of highwaymen who demanded money. He remained perfectly calm, and replied: "I have no money, but if my old clothes are of any use to you, you may have them. What do you do for a living?" The man replied that he went about at night and robbed travellers. Jinsai said that in that case there was nothing to do but give him his kimono, so he took it off and handed it over. The robber was surprised at his manner and words, and followed him to discover who he was. He had robbed many travellers, but never before had he met a man of this type. When Jinsai told him he was a Confucian teacher he replied: "There are many kinds of people in the world. I steal for a living but you teach the way. I will become one of your disciples." From that time the highwayman was a reformed man.

Jinsai, like Yamaga Soko, derived his teaching directly from the sages. He made it his great aim to follow Confucius and Mencius. He used to say: "Confucius is the only teacher I have." The main value of his teaching lies in his high moral ideal. In regard to morality Ito is said to surpass all others. He based his moral teaching on a monistic theory of the universe completely opposed to the teachings of the Shushi school.

He placed great value on the life and work of Mencius, as leading back to that of Confucius. He said: "The book of Mencius is the only commentary on the 'Analects of Confucius'. If one does not know Mencius, he can never understand the Analects, because he is the only bridge by which we can cross over and understand them."

The central idea in his conception of the universe was that the law "Ri" developed from the sensible world "Ki". He says: "There is but one originating 'Ki' in the universe which is continually manifested in the active and passive principles. This makes up the whole universe and nature. All change springs from this originating 'Ki'. Sages never discussed the matter any further than this; hence we may know there is no fuller explanation." Again: "The one originating 'Ki' is fundamental, and from it was derived all natural phenomena. The 'great limit' is in reality this one originating 'Ki'."

This "one originating 'Ki'" was dynamic. He said: "The reality of the universe is derived from this one originating 'Ki', just as a man, because of his vital force, is able to eat, speak, look, hear, etc. The universe is one great living being which created all things, but is itself not created by anything. It is eternal. It never decays. We cannot think of it as if it were naught."

The Shushi scholars explained the universe as a dualism, and made "Ri" a static, the main element in the "Great Limit". Jinsai thought this static was heretical and said: "The sages thought the universe a dynamic, but heretics think it a static." He probably got his authority from "Eki",¹ one of the five oldest Chinese classics which teaches eternal change, resembling "the eternal flux" of Heraclitus. One phrase, "The great grace of heaven and earth is birth", means that the universal tendency of existence is positive. Death is merely change. Some great dynamic is developing the world without cessation. It is called the "Sei Sei Shugi", or Birth-birth-principle, and might be freely translated the doctrine of becoming.

Shushi thought that "Ri" was static, and so he explained the universe as a static. Jinsai opposed him because he adopted the teaching of Laou-Tsze and Buddha, and mixed them with Confucian thought. He said: "Those who make the origin of things 'Ri' may be said to appreciate the teachings of Laou-Tsze or Buddha which differ much from the teachings of the sages." Again he said: "We speak of the way as applied to things that act. 'Ri' being dead is applied to things which exist without action. The sages thought of the way as practical, so when they speak of 'Ri' it must be active. Laou-Tsze thought of the way as naught, so when he speaks of law he makes it inactive or dead."

The Shushi scholars thought "Ri" existed before the creation of the world, and without it there would have been no universe. All things flourished because of "Ri". Shushi's "Ri" resembled Plato's Idea. Although he does not claim that "Ri" existed first, there is no doubt he gave it first place in his thought. Jinsai held that "Ki" (the sensible world) is not derived from "Ri". "'Ri' is a principle in 'Ki'.

¹ Mr. Yamaji, a Japanese writer, says that "Eki" (The Book of Philosophy) in its present form, is comparatively modern.

When a man says 'Ri' existed before 'Ki', it is like adding feet to a snake or a head to a head." Jinsai argued that "Ri" being inactive exists in things, but cannot govern them. "There is a 'Ri' in animate things, and a 'Ri' in inanimate things. In man there is a human 'Ri', and in material things there is a material 'Ri'. Therefore it is impossible for 'Ri' to be the fundamental principle of all things." In this Jinsai is opposed to the teachings of the Shushi scholars. His "Ri" is the natural law found in material change, and which cannot be reorganized except when material things are changing.

Some Chinese philosophers, including Shushi, spoke of the creation of the universe. Jinsai was very much opposed to this idea. He said: "All directions are called space,¹ and all time up to the present is called time. If one could know of the infinity of space, he would know of the infinity of time as well. The universe now existing has been existing from limitless ages, and the universe which has been for ages is the same as the present universe. How can you speak of a beginning or an end of it?"

Jinsai thought of the universe as a great living organism. He did not think there was any actual death and decay. In this he was very much opposed to Laou-Tsze and Buddha. His teaching was opposed to their passive pessimism. His universe was positive, active and optimistic. He said: "In the Eki (Classic on philosophy) it is said, 'The great virtue of heaven and earth is becoming'. In the way of heaven and earth there is life but no death. There is increase but no decaying. Though the bodies of our ancestors are dead, their spirits remain, and are living. So we may say, man never dies." "Buddhists think the way is an illusion, Taoists also think it is nothing. Buddhists say, 'Mountains, rivers, heaven and earth are illusions'. Laou-Tsze says, 'All things spring from nothing', but heaven and earth are eternal: spring, summer, autumn and winter never fail to come. Mountains are always elevated, rivers always run downwards, birds and animals are all the same through

¹The words here translated space and time are parts of a word Uchiu, usually translated universe. "U" originally meant the four directions of a roof, but is applied to any four directions. "Chiu" has almost the same meaning, but is used when the roof is looked at from below, as you would look up the mast of a ship. "U" is translated space, and "Chiu" is translated time.

all ages. Some change their form, but all things unceasingly change and flourish. How can these be called illusions?"

Jinsai was thoroughly convinced that the universe was dynamic and not static, good and not evil. "In the universe there is only one principle. The universe is dynamic, but not static; good, but not evil. The static element is but a feature of the dynamic. Evil is but a change of good." Again he said: "There is nothing but goodness in the universe. It is as impossible to think of the presence of evil in the universe as it is to think of mountain grass growing in a river. It could not live even for one day." This is rather a fine optimistic theory, rarely found in the thought of China and Japan outside of Confucianism.

The explanation of the various phenomena comes from the movement of the sensible world (Ki). "As all phenomena come from the sensible world (Ki), there naturally arises an element of permanence in the change. This order is the way of humanity, apart from which there is no way."

The whole range of Confucian thought centres around one word "Way". The Sung scholars said: "The way of human nature is 'Ri'." Jinsai plainly said: "The way is benevolence and righteousness. Benevolence and righteousness in man are as the active or male, and passive or female principles in the universe. There is no way apart from benevolence and righteousness, just as the active governs the passive. So Confucianism makes benevolence first, and righteousness second." "There are many terms used to express the idea of morality, but they are all summed up in benevolence and righteousness. Though a man becomes great, and makes a great contribution to the world's progress, if he lack benevolence and righteousness, he is not worthy of praise from the standpoint of morality. To be called wise, he must know and govern himself according to these two virtues. Propriety harmonizes these two. It and other virtues are but the expansion of benevolence and righteousness."

Jinsai was completely opposed to Ogiu Sorai, who thought that propriety and music were the way. Jinsai's way, like his universe, was dynamic not static. It was practical rather than mysterious. He used to say: "The way is a road, over which men may go and come." "The ordinary way is excellent; there is no more excellent way in the world. This

is the teaching of the sages. Heretics teach that some excellent way may be found apart from the common way. Their teaching is but empty words. When one describes the way as something high and lifted up, which is not practical, where is the value of such an excellent way? There is no way apart from the common one, and nothing common but the way."

He taught benevolence and righteousness as the only way, but at times he said: "The way is benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. Virtue is the general name for these, but what is the difference between 'Virtue' and 'Way'? 'Way' and 'Virtue' are applied to the same things. 'Way' describes their effect, and 'Virtue' their nature. Righteousness and benevolence are the root virtues, propriety and wisdom spring from them. The way is benevolence and righteousness, or to be more explicit, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. Though there are many good things, and good principles, the most important are benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. All good things are contained in these four." Mencius said: "The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence, the feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness, the feeling of modesty and compliance is the principle of propriety, the feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge. Men have these four principles just as they have their own limbs."¹ "When men possess these four principles, yet declare they cannot act upon them, they play the thief with themselves." Like Mencius, Ito described human nature as having four roots. "There are in the mind by nature sympathy, shame, self-depreciation and judgment, which Mencius has called the four roots. These roots developed, become benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom."

He was very strongly opposed to the teachers of the Sung dynasty, who made these four virtues the sum of human nature. He says: "Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom are the names of moral virtues, but they are not human nature. Moral virtue is to be applied to the whole world and not to an individual alone. 'Nature' is applied

¹ Mencius. Part I, chapter II, 5 and 6.

only to the individual, and has no relation to the world. This is the difference between moral virtue and human nature." "The Shushi scholars were the first to call benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom 'Nature'; they also called that nature 'Ri'. After that scholars viewing these four virtues as their real nature or as law did not spend time on investigation, and ceased to strive after morality."

Dr. Hyouye thinks that some of the difference between the Shushi scholars and Jinsai is due to a difference of meaning as applied to a term. The Shushi scholars applied the four virtues to the nature of man. Jinsai called them by the general name virtue. But how did "Nature" differ from "Virtue"? Jinsai thought of nature as individual, and as differing in different individuals. Virtue, he felt, had a common value. He was right in thinking of virtue as a general thought, but not right in thinking of nature as individual. The "nature", as described by the scholars of the Sung age, was the German "Vernunft" or rational nature. This cannot be said to be individual, but general. Jinsai was anxious to criticize the Sung scholars.

His theory in regard to these four virtues is apt to be misunderstood. If they are not rooted in human nature, then they must be objective, existing in the universe apart from man. But he said: "The way exists by itself from the beginning without regard to the existence or non-existence of man." Then according to this, "Moral virtue" existed apart from the existence of man, but the so-called four roots existed in man. Therefore we conclude that these four roots differ from the four virtues. This was a point of attack by scholars of his time. Namikawa Tenmin argued that Jinsai broke away from Mencius, because he distinguished between the four virtues and the four roots mentioned above.

Shimada Kozon also argued that "Jinsai in claiming that benevolence and righteousness are names applied to virtue, but not to the human nature, differs from the Analects and Mencius. It was not a new teaching founded by the So scholars, which applied these virtues to human nature. Everyone recognizes that this teaching comes from Mencius. Jinsai made a serious error in not understanding the four roots of Mencius, and in advocating his own theory. Tenmin and others do right to oppose him."

Jinsai did not hold this view absolutely. In another place writing on original and natural virtue he said: "Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom are common to the whole world. They, being rooted in human nature and prevailing in custom, can never decay. This is called natural virtue." "The four roots are in our mind by nature, and the four virtues are the greatest in the world. The four roots alone are of little effect, but if we develop them, the four virtues will be perfected."

Jinsai did not misunderstand Mencius. He gave the four virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, which are derived from the four roots, a general value. He did not confine them to the individual. He was opposed to the So scholars' idea, that nature is reason, and he did not regard the four virtues as nature, but he was puzzled when he came to interpret Mencius' words: "The four virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, are not external, but men originally inherited them from within." He said, however: "The four roots, sympathy, shame, self-depreciation and judgment, are all nature, and are good. The four virtues, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, are virtues under heaven, and are the greatest good. If one's nature is good, he may perform these virtues. In this sense we may say that benevolence and righteousness are nature, and *vice versa*." But we must remember that benevolence and righteousness are not merely contained in "nature". The difference between the four roots as nature and the four virtues as virtue is clear, but that there is an absolute difference is not clear, for it is still ambiguous whether benevolence and righteousness are nature or not.

Mencius meant that "everyone has simply the four roots. If one develops these, he obtains the four virtues as a result, so we may think that the four virtues originate in the human mind. Jinsai, however, anxious to refute the So scholars, held that the four virtues are not nature as understood by them.

Jinsai emphasized benevolence and righteousness, but he thought benevolence included all virtue. He said: "Benevolence is the greatest virtue of man. It is the sum of all goodness." "There is no learning apart from benevolence." "Upright government must rely on benevolence and

righteousness. These may be summed up as benevolence." "The virtue of benevolence is great. In one word, it is love. In the relation of master and retainer we call it righteousness; between father and son we call it filial love; between man and wife we call it the performance of the separate duties; between friends we call it faithfulness. These virtues are all derived from love." "There is no greater virtue than to love one another, and no worse thing than to do harm to others. This is why Confucian teaching makes benevolence the root of all teaching. Benevolence is fulfilled by love only."

"In early days Kansho-Rei called benevolence philanthropy. The So scholars called benevolence human nature, and love mere passion. So they criticized Kansho-Rei for knowing passion, but not nature." Kansho-Rei did not go so far as to sum up all the teaching of Confucius in the one word benevolence, but Jiunsai says: "Benevolence is the whole teaching of the sage, and dominates all goodness." He said: "When the noble and ignoble, the high and the low, are very definitely classified, and never exceed their proper place, that is propriety." "When the law is very clearly transparent, and there is no doubt or confusion, that is wisdom." "In the Japanese classic it is said, 'Just as flowers bloom in spring, which is distinctly separate from harvest, never breaking the proper order, so men, being the highest creatures of the universe, must obey their class distinctions very strictly'." "In the odes it is written, 'Even rats have propriety, and if a man has none he had better die'. Ancient Japanese students would not even step on their teacher's shadow."

"Love springs from the true heart. Therefore the five relations, if they are regulated by love are true; if not, false; for the virtuous man there is nothing greater than benevolence, and there is nothing more disagreeable than a cruel, hard-hearted man." "If there is no shadow of hard-heartedness or cruelty in the loving heart, which diffuses itself everywhere, that is benevolence. If we say it is here, and not there, it is not benevolence. If it is manifested to one, to the exclusion of ten, it is not benevolence. If we constantly have the loving heart, even when sleeping, so that love and our hearts are never separated, but are blended together, that is benevolence."

"He who divulges a secret will be hated. He who is too forward will be abased. He who studies to excess will injure virtue. He who has too many opinions will confuse reason."

"He who censures himself, but does not condemn others, will not be resented. To attain this is the aim of study."

"If apart from human relations we hope to find the way, it is like trying to catch the wind, or expecting to catch a shadow. Those who know the way seek for it in their daily life."

"Reading books is like sifting sand for gold dust. We need open minds to receive knowledge, and great care in choosing it."

"Those in a high position look down on those below them, and their words are simple" (so that those below them can understand). "Those in a lower position look up to those in a higher position, and their words are difficult. In the same way the arguments of the highly virtuous are simple, but the arguments of those who are of inferior moral character are difficult."

"Even the little fire of a match, when fanned by the wind, may become a great conflagration; so a man nourishing his ambition may, if he so desires, become a sage. This shows the importance of study."

"Confucian scholars are apt to feel themselves above propriety, and retire from the world. Common people looking at those who thus retire from the world feel great respect for them; but they are all mistaken. Those who stand entirely aloof from human affairs cannot be said to know the Way."

"Economy resembles stinginess, but we must carefully distinguish between them. Those who, though economical, love to give alms are true economists, and truly virtuous. Those who claim to be economical and dislike to give alms are simply stingy."

"Those who act always from the standpoint of reason are apt to become hard, and to lack benevolence. To screen another's crime and publish his good deed, to blame oneself and not to condemn others, are virtues of superior men only, and are performed only by benevolent men."

"The delusion of a fool is shallow, that of a wise man deep. So I am not anxious about the fool, but I fear the depths of the wise man."

"Great doubt begets perception of absolute truth. Those who think they know the truth never attain it."

"A man may become wise by reading books, but if he learns propriety and acts by righteousness, he can attain proper conduct. But this will not make him virtuous. To be virtuous he must be benevolent."

"All men make mistakes. The excellence of a virtuous man is not that he makes no mistakes, but that he corrects them."

"Virtue is realized by benevolence, conduct by righteousness, life by wisdom, and authority by respect."

"When virtue is hidden within, it appears in the conduct. That which is in will come out; but it is not right to judge by appearance only."

"That which is useless in governing the state, or in walking in the way of human relations, is useless."

"Learning must not spring from a selfish desire to excel. If it does, the conversation is decorated with righteousness, which springs from a selfish heart, in which evil is gradually growing stronger. The greater the learning, the deeper the depravity. The greater the skill in dispute, the deeper the selfishness. Therefore if we would seek learning, we must avoid the desire to excel."

Jinsai's one theme was morality. He emphasized the importance of living a moral life. His learning was a system of morality. His method was to study precept by precept, and practise morality. His morality may be analysed as benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, and summed up as benevolence and righteousness, which again may be shortened to one word, benevolence. He said: "The most important word spoken by the sage is benevolence, followed by righteousness, assisted by wisdom and propriety. In putting these into practice we need sincerity."

He considered learning from two points of view: First, the subject-matter itself, and second, the practice of it. The subject-matter of all true learning was the four virtues, and in practising them sincerity was necessary. He felt that any object of study which was not related to morals was not worth while. He favoured treating government affairs morally, and like the Greek philosophers he endeavoured to unite politics and morality. He emphasized morality to such an

extent that he seemed to belittle economy and utility. He said: "Learning must be active and living. Learning must not be mere dead theory or speculation." "The mind is active. Learning is its method. The method is controlled by the active mind." "As in the case of grass and trees we must water, fertilize and cultivate them; so we must nourish the mind in the same way." "Man must be progressive. Men, being alive, degenerate if they do not improve, and improve if they do not degenerate. Therefore superior men prefer to emphasize their faults, rather than boast of being faultless."

He warned young men to be wise in reading books, and to avoid desultory methods of reading. He advised two things: First, systematic methods, that we may know where we get our ideas; second, individual investigation, that we may know our own special theory or view. "It is important that we have views of our own. If a man when reading has no views of his own, he might just as well not read. Therefore, in order to be able to form opinions of our own, we must see the point in the book. In reading we are like the man away from home, who attempts to find his home. We must not be like a man who has lost his way."

"There are two types of learning—learning handed down from generation to generation in an unbroken chain, and that which contains the points of view of individual scholars."

The method of education by the government was to make all men conform to one idea. If men had ideas contrary to the government, they were forbidden. Ito was the first man in Japan to emphasize self-realization. In educational methods he held that men of special ability should have special attention. He said: "The sages taught students according to their peculiar ability. They did not force all students to follow the same method. They had respect for their individual ability, but they never limited them to a special method." He himself desired to teach students specially and individually, paying special attention to the peculiar ability of each.

He also spoke of the relation of teacher and student as follows: "The way is incarnated in the teacher, so that respect for the teacher means in other words respect for the way. Therefore in the teacher is exemplified the righteousness

which exists in the relation between the sovereign and his subject, and the love which exists between father and child. The true teacher rejoices when his student surpasses him in study. The unworthy teacher does not. Students should respect their teachers as they do their parents. Even after students have surpassed their teachers in learning, they must not cease to respect them throughout life."

"The responsibility of a teacher is very great. A teacher should strive to develop high character in those whom he teaches. He has to deal with both lords and retainers, so he must be careful not to violate the laws of propriety." "The importance of education is to polish and give culture to the people. This culture is to be obtained by mutual association of pupil and teacher. There are three misfortunes greater than poverty and calamity: (1) To be born, and not educated; (2) to study, but to be unable to get a wise teacher or friend; (3) to have a good teacher, and not be able to grasp his essential thought."

Jinsai wished to make clear the true meaning of morality. He rejected the teaching of Laou-Tsze and Buddha, because he thought they made mistakes. He argued: "The sages were moderate in all things, but heretics were not. Some of them surpass the mean, and others cannot attain it. The one is as bad as the other according to the Japanese proverb, 'Excess is as bad as lack'. Laou-Tsze and Buddha went to excess. Shinfugai and Kanpishi went to the other extreme. Shinfugai was a Chinese scholar who studied the ancient classics and Taoism, and emphasized law rather than morality. Kanpishi was a famous ancient scholar who, like Shinfugai, emphasized law."

Jinsai said: "Excess destroys the mean. This is where Laou-Tsze and Buddha erred. Where there is lack, one becomes a mere utilitarian. This was the case with Shinfugai and Kanpishi and Shoo [another scholar of the same period]."

Jinsai opposed Taoism and Buddhism because of their supramundane tendencies. They made human relations an illusion. He opposed their passivity. The way of the sages is active. He said: "The sage found the way in the whole world, but Laou-Tsze and Buddha found it in themselves. The sympathy of Laou-Tsze and the mercy of Buddha may be held to be the same as the benevolence of Confucius." Their

mercy and sympathy seem to be the same as benevolence, but Laou-Tsze and Buddha are both ignorant of righteousness. Righteousness is the great authority in the world. We cannot part with it, even for a day. Buddhism advocates mercy as the heart, and equality as the way. Therefore it makes light of righteousness. If righteousness is the greatest path a man can follow, Buddhism may be said to tend toward a path of thorns, not regarding this great way."

He objected to the scholars of Sung because they claimed to be Confucianists, but mixed into their philosophy the teaching of Kotei (the ancient king of China whom Laou-Tsze is supposed to have followed) and Laou-Tsze and Buddha. The Sung scholars advocated a return to one's original nature. They taught the necessity of changing (Kishitsu-No-Sei) the disposition, which is the result of contact with the sensible world, to the (Honzen-No-Sei) real nature of man.

Jinsai advocated the development of the good that existed originally in human nature. This argument resembles something which is very familiar in Christian thought, viz. conversion whether sudden or gradual. He said: "The theory of going back to one's original nature came from Laou-Tsze and Soshi. They taught that all things came from nothing. Human nature was originally pure and quick, but when it was embodied in a human body, passion, desire and evil surrounded it. So we must cast them off and return to our pure original nature. This was Laou-Tsze's thought, but the teaching of Confucius was different. He held that we have originally the four roots in the body. We must develop these roots till they become the four virtues."

Jinsai recognized "Kishitsu"¹ only; the other scholars recognized both "Kishitsu" and "Honzen".

The So scholars made the "Great Limit", heaven, nature and benevolence inferior to law (Ri). Jinsai made all things active. He objected to the passivity of law and objected to "Nature" taught by the Sung scholars, because it was mere passivity. Jinsai objected to the technical terms of the Sung scholars, because they were corrupted by Taoism and Buddhism, and wished to return to the simpler language and truer meaning of the sages.

¹ Shushi's "Kishitsu" was the nature a man has as a result of contact with "Ki", or as a result of having a body. It was opposed to that nature which a man has because of Ri. Jinsai called human nature "Kishitsu", but as he had only one, the word as used by him was not synonymous with Shushi's "Kishitsu". His "Kishitsu" was active Ki. He did not divide human nature into two.

ITO JINSAI'S SCHOOL

Ito Jinsai	{	Ito Rangu	{	Sawamura Kinsho
		Ito Kaitei		Hiroso Ippo
		Kagawa Shutoku		Harada Togaku
		Ogawa Ritsho		Nitani Ryoboku
		Namikawa Tenmin		Yasuhara Hakutei
		Namikawa Eeijo		Kakiuchi Yugaku
		Ito Baiu		Asaeda Kuka
		Ito Togai		Ito Toshio—Ito Tori
		Nakajimi Toshio		Suyama Nanto
		Arakawa Tensan		Tani Bizan
		Tsuruda Shigesada		Hozumi Ikan
		Nakae Minzan		Yamada Riuyo
		Kageyama Genshitsu		Matsunami Mitsuoki
		Ito Chikuri		Aoki Konyo
				Hara Sokei
	Kimura Hogo			

CHAPTER IV

OGIU SORAI

The classical school of Confucianists had another very great scholar in Ogiu Sorai. Sorai was born in Yedo in the sixth year of Kanbun, 1666 A.D. Like most great men in Japan, Sorai had many names. As a boy he was called Denjiro. As a scholar he is best known as Butsu Sorai (which is contracted into Bus-Sorai), or as Ogiu Sorai. In his early boyhood he had smallpox, and although he recovered, he was afterwards very delicate. He was a very precocious child. At five years of age he could write Chinese characters, and when only nine years of age he wrote a Chinese poem which, being translated, means:

“A dragon runs downward, a jewel in both hands;
A pine tree is ever green. The plum tree is ever
fragrant.”

At ten years of age he wrote an essay which, for one so young, contained remarkable argument. In the introduction to one of his works is written: “I remember waiting on my father when six or seven years of age. Every night at bedtime my father used to dictate to me a diary, recounting the events of the day, conversations with guests, state of the weather, and other little details of the home life. Consequently at eleven years of age I could read books, even though I had no teacher.” From this rather interesting quotation we catch a glimpse into the home life of the boy. Evidently his father was his teacher, and his home life must have been happy and helpful.

There is evidence that from the fifth year of Empō to the seventh (1677 to 1679 A.D.), he studied under Hayashi Shunsai and Hayashi Hoko. In the seventh of Empō (1679 A.D.) when he was thirteen years old, his father was banished to Ninomiya village in Kazusa, and Sorai went with him. Even at this time Sorai had great ambition to become a scholar, and although he was poor he was undaunted. No matter how cold or hot the weather, he studied by lamplight. By untiring effort his style improved, and he was recognized as a clever student. In a book, Niro Ryakuden, it is written:

"Sorai's father, Ogiu Hoan, was a retainer of Tatebayashi, but because of some slight mistake he was banished to Kazusa, where he bought a farm. He and his sons remained there in obscurity for twelve years, doing nothing but reading books. They used to visit Yedo and buy books, and then read them together. They all became quite scholarly, especially the eldest son."

This quotation gives us a very beautiful picture of a Japanese family united in one great purpose. It enabled Sorai to lay a firm foundation for his later education. In one of his books he said: "When I was fourteen years old we were banished to Kazusa; twelve years later we were pardoned, and returned to Yedo. During this time I lived among the farmers with no teacher. My father had a Confucian commentary on the "Great Learning" in manuscript form. I read and studied it so thoroughly that I was versed in other books even before I read them." Again he said: "I had neither teacher nor friends." In a letter to a friend he wrote: "When I was young I read some books, but as I was among farmers I had no one to explain them to me. With the help of a commentary on the "Great Learning", I succeeded in understanding them. Truly this was my great benefactor." It is evident that Sorai was a self-made man in the truest sense.

When he was twenty-five years of age he returned to Yedo. He took up his abode in Shiba, opposite Zojoji temple, and lectured on the Chinese scholars, Tei and Shushi (Cheng and Choo-he). The priests of the neighbouring temples and other scholars in large numbers came to study under him.

For some years Sorai endured great hardships. Lack of funds forced him to live humbly in order to pursue his studies. It is written: "When Sorai was teaching at Shiba he was very poor. He lived with a bean-curd dealer, and ate only the flesh of rabbits and the refuse of the beans, these being the cheapest food he could obtain. The old curd dealer was very kind to him, and when Sorai got a place where he could command a salary, he did not forget his old friend. He sent him regularly the amount of rice necessary for two persons."

The head priest of Zojoji temple was exceedingly fond of learning, and admired Sorai very much. He recommended him to the ruling shogun, who was also a great lover of learning. The shogun permitted Sorai to become the retainer

of Lord Yanagizawa. The details of this event are written in *Niro-Ryaku-Den*. At twenty-five years of age Sorai lived in front of the Zojoji temple gate, and spent much time reading. The abbot of the temple and the priests, several hundred in number, were all fond of learning, and Sorai became very intimate with them. The abbot told the shogun about Sorai, saying: "A scholarly young man called Sorai lives before my temple gate. They say he is Ogiu Hoan's son!" The shogun permitted his retainer, Yanagizawa, to examine Sorai with a view to employing him. Lord Yanagizawa made him his private secretary at a salary of about nine quarts of rice per day.¹ This was a very small salary, but as his lord's salary increased, his was increased also, until it became about 2,000² bushels of rice per annum. Shortly after this Yanagizawa became lord of Kai, and Sorai made a journey to that province and wrote an account of it.

Shundai, one of Sorai's most famous disciples, gives in greater detail an account of how Sorai entered the service of Yanagizawa. It appears that Lord Yanagizawa's son first heard from the abbot of the temple that this scholar was the son of Hoan, who had been banished by the shogun. He and the abbot went together to the shogun, and inquired if the fact of his being the son of an offender would be any barrier to his being employed by Yanagizawa. The shogun replied: "Hoan, his father, was banished, but he was not a criminal. His son was without fault. You may make him a retainer if you wish." From that time his standing gradually became better, until Sorai was able to ask the shogun to recall his father. The shogun not only acceded to the request, but provided a small salary of 100 koku for Hoan. Sorai was given the special privilege of listening to the lectures of the shogun. So prosperity again smiled on the whole family. Sorai was his father's lawful heir, but being himself a retainer of a worthy lord, at a good salary, he was well provided for. He requested that his younger brother be made heir in his stead, and consequently his younger brother was able to receive his father's salary in addition to his own, and was made one of the shogun's special lecturers.

¹ Literally "rice for fifteen men".

² Five hundred koku. 1 koku = 4.9629 bushels.

Records of his having become lecturer to the shogun are still extant.

Ito Jinsai had already founded the classical school at Kyoto. Sorai, who was at this time an ardent supporter of the Shushi school, attacked Jinsai, and made himself famous. He was now about forty-nine years of age. Shortly after this he was himself converted to the classical school, and became a disciple of it. He then began to study a very antiquated form of the classics, and cast aside his former writings. He said: "The ancient classics must be known through old writings, not through new scholars." He called his doctrine, "Going-back-to-ancient-times Doctrine", and rejected all writings of modern scholars, Japanese or Chinese. In this his disciples helped him. They rapidly increased and he became known throughout Japan by noblemen as well as by poor scholars and priests. Students from all ranks came to hear him. In an ancient Japanese book it is written: "There is a teacher in Yedo known as Ogiu Sorai, who when young read the works of Shushi. In middle life he became convinced that the teachers of Sung dynasty were wrong, and changed his former doctrine for a new one of his own. He claimed that the truth of Confucius was the teaching of the very ancient sages". He then published books on "The Analects", "The Great Learning" and "The Mean". He adopted an old style of literature and certain rules of the ancient scholars, and wrote many books on poetry and prose. He frequently lectured on the Chinese classics to Lord Yanagizawa. He died in the thirteenth year of Kyoho (1728 A.D.), on January 19th, at the age of sixty-two years. He had one daughter who died early, so he adopted his brother's son, and for generations the family were scholars. But none among them are very famous.

Dazai Shundai said: "Sorai was careful of his health in all his habits. His death was probably due to excessive brain work. He was a very ambitious man, and from his youth bought many books. After he was sixty he became ill, but he would not give up his study and take proper rest. Finally his illness became serious and he died." In the Sentetsu-Sodan his death is described thus: "Sorai died on the 19th of January in the thirteenth year of Kyoho. On that day it snowed heavily. As he died he said to his attendants,

'Japan's greatest hero, Butsu Mokei, is about to give up his life. For this reason heaven is turning the world into silver'."

Nakae Chikuzan said: "I have heard that when Sorai was sick he said to his attendants, 'When a great man dies, strange things are seen. Now there is certainly a violet cloud hanging over the house. Go and see.' As his disease became worse, his body was doubled up, and he talked only of the purple cloud. His wife and family were ashamed, and would not allow guests to see him. Therefore some of the people thought his death was suspicious, and that he did not really die. In such raving a man's worst nature sometimes appears, and this was probably due to the haughtiness of Sorai. It was truly pitiable."

Since Sorai had many enemies this last story about the purple cloud is thought to be untrue, but the former story about the snow is credited. Sorai was very proud and sometimes acted as if he alone were a man. These incidents are explained as resulting from his pride. It is more likely, however, that the man was really troubled with brain disease, and was not altogether accountable for what he said.

He was buried in the temple grounds at Mita, in Shiba. Over his grave are written the words: "The grave of Ogiu Butsu." His epitaph was written by his disciple, Shundai.

Sorai was more truly a man of letters than a moralist. Literature was his specialty, but he was very clever and skilful not only in prose and verse, but in politics, music, military tactics and political economy. It is written of him: "Sorai lacked natural musical ability, but by application and energy he learned music. Sorai instinctively loved reading. When evening came and his room became too dark, he went out on the verandah and continued reading. When the lamp was lighted he rose up, holding the book in both hands, and entering the house without ceasing to read."

"Sorai does not write anything from notes. He writes from memory. About this time there was another scholar in Yedo, Muro Kyuso, and in Kyoto, Ito Togai. Both were opposed to Sorai. Kyuso was a real scholar, and did not care for argument. Togai was still less inclined to dispute another man's opinion. He had received his training from his father and was the leading scholar in Western Japan. He considered Ogiu Sorai a strong opponent."

"Sorai and Togai were contemporaries, yet they were perfect strangers. Sorai always asked those coming from Kyoto what Togai was doing or saying, but Togai never inquired about Sorai. Even to his intimate disciples he did not criticize Sorai. This shows the character of the two men. Sorai was superior in learning, but Togai excelled in character."

At this time there were some famous Buddhist priests in Japan. One, Hotan, called on Sorai and requested the privilege of asking him a question. He said: "I met Ito Jinsai at Kyoto, and he told me that the way of Buddhism is empty, but my teaching of Buddhism is very profound, it cannot be called empty. Jinsai's folly is tremendous; Sorai, what do you think?" Sorai struck the table and said: "Jinsai's words are usually foolish, but when he says that Buddhism is empty he has spoken truth for once." The priest said, "I cannot teach men who have no affinity for my teaching", and left the house. Sorai did not fear Hotan. He had greater respect for Ito, but he felt that he himself was the greatest scholar in Japan. He used to criticize other scholars mercilessly, and did not hesitate to say of himself: "From the time of Jimmu, the first Emperor of Japan (*circa* 660 B.C.), how few scholars are my equal." Again he said: "Ito Jinsai's morals, Kumazawa Banzan's talent, and my learning, if combined in one man, would make a sage. Kumazawa excels in talent, Jinsai in learning, but all the others are not worth mentioning."

Some one asked him: "What do you like besides reading?" He replied: "There is nothing I like better than eating burnt beans and criticizing the great men of Japan."

Sorai was haughty, but his home was very pure. He had no concubines. Critical as he was, he was a good husband.

Many scholars have criticized Sorai. His own disciple, Shundai, said: "Jinsai was not so great a scholar; Sorai's talent is far beyond the reach of Jinsai, but Jinsai was the better teacher of the two. Jinsai's ideal was to be a superior man; Sorai's ideal was to be a hero. This is the difference between them. Namikawa Tenjin said: "Bus-Sorai is a very great man, but he thinks he knows all that is to be known. This is a bad habit."

Ota Kinjo said: "Until one hundred years ago scholars were very conscientious, teaching practical and useful

learning. Recently Sorai and his disciples have arisen, and have chiefly written empty poetry and frivolous literature. Men studying morals have become scarce. The last twenty years learning has become insincere. Scholars lay value on pictures and handwriting. They think this is learning. It is very dangerous and deplorable. We must warn young men against such customs." Some said: "His merit his great, but he makes many mistakes in expounding the Chinese classics. Half of his work on the Analects is wrong, but the people admire them. This is because he wore the mask of a devil and frightened the people. He could intimidate them with his face, but they would soon be undeceived." A more recent scholar has said: "Sorai's energy, learning and composition has no rival among scholars in Japan. There is no doubt Sorai possessed an extraordinary personality."

His disciples and admirers are many, but with the exception of Dazai Shundai, they are not to be admired for their morals. They are haughty, and care not for etiquette. This is ascribed to the influence of Sorai's personality.

Like the other scholars of the classical school, Sorai first advocated the teachings of the Sung scholars, and although he read Jinsai's commentaries, it was not until he was past fifty that he changed his views. But as we have seen, he finally became one of the classical school, who, like Jinsai, aimed at overthrowing the teaching of Shushi and going directly to the real system of the sages. Although he attacked Jinsai, they agreed in appreciating this idea. Jinsai probably influenced him in making the change, although they were so different. Sorai advocated a study of the language of the ancient classics as necessary before they could understand them. So that his school may be called, "The School of Classical Language".

His moral views depend largely on Junshi,¹ as opposed to Jinsai, who advocated the views of Mencius. It may be necessary just here to explain that after the death of Confucius there were two conflicting theories of human nature held by Chinese scholars. Junshi held that man's nature was essentially evil, and that by music and propriety it would be remedied. His idea that "The Way" was made by sages is not unlike the thought of Hobbes.

¹ Seun King. See Dr. Legge's work on Mencius, p. 77.

Sorai's teaching in regard to the way is very different from that of Jinsai, who held that benevolence and righteousness were the way. Sorai held that the way was propriety and music, punishment and administration. Jinsai thought that everyone who developed the four roots could attain the way; but Sorai held that the way was objective and not natural to man. The way, as it was described by the ancient kings, is nothing but propriety and music. Sorai says: "The way is a general term for propriety, music, punishment and administration, which are the qualities assigned to it by the great ancient kings. Apart from these there is no way." In other words, his way is a system of discipline intended to govern the people, and there is no other way. These views came from Junshi, who said: "Propriety is the most important element of the law, and the most important thing in all being. It is the chief end of learning and the perfection of morality."

Jinsai thought the way natural, and not a made way. Sorai thought it was the creation of the ancient kings, and that it was not natural. He said: "The way of the ancient kings was created by them, and it does not exist naturally. They created the way, and ordered the people to follow it; they made the social order safe."

Speaking of ancient kings he says: "Fukugi, Shinno and Kotei were all sages. The way created by them was limited to utility and economy for the people. As we pass down to Sen-Gyoku, Teikoku, and even down to Yaou and Shun, propriety and music were first given. After the Ka, In and Shu dynasties¹ the way was made perfect. Thus propriety and music became the way through many spiritual works of the sages. It could not be made by a single person in a single lifetime. Wise as Confucius was, he knew the way by study. Then how could we hold that it existed naturally?"

He not only differed from Jinsai, but also from the scholars of the Sung dynasty,² who thought that the way existed originally in human nature; and going back even farther, he differed from Mencius and Shishi (the writer of "The Mean").

¹ 2200 B.C.-440 B.C.

² 960 A.D.—1260 A.D.

Shishi thought that the way was to follow nature. Mencius thought it was benevolence and righteousness; both of them thought it was originally one. Sorai opposed them, saying: "When Shishi in 'The Mean' said that the way meant to follow nature, he intended to check Laou-Tsze's theory which was prevalent at the time, and which viewed the way as a great fraud. Laou-Tsze held that after benevolence and righteousness appeared, the worst fraud was begotten. Shishi wrote merely to defend Confucian teaching. He also meant that the ancient kings too had created the way according to human nature. He never could have meant that the way existed naturally, nor could he mean that it does not need to be modified. He meant more than merely following nature."

"Mencius' view that man is good by nature was derived from Shishi. This is wrong." It was not unnatural that Sorai should attack Mencius and Shishi, his idea being that the way was external, consisting merely of propriety and learning; their view being that it was in human nature, something like conscience, and not mere feeling. Junshi¹ appeared after Mencius, and, as opposed to him, advocated that man is evil by nature. Sorai followed Junshi. Jinsai followed Mencius.

Sorai thought that the way was a means to govern the people, while Jinsai thought it nothing but natural law, which everyone ought to follow in everyday life. Sorai says: "According to the Confucian school, benevolence is the most excellent virtue."

"The way of the ancient kings preserves peace in the world. It may be divided into many parts, but after all it is to keep the world in peace. It is based on respect for the will of heaven."

"At heaven's command emperors are crowned, and officials and retainers chosen. In a house, if there is a master, there are wife and children. If all agree with the master, there is peace. So the retainer, agreeing with the lord, fulfils his heavenly mission; thus the ancient desire to give peace to all under heaven."

From this quotation it is evident that the way of the ancient kings was a doctrine of politics. But if it is limited

¹ See Legge's "Mencius" p. 77.

to governing the people, only governors would require it; while private individuals, who do not possess any political position, do not need it. This was the objection raised to his views by those who did not accept him; but Sorai did not altogether neglect the individual. He said: "He who learns the way of the ancient kings and makes himself moral, is a benevolent person. If men strive after benevolence, knowing that the way of the ancient kings is to preserve the peace of the world, even they can have a part in the way, according to their individual natures, and can each be an element in preserving the world's peace." By this we see that men who are not governors can know the way in part, and can be elements in keeping the peace of the world.

Sorai did not think so much of self-control and self-culture as of utility. He held, first, that the way is nothing but propriety and music; second, that it was made by the ancient kings; third, that it is a means of governing the people. He said: "The way is nothing but propriety and music. In olden times the way was called 'bun', style or design, which is a milder way of expressing the simplicity of propriety and music. Confucius often used style as a synonym for the way." "Propriety is the great part of all law. It is the hope that binds all things together."

"As soon as men are born, desires spring up. When we cannot realize our desires which are unlimited, struggle arises; when struggle arises, confusion follows. As the ancient kings hated confusion, they founded propriety and righteousness, and with these governed the desires of the people, and were able to limit them, removing the desired things. In this way propriety arose naturally."

The Chinese philosopher, Junshi (Seun), held that amusement was essential to heart culture. "Men must have amusements in order to live. Men amuse others, whether by vocal sounds or physical motion. The human way also finds expression in the same way. If, however, there is no order or leader, the result will be confusion. The ancients disliked confusion, and therefore made music. Music and propriety are two essential elements in the development of man's nature which is essentially evil." This idea of Seun is the basis of the philosophy of Ogiu Sorai.

Sorai made a distinction between the way and virtue.

The Japanese word for morality is "Dotoku". "Do" means way, "Toku" means virtue. Sorai held that the way was made by the ancient kings, and is objective. Virtue is that which every individual develops as a result of propriety and music. He said: "The way belongs to the ancient kings, but virtue belongs to the individual."

Jinsai made virtue a general term for benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. Sorai made wisdom and benevolence virtue, but propriety and righteousness the way. He said: "Benevolence and wisdom are virtues, propriety and wisdom are the way."

Jinsai made a distinction between virtue and nature. He thought nature constituted the difference between individuals; but virtue, being general, was not affected by the individual. Sorai thought virtue differed in different individuals. Virtue is received either by nature or by study. People have different natures, therefore virtue must differ also. "Virtue is one's own possession. It is a man's appropriation of the way unto himself. Therefore some men obtain virtue by nature and some by study."

The term sage is usually applied to men who have excellent virtue, as, for example, Confucius; but Sorai said: "The sage is one who in older times made propriety and music, and taught the world." Among these he included Confucius, because he collected the teachings of the ancients. He claimed that a man does not attain to the position of a sage by study, but by nature. He said: "The excellent value of a sage is given by nature. How can any one win it by study? It is not right to say that all men may become sages, and that human nature can be changed."

The Sung scholars, Jinsai and others, making the sage their ideal, strove to become sages themselves. Sorai objected to this, saying: "It is a mistake for the Sung scholars to wish to become sages. Even Tei and Shushi could not attain sagehood. Since Confucius there has been no need for more sages. These scholars tried to do the impossible. Their talk is idle."

While there is some truth in Sorai's objection, it is certain that these scholars made Confucius their ideal, and to some degree were able to realize it. They hoped to go one thousand miles, but could only go one hundred. If they had not striven

to go a thousand miles, they would never have gone one hundred miles. Men should have great ideals. It was good for these scholars to respect the character of Confucius whom they regarded as the greatest in the world, and to make it their ideal. Even Sorai's conduct was influenced by Confucius.

"Benevolence is the virtue that enlarges the people and gives peace. It is the great virtue of the sages. The great virtue of heaven and earth is growth. Even sages depended on this in their work. Therefore benevolence is called the virtue of wishing to grow."

"The ancient kings established the way in benevolence. Therefore propriety, music, correction and administration are benevolence. Unless a man is benevolent, he cannot give the people peace."

"One must obey propriety strictly. If we do not add music to propriety, we cannot live. Therefore music is the way of growth. For the purpose of stimulating the people and nourishing virtue, there is nothing more helpful than music."

Confucius and Mencius did not mention anything in their teachings about a change of disposition. The Sung scholars were the first to divide human nature into disposition and original nature. They taught that the original nature is good, but the disposition may be good or it may be bad, and if bad, it must undergo a change to become good.

Choshi first made this classification. The nature of heaven and earth is identical with man's original nature. Tei and Shushi agreed with this idea, and admonished men to change their dispositions and return to their original natures. This theory of returning to the original nature is not unlike some presentations of the new birth. Jinsai, as we have seen, was opposed to these Sung scholars. He did not divide human nature into two. He thought nature as taught in the Analects and in Mencius was never separated from disposition. He thought the disposition should be cultivated and developed. He did not, however, go so far as to say it was unchangeable. Sorai said: "It is wrong to say that nature must be changed." "Disposition having been given by nature cannot be changed by us. The theory that it is changeable originated with the Sung scholars, and is based

on 'The Mean', not on the way of the ancient kings and Confucius. Disposition is nature. How can we defeat nature with human power? If one were forced to perform the impossible, he would finally in despair become offended at nature and his parents. This is not the way of the sages. Confucius' method based everything on the capacity of the student."

Although Sorai claimed that disposition, being natural, did not change, yet he recognized that it might be modified. He said: "Human nature being different in different persons cannot change, but it can be modified. If influenced by good, it becomes good. If influenced by evil, it becomes evil. Sages constructed the way according to nature, and left it to men to cultivate themselves." In other words, disposition having been given by nature and differing with different individuals, can never so absolutely change as to make a wise man of a fool, or a sage of an ordinary man, although all may be influenced for good.

He rejected the Sung scholars and Jinsai, saying: "The Sung scholars did not follow the sage, and yet they aspired to become sages themselves. They did not know the excellence of the ancient kings; they misunderstood it because of their own prejudices. They adopted such methods as bearing oneself in a respectable manner, and investigating deeply for the principle of all things; and then by extending the ['Heavenly Reason'] principle, driving out lust. Finally, they constructed the theory of original nature and disposition. Jinsai's theory is admirable, but it is unfortunate that he did not know the teachings of the ancient kings well. As he only imitated the discussion of Mencius, his teaching is not clear."

Sorai is said to have been the first man in Japan to hold this view of the unchangeableness of human disposition. Of course, he recognized that it could be affected morally for good or bad, but the Sung scholars held that the change was absolute. Junshi held that human nature being bad could not be changed, but might be checked by propriety and righteousness.

Again Sorai said: "Only sages understand the heart of the sage. All we understand is their conduct and words." "Sages received their virtue of hearing well, seeing clearly,

and their profound wisdom from heaven. They did not obtain it by study. Those who became sages by study were 'To' [the founder of the Sho dynasty], 'Bu' [the founder of the Shu dynasty], and Confucius."

Very few Chinese or Japanese recognized a standard for right and wrong, but Sorai explicitly makes the way of the ancient kings the standard. He said: "To follow the way of the ancient kings is right, and to neglect it is wrong." He attacked the scholars of the Sung dynasty because they had no standard. He said: "In after ages the 'Reason' school appeared; they substituted reason for propriety as taught by the ancient kings. This theory was simply the outcome of their own selfish minds. If a man's own mind is the guide, then he will probably recognize as right that which suits his own interests. Is this not reasonable?"

Sorai's standard of right and wrong was objective, and is naturally opposed to the Sung scholars. His view of good and evil, however, is different. He said: "Even if a thing is not according to the way of the ancient kings, if it is said to be useful to man, and is a means of saving the people, it is called good, because it is what the people need. Mencius said: 'That which is needed is called good'."

According to this quotation, the standard of good and evil is not necessarily based on the ancient kings. In fact, Sorai was somewhat of a utilitarian, and stood for the common interest rather than for individual virtue; but there is no doubt he regarded the way of the ancient kings as ministering to the public good. There are not as many contradictions as one would imagine at first.

Sorai could be calm and resigned because he trusted his fate to heaven. He said: "When one is unable to remedy a thing by his own knowledge or power, there is nothing to do but trust his fate to heaven. Therefore the secret of a man's courage or cowardice rests with his attitude towards fate."

He thought that since men are unable by their own power to change their fate, and must trust heaven, they should respect and pray to heaven and wait for its help. He said: "It is the way of the sages to respect heaven and our ancestors." "To respect heaven is the best way to correct faults and cultivate virtues. There is no prayer apart from the teaching of the sages."

He considered respect for heaven a most important element in the learning of the sages and a most important element in study. "The teachings of the sages are all the result of respect for heaven. This is the most important thing in their teaching."

His views of heaven were said to be religious, especially as he surrounded heaven with mystery. To place the foundation of morality in mystery or the unknowable resembles religion as understood by Spencer. Religion is not necessarily based on the unknowable. The religion of a modern scientist may quite reasonably be based on reverence for known law. An attitude taken in regard to nature because of facts which are known, and powers which are discovered as a result of reverent obedience to natural law, is religion. To love what we know and to obey the best we know is a religious attitude.

The way of learning is to know literature. The way of ancient men was in books or literature. After understanding literature impartially we can understand the view of ancient men.

The Sung scholars and Jinsai thought learning consisted in the culture of the body and in correcting one's conduct by investigating morality. But Sorai thought it consisted in learning the way of the ancient kings. He said: "Learning is to know the way of the ancient kings, which is to be found in the ancient classics. The end of learning is not found except in those books. We call them the four teachings, or the four means. Two of the classics contain teachings on righteousness. Two others contain the moral code."

The Sung scholars and Jinsai sought for morality in their inward hearts by self-examination. Sorai traced it directly to the ancient kings by giving up his own intellectual power. He said: "The way is always the same. It does not change with time. If one follows the sages' teaching absolutely and assimilates it, he will find that it never changes. The teaching of the sages is perfect. Who can attack it? What they did not speak of is not worth mentioning. If there is anything that ought to be said, it has already been said by the ancient kings or Confucius."

In thus emphasizing the past Sorai is very like certain modern religionists who deny reason the right to freely

investigate and scrutinize what has been received through revelation; and like them, Sorai made no provision for progressive learning. He gives up all philosophical investigation, and makes people go to literature, and search out the meaning of letters.

He assumed that he understood other scholars when he said: "Scholars of later times feel ashamed because they do not know even the least things. They do not know even the true meaning of wisdom. Wisdom is to know benevolence. Confucius did not teach from a love of wisdom. Students to-day should know classical languages; they must learn classical writings."

Dr. Inouye says: "Confucius influenced people with sentimental virtue, but he did not strive after intellectual investigation. This was his weakness. But Sorai gave up intellectual investigation because Confucius had not emphasized it. In doing so Sorai committed a great error, because he followed the defect of the sage."

Sorai spoke of the evil of investigation. "Reason is infinite. If we speak of things under heaven from the standpoint of reason, there is no limit to what we may say. Therefore many scholars have appeared. The ancient sages knew this well, and so did not teach men by reason or intellectual investigation. We must be grateful for the deepest thought of the sages." If Sorai had compared the deeper, richer thought of the Greek philosophers with Confucius, he would not have belittled the importance of intellectual investigation. His learning is found in the way of the ancient kings, which is found in the four books, Shi, Sho, Rei and Gaku.¹ Therefore one must investigate these books, and to do so one must know the ancient language. He once said: "When a man can distinguish the difference between modern words and archaic, he may know the true meaning of the ancient language; and only then is he in a position to speak of the ancient way of the sages." Sorai's interpretation of the sacred books is valuable, but he has said very little that is original along the line of philosophical research. His point of view is inferior to that of Ito Jinsai; but Jinsai, who spent

¹ The Odes, the Book of History, the Records of Rites and Ceremonies, and a book on Music.

his whole energy cultivating virtue, is inferior to Sorai in linguistic investigation.

Sorai may be said to have emphasized literary work and utility rather than virtue. The result was that none of those educated by him, with the exception of Shundai, can be considered examples of virtue. This is probably because his methods of education were not perfect. He said: "In the teaching of the ancient kings, propriety and music were not persistently spoken of; they were chiefly taught by example. The man who tries by mere words to make others obey him will fail. We must teach those who have confidence in us."

Jinsai and the scholars of Sung endeavoured earnestly to develop individual virtue. But Sorai differed in holding that Confucian teaching was based on politics. According to him politics was divided into two parts. It was intended, first, to keep people in peace; and second, to know men. "The two greatest things taught by the sages are, first, to bring the people peace; and second, to distinguish men (*i.e.* to know the worth of men). These will cure all the ills of society." The first is benevolence, the second is wisdom. He claimed that the Confucian scholars of modern times misunderstood benevolence. "The Confucian scholars in modern times interpret benevolence as sincerity and compassion. If they cannot give peace to the people, though they have sincerity and compassion in their hearts, they cannot be called benevolent. If so, their benevolence is useless. We know by former examples that propriety and music are most important means of administration to give the people peace."

Sorai is admired, because when other scholars were emphasizing their individual virtue, he constructed a political system with his social ideas. He is especially admired for emphasizing the importance of knowing men. As one knows men, one learns the secret of administration. He says: "To a master there is no need of any knowledge apart from the ability to distinguish men. This is most important, and if one has this, he will be capable of keeping the people in peace under any circumstances."

"In employing others a master must not care about their faults, but must be capable of appreciating their strong points. If one knows a man's strong points, he need not trouble about his defects. When the strong characteristics of men are

properly recognized, there will be no outcasts. It is often said there are no worthy men in the administration. This is doubtless because such men are not employed. Talented men are found among the imperfect. Imperfect men are worthy of appreciation. They sometimes show unexpected talent after they are employed. Even sages cannot distinguish between men until they employ them." He endeavours to describe in detail how to employ men. "In employing men a master must make them act willingly, and after they have finished their work acknowledge their talents. He must praise their merits, or reject them, if they are altogether useless. He must not rebuke them for trifles. If he does, they will make mistakes because of fear."

"One cannot accomplish great things unless he makes light of trifles. The man who does a thing of great worth must be excused for his trifling faults. Even sages sometimes make mistakes. Much more do ordinary people. In any case we should not doubt men. Worthy men do not appear because most masters have not the ability to choose a talented man." To sum up, Sorai held: (1) We can know a man's strong points only after employing him. (2) We should learn his strong points only and overlook his defects. (3) If we try to use men, we can certainly find men who are needed in society. (4) A master must not prize a man highly merely because he likes him personally. (5) The man who has no special defects cannot be a talented man. (6) A master should not rebuke men for trifling faults, but he should look for their merits. (7) If a man employs another, he should trust him with the whole task. (8) A man in high position must not compete with one in a lower position. (9) If there were no evil people, there could not be excellent ones. Therefore select the excellent ones wherever they are. A man who has excellent parts, but no defects, is a curiosity. The man without defects is either a silly fellow, a hypocrite, or a very ordinary man. Sorai thought that legislation was of less importance than the ability to distinguish between men. "The duty of the lord can only be performed by knowing the worth of men. This is the only wisdom a man needs to make him a ruler." "Good legislation is useless unless good men appreciate it. Legislation is less important than man. Legislation can only be effective if those who direct it are good."

Sorai said: "So-called Shintoism was created by Kanetomo Urabe. There was no such thing in ancient times." Although Sorai made bold to declare that the Shintoism of his time was not ancient, he did not declare there was no ancient learning in Japan.

Sorai, like Jinsai, rejected the teaching of the Sung scholars, and he tried to show that their teaching was mixed with Buddhism. He said the Shushi school had sprung from Buddhism. The scholars of the Sung era wished to correct the minds of men by explaining reason, and by making the people individually understand it. This he called temporizing. He said: "It is like cleaning rice by washing each separate grain." So Sorai put the ancient teaching of Japan on the same basis as the ancient teaching of China. He says: "One born in our country must be respectful to our gods. This is the will of the sages."

While the teaching of the Sung scholars resembled Buddhism, we cannot therefore conclude that it was entirely derived from it, although there can be no doubt that they were influenced by it. It is natural that men's views should be similar, when all alike investigate the universe and man in detail. But Sorai, unlike the Sung scholars, always based his thought on utility or politics. He said: "The way of the sages is to govern the world. Propriety, music, punishment and respect become the way. If a man who is supposed to govern the people is not morally trained, people will not obey him gladly, and he will finally lose his influence. One must govern oneself."

Sorai valued individual training as a means toward good government. He said: "If a man has no mind to love the people, although he is trained in virtue and knows how to govern the State, he is not walking in the way of the sage. This is the distinctive difference between the sages' teaching and the teaching of Buddhism or Taoism. The way of the sage is never so eccentric as to make one think of becoming a Buddha or a sage. The way of the sages is first of all to regulate the habits of the people. Without propriety and music habit cannot be regulated, and methods of economy cannot be followed."

CHAPTER V

ITO TOGAI

After the death of Ito Jinsai, the most earnest representative of his school, and an earnest opponent of Sorai, was Ito Togai. "Togai" was his literary name, his real name was Nagatane. It is related that before his son was born, Ito Jinsai read to his wife the Chinese book on filial piety, and also a compilation from the Chinese sages. Whether it was the result of these prenatal influences or not, the boy became very learned and virtuous. His home training was good, and gradually he became interested in books. As he had a good memory he was able to retain what he read. His father had a great influence on him, and when he became a scholar, he felt that it was his filial duty to insist upon his father's views. Fujiwara Tsunemasa wrote Ito Togai's obituary as follows: "Ito Togai was very quiet, modest and prudent. He did not talk about the faults of others. He did not enter the service of any lord. He lectured to his pupils in his own house. He explained the Chinese classics very minutely to a great many students. People far and near respected him. He cared for nothing but books. His life was uneventful." A quotation from the "Sentetsu Sodan", Vol. IV, says: "In the time of Togai there were many great scholars. Each built up his own school and was very powerful. In all the work of Togai there was no unkind reference to any other school. It is very difficult for men to refrain from criticizing their opponents, but Togai was virtuous." Kaibara Ekiken was opposed to Jinsai, and even Namikawa Tenmin, although a disciple of Ito Jinsai, attacked the views of his master, but Togai did not resent it. Even though he knew Sorai had made an attack on his father's views, Togai never showed resentment even by a look.

In the "Sentetsu Sodan" it is recorded that Togai and Sorai were contemporaries. One lived in the East and the other in the West. Sorai was always interested in Togai as a rival. If there came a man from Kyoto, he inquired about Togai, but not so with Sorai. Once under great

provocation he did say: "Sorai's literature is like a mask to frighten a child." This is the only adverse criticism he ever made. On another occasion a disciple showed him a book of Sorai's in the presence of two guests, and said: "This literature is not good; it is nonsense. What do you think?" Togai replied: "Men differ in their opinions. You must not thus carelessly attack any one. Besides that, this book has exhausted the subject it deals with. No matter who writes, he cannot do more than this."

Togai was like a rock in a stormy sea. He could not be moved by the words of Sorai. The reason was that his own principles were deeply rooted. He did not have the keen insight that belonged to his father, but he had a broader training, and was a greater scholar. His father was the kind of man to found the school; he was the right man to continue his father's teaching. He is said to have been twice as learned as his father. In one book we read: "No ordinary man was so well educated. Unless a man had read widely, he could not have written such books." A special admirer, named Nattori, said: "Togai's learning will never be excelled." Although the appreciation of a friend may be exaggerated, it indicated something of the man's reputation. Someone once called on Togai and said: "I have read the Chinese classic on history five times, but I do not understand it yet." Togai replied: "That is reasonable. I have read it twenty-one times, and yet I do not understand it."

Although he was modest, and a student, he lacked originality and insight. He was too calm and humble to perform any very remarkable work. There is no ecstasy or passion expressed in his works, and as a result they lack life. In an old Japanese book we may read: "Togai's literature has few faults, but it lacks spirit. If you read it, you soon become sleepy. The ancients said: 'The spirit (Ki) in composition is important.' This is very true. Togai's composition has not even one interesting paragraph." He had no idea of awakening other people, and so both his prose and his poetry are commonplace. When lecturing he spoke so low that only with difficulty one could hear him. "Among modern scholars none have written so many books," is said of him with some exaggeration. He wrote fifty-three sets of books, consisting of two hundred and forty-two volumes; he also made three maps.

Togai prided himself in being his father's filial son, and therefore he did not stray far from his father's teaching, which it was his ideal to propagate. Although he is reputed to have adopted even his father's faults, he was a very virtuous man, and has contributed much to Japanese education. It is said: "Togai was very learned. His conduct was righteous. He was truly an example of ancient virtue." One of his disciples said of him: "Teacher was a very modest scholar. He was not inferior to Sorai, but I regret that he was too humble. Though he was learned, he was deficient as a teacher. If questioned, he did not explain in detail. He was too modest. If he were not questioned, he would not speak."

He was born on April 28, in the tenth year of Kwanbun, 1670 A.D., and died of palsy in the first year of Genbun, 1736 A.D., on July 17, at the age of 66 years. He had three sons, two of whom died early, but the third, Yoshitsugu, continued his father's school. A motto which he liked was: "Do not for a moment forget what you have received at birth, and do not neglect your profession for even a day. The blessings you received at birth are as large as heaven. If you forget heaven, you will be destroyed. Your profession is your very self. If you are careless of yourself, life will certainly be lost. These are not my own words. Truly they express a divine rule. If you serve your lord on this basis, you will be a loyal retainer. Following this in your association with friends, you will not lose virtue."

He said: "Be true in speech, kind and frank in conduct. Do not hesitate to correct your faults. When people doubt you, do not trouble. Do not anticipate¹ another's falsehood. Do not strive after honour, nor plan for your own selfish interests. Do not be delighted when you are praised, nor angry when you are slandered. Do not call one to account who deceives you, nor have resentment for one who spitefully uses you. Forget your benevolence to others, but do not forget the kindness of others to you. Be filial and friendly, without which no student is perfect. Live in benevolence, and depend on righteousness, which are the perfect virtues of superior men." "How can you help calling a man whose

¹ The word here translated "anticipate" is "mukaeru", to go out to meet.

name is forgotten as soon as he dies, an animal or sand? But is it not a mistake for man to be eager to make books, or construct sentences, in order that his name may be admired, and may not be forgotten? A man's fame after death does not depend on his ability to make good sentences."

"Be careful in selecting friends, and never follow after vice. Be sincere in the pursuit of learning, and never be frivolous. Be cautious, but never bold in speech. Be filial to parents, and avoid rudeness. Be diligent, and do not waste time. Be careful of your body; do not injure it at all. Be quick to do right. Make little of wealth. Do not envy the rich. Be content in poverty, and be not anxious."

"The end of knowing the way is to know the root. What is the root? It is duty one ought to perform."

"Even the smallest degree of good, if developed day by day, will become perfect virtue. So even the tiniest evil, if developed, leads to destruction."

"One must not be proud of his own good conduct. If he is proud of it, he will certainly lose it."

"Good and evil are not limited to special things, but are found in every form, in little things as well as big. Sages are aware of this, but the majority of common people are not. This explains why their goodness does not increase, nor their evil decrease."

"One should not seek profit nor share honour indiscriminately. One must refuse even great wealth if it is not obtained in a righteous manner. When necessity demands, one must not avoid pain." "If a man does not do foolish things, the teaching of the sage will be exalted. If one does not speak useless things, virtue will be perfected."

"It is commonly said: 'One may know well another man's virtues or faults, but not his own.' I however conclude after much thought, that it is easier to know one's own weaknesses. That saying arose because one cannot change his defects though he is conscious of them, nor develop his strong points though he feels them. This is because he does not develop his conscience.¹ It is a warning to students."

"The desire for fame is to be condemned in a superior man only. In inferior men it may become an incentive, to encourage them."

¹ Innate knowledge.

"Intention, diligence and a love for study are three important things in learning. Though you be diligent, you will not progress unless you love your work; though you love it, you will never succeed without intention, and though you have intention, you will never complete it unless you pursue the right way. There is nothing that cannot be completed by one who has good intention and pursues the right way."

"To read a book well once is better than reading it carelessly ten times. Reading one book carefully is better than reading ten books carelessly."

"It is necessary to warn a man of talent, lest he depend too much on his talent. It is necessary to warn a man of wide learning, lest he go too far."

"There is no way apart from a man's body. The way is never apart from man. There is no way to be found by the man who depends on his mind as his teacher (his mind sometimes opposes the way); but if he seek for the way with the help of his mind, he will find it, or he will learn how to know the way."

"Being strict in law, lacking in tenderness, regarding fame, forgetting practice, regarding justice more than benevolence, are all faults in learning. Those who have them do not know the true end of learning. There are more of them now than in ancient times."

"We cannot selfishly limit criticism. Though we can close the mouths of many people, we cannot stop their minds. If we cannot close their minds, how can we stop their mouths?"

"Most people regard fame too highly, and in this way right and wrong are often confused. Fame does not necessarily follow truth. All merit is gained by practising truth, and right and wrong are decided by following and practising truth. He who practises truth may possess fame. We must seek truth, not fame."

"Learning, pursued in the right way, justifies one's views, and is profitable to oneself and to others. It is valuable above all things. But learning, pursued in the wrong way, not only is unprofitable, but sometimes is harmful. It leads one to boast of his wisdom, and produces a narrow man. In such a case we had better give up learning. One must learn, and in learning must be careful to adopt proper methods."

"It is easy to find the faults, and difficult to discover the good, in others. It is as easy to find another's faults, as it is to look down from a high place and see even trifling things. To discover good in another is like looking from a low place to a high. One cannot see clearly. This is true not only of morality, but of knowledge. Unless one stands on a high eminence and looks with keen eyes, how can he recognize the excellence of the ancients? Much more is it difficult to recognize real wisdom when one stands in a low position."

"Being moral, economical and careful of one's health are three roots of humanity. They should be given first place."

"The mind follows after flesh and blood, and not the flesh and blood after the mind. If we are tired, we feel mental pain. When our body decays, and our flesh and blood are separated, where do our minds dwell?"

This sounds materialistic. His meaning is, that there is a necessary connection between body and mind. The health of the body affects the mind.

The Sung scholars classified the will of heaven as (*a*) the will of "Ri", and (*b*) the will of "Ki". The first represents unchangeable truth; the latter is changeable, and is probably equivalent to chance or luck. The luck which we speak of in regard to wealth or fame is the luck by which some men are born wise and others foolish. Togai denied this distinction. The will of Heaven is only the will of "Ki", and not the will of "Ri"; but his will of "Ki" is not the same as theirs.

"The will of heaven of which the sage spoke refers to good or ill luck in material things, wealth, or anything that pertains to daily life. He said nothing about that luck by which some men are wise and others are foolish, because wisdom and folly originate in nature."

He wrote in regard to returning to our original nature as follows: "The sages taught men in many ways. All of these ways required men to accumulate merit by degrees. Buddhism and Taoism teach many ways, among which they advocate a return to one's original nature. Inspired by this view, Taoism wished to abolish benevolence, righteousness, propriety and music, and return to a condition of nothing-

ness. Buddhism wanted to give up desire and worldly things, and enter Buddhist enlightenment. Confucian scholars in after ages taught that the way was connected with human affairs; they valued benevolence, righteousness, correction and administration, opposing the teaching of the other two. But they also wished to change the nature, and return to an original nature. So, although the end of the way is different from Buddhism and Taoism, the means of realizing it is the same. I assume, however, that all real things become great by the accumulation of little things. There is no one who becomes great by returning to his original nature. Such teaching applies only to such things as the surface of a mirror or a body of water; if you want the mirror to shine or the water to be clear, you must remove the dust from the surface. But human beings make progress in the human way, and in the virtue of the sages by degrees. Confucius said when he was fifteen years old he desired to learn, and until he was seventy his conduct was normal. Even sages perform their highest virtue by accumulating merits continually. All great men from ancient times have completed their great deeds by constant application. In their early days they had no special merit. We hear men speak of developing knowledge, not of retiring or going back to it."

"In the teaching of the sages about human nature, there is mention of progress, but not of going back. It was not till after the Sung dynasty that human nature was explained by the theory of 'going back to the original'. The theory says: 'Men by nature are reason or principle. Everyone was originally perfect, without modification. But because men have feelings and desires, they lose their original principles, and differ from the sages. So men must drive out feeling and desire by study. This method is illustrated by a mirror, which is polished by wiping off the dust. If we suppose that men originally had the virtue of the sage and lost it, it would be well to retrace our steps to the original state. But the fact is, when we are born we do not know what is right or wrong, what is liked or disliked. We cannot tell which is father or mother, older or younger. How then can we return to our original state in which there is no wrong to banish and no right to develop? We come to know right and wrong,

to love father and mother, and brothers, after we grow up a little. This is because human beings, by nature becoming good, can be superior to all things. Even in developing boys we see the germs of the sage. These germs are nothing but innate knowledge and ability.¹ If men develop these germs, there is no one who cannot perfect his benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. Even though a man has the four virtues, if he does not develop them, he cannot perfect them."

He objected to the deities of the Sung scholars. He did not necessarily deny the existence of deities, but he did not see the necessity of studying about them. He said: "The deities which the ancient sages spoke of, as the spiritual beings of the universe and of our ancestors, are not the same as those mentioned by the Sung scholars, who speak of deities of all things, heaven and earth, river, mountain, ancestors, etc." Togai took the traditions for granted, but was too practical to investigate such abstruse subjects.

¹ Ryo chi is wisdom received from Heaven, and Ryono is power received from Heaven. Legge translates them as "Intuitive knowledge" and "Intuitive ability", respectively.

CHAPTER VI

DAZAI SHUNDAI AND OTHERS

We have already referred to Dazai Shundai as the one disciple of Ogiu Sorai, who is famous for his morality. Shundai's real name was Jun, and as a boy he was known as Yae-mon. He came from Iida, in Shinano province (now Nagano prefecture). His father was a military tactician employed by the lord of Iida, but was very fond of books. Shundai received his first training in his own home. He himself says: "My father liked the teaching of Nakae Toju, and for our benefit he used to praise the teachings of Kumazawa Banzan. I thus became familiar with these things from my boyhood." Shundai was very much influenced by Nakae Toju. In one of his books he said: "My father and mother used to like poems, therefore I learned to compose poems even when I was eight or nine years of age. Between the age of ten and thirteen, I composed several hundred poems, but as I had no teacher or intimate friend, I hid them away and did not show them to any one. I remember thinking, 'I can compose poems'. When I was fourteen or fifteen, I began to write Chinese poems, and I thought, 'Even I can become skilful but I cannot expect to surpass the court nobles. I am sorry to have to take second place to them. I do not need them to teach me Chinese poems, but if I become skilful, I can teach them'. Therefore I gave up Japanese poems, and determined to learn Chinese poetry. I burned all my former productions, and studied with all my might. After twenty years I became fairly skilful." When he became older he studied Shushi under Nakano Kiken, but later on became a pupil of Ogiu Sorai.

It is written of him: "When Shundai first met Sorai, he showed him both his Chinese prose and poems. Sorai said: 'You are very skilful in both Chinese prose and poetry; you had better study Chinese moral philosophy.' Sorai knew his man at first sight." In another place it is written: "When Shundai first met Sorai, he showed him the fan on which Buddha and Laou-Tsze were sitting in an upright position, and Confucius was leaning over. He asked Sorai to write an

appropriate verse on the fan. Sorai took a pen and immediately wrote: 'Buddha dwells on emptiness; Laou-Tsze is talking nonsense, and Confucius is laughing'." This so impressed Shundai that he shortly afterwards became his disciple.

At any rate we know Shundai met Sorai, admired his scholarship, and, becoming his disciple, studied the learning of the classical school. He said: "From my boyhood I studied Shushi, but I had doubts; later I heard the opinion of Ito and some of my doubts were dissipated. Then I heard Sorai, and was very much impressed by his ideas, but I did not immediately accept them. From boyhood I also studied the works of Laou-Tsze and Buddha. Later I read most of the Chinese scholars. Between thirty and fifty years of age I had completely assimilated what I had read. Formerly all the truth under heaven was in fermentation in my breast. When I was able to see the truth of the sages, it was as clear as the white sun hanging in the blue sky. From that time to the present I have had no doubts at all." It is evident from this that when he became a believer in the learning of the classical school, his ideas were settled. There were some points on which he did not agree with Sorai, but he did not mention these until later in life.

He died in the fourth year of Enkyo in May (1747 A.D.), at the age of sixty-eight. He had no children, but according to Japanese custom he adopted a son and heir. His works are many.

Shundai was very strict, and was particular about his personal appearance. He was clever in mathematics and music, playing the flute exceptionally well. He had some quite famous disciples. In Bunkwai, volume III, we read: "Shundai is very clever in mathematics." He was more clever than Sorai in this. In another place it is recorded: "Dazai Shundai was very clever with the flute. Some lord who liked music wished to hear Shundai, and sent a messenger to call him, but Shundai declined the invitation, saying: 'I am a man who teaches Chinese classics; I am not a musical performer, that I should attend your banquets. If you again send a messenger for me, I shall break my flute and cease playing.'" He was also skilful on the Japanese harp. Another time Inouye Kawachi-No-Kami called Shundai to

consult him about the harp. He answered: "I am not a musician!", and refused to go. After a few days had elapsed, he called on the lord and said: "I am not a musician, I will not speak about music, but if you inquire about literature, I will answer anything you ask." The lord admired him. His disposition was severe, but he had refined tastes. In regard to his behaviour it is written: "Shundai was a very energetic man. He did to-day the work of to-morrow. He was also quick, cool and collected. He was very sincere, and had a great influence over his family and servants. They considered him a sage." Again: "Shundai is naturally quiet and calm as a result of his study. Therefore when he writes a letter he always takes his time and writes very leisurely. He never seems to be flurried." In contrast to his fellow-disciples he was cultured, and had learned perfect self-control. At one time he was a physician. He was also skilful in writing Chinese characters. His learning was very diverse.

His teaching is, for the most part, an amplification of that of Ogiu Sorai. His own peculiar view developed when he became an older man.

Sorai, as we have already seen, made much of propriety and music, and belittled the inner mind. Shundai carried this to its extreme. He said: "In the teaching of the sages the right or wrong existing in the inner mind is not examined. The teaching of the sage dwells on that which is outward. He who adopts the propriety of the ancient kings in his behaviour adopts the righteousness of the ancient kings in treating of things, and has the manner of a superior man, and is regarded as one. It needs not that one should inquire into the inner state of his mind."

Such teaching might develop hypocrisy. If a man pretended to follow propriety and righteousness, he might be called a superior man. Such teaching was not worthy of Shundai, who was himself eager to be virtuous. It is a pity that he was taught by Sorai who was rather inclined to underestimate morality.

In another place he said: "Things done by our 'Heaven Nature' are impartial and harmonious. 'Heaven Nature' is the nature which man obtains at birth. That which he does in innocence without any teaching or training or

special effort is the effect of his 'Heaven Nature'. This is called 'truth', which is taught chiefly in the 'Mean'. This is about what we mean by instinctive action.

Dr. Inouye thinks his idea of truth was not the same as that spoken of by the ancient philosophers, and that Shundai did not understand the true meaning of the "Mean". For example, in the "Mean", "The superior man is careful over himself when he is alone."¹ This involves self-restraint and effort on his part. How can we attain this by leaving ourselves completely to the influence of "Heaven Nature"?

Again he said: "In the teaching of the sage one is not condemned for having a bad thought in his heart, if he does not put it into action." The moral idea should be as strict as that laid down in Matthew: "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Shundai must bear the responsibility of not understanding the ancient wise men on this point, says Dr. Inouye.

Like Sorai, he opposed the idea of investigating things. He said: "Investigation may be made by sages only. Ordinary scholars cannot do it." "It is not right to try to teach methods of investigation to all students. It is foolish for men of modern times to want to know what even the sages admitted they could not understand. Even though they discover the principle of things, where can they get authority for it, and who would trust them?"

He made the sages the absolute standard of truth, and thought that apart from them there was no truth. Does he not dishonour his own reason? Shundai's attitude toward the authority of the sage resembles the attitude taken by many people toward the authority of the Church, or the authority of the sacred book.

He writes of his own calmness and resignation thus: "First: death and life are governed by fate. Happiness and misery, rising and falling, riches and poverty, are all at the mercy of fate. Even if we pray to the gods for deliverance from disaster or death, fate will not be frightened, or become respectful; therefore I do not pray to the gods. But I understand fate; I have no doubt of it and I fear nothing. Second: if it is just to do so, I will accept money, but if it is not just,

¹ See I, "The Mean". Chapter 3.

I will not even accept so much as a piece of meat or straw. The words 'modify things with righteousness', mean nothing more than this: righteousness is what was declared by the ancient kings, and not what a man thinks in his heart. If one follows this saying, he cannot be led astray by passion or by desire for riches. This is the second point on which I base my resignation. Third: I do not know whether a greater ideal will afterwards appear or not, but at present I am convinced of the Way of Confucius. So I am sure I will not change my faith, even though I may be perplexed by the teachings of Laou-Tsze, Soshi, Yashi, Bokushi and other philosophers of China, by the teachings of Buddha and of Christ, and the magical methods of genius; by the teachings of original nature and reason, of the Sung scholars, or by the conscience of Yomei. This is the third point on which my resignation and calmness are based."

He said that sincerity, decision and work were important to scholars.

In one of his books Shundai attacks Mencius for upholding the theory that man is by nature good. He held with Ko Kushi that man's nature is neither good nor bad. (Mencius, Book VI, 1: 1, 2, 6, 7.) "Man's nature is like water whirling around a corner; open an outlet to the east or west, and it will run either way."

Shundai opposed Sorai's view that it was impossible to express the thoughts of the sage in modern language. He held: "Although it is in harmony with propriety and the method of the ancient philosopher to use ancient language, yet we may use modern language to express these same thoughts."

Nakae Binzan's¹ real name was Nakae Heibachi. He was a native of Tsuge village, in Iga. He liked books from his youth. His father loved him very much, and sent him to Kyoto to study under Ito Jinsai, whose disciples at the time were very numerous. Among these disciples, some aimed at reading widely, others cared for rhetoric and literature, but Binzan was a bashful, awkward, plain, unsociable student, and did not become very famous. He was a disciple of Ito's for forty years. In Hoei era (1704-1711 A.D.), he removed to Osaka, and opened a school. He was very poor, but he

¹ Also called Minzan.

felt it was his duty to spread the teachings of the classical school, and very earnestly attacked the teaching of the Sung scholars, thus gaining the enmity of Asami Keisai and Miyake Shosai. Binzan thought poetry was useless, and for this he was despised by literary men. He once said: "The way of the sages is not in literature but in practical virtue. Though there were many men of letters among the disciples of Confucius, he did not commend his teaching to such men of letters. They could not be considered Confucian scholars, for they were too clever in literature. Therefore I do not compose either Chinese or Japanese poems." Binzan used the expression, "If it be so, then" (*Shikareba sunawachi*) so many times that the students gave it to him as a nickname. Binzan was not offended at this, but accepted it, saying: "To make literature very clear one must use the expression often." In the tenth year of Kyoho, in October (1725 A.D.), he contracted a disease of the heart. He lingered on until spring when he suddenly died, at the age of seventy-one years, and was buried in Osaka in a Buddhist temple.

He gave all his strength to the truth as he saw it. His ambition was very great; as the Japanese say, it was sufficient "to fill up the ocean". His house was filled with books, but he was very poor. He once said: "I will not take a second place to Ganki, in poverty." His wife also was very clever.

Among the disciples of Ito Jinsai, Namikawa Tenmin was quite unique. His real name was Ryo, and his posthumous name was Ryo Tenmin. He was born in Kyoto. His father had three sons of whom he was the second. When very young Tenmin and his elder brother Seisho studied under Jinsai. He wished to get at the true meaning of Confucius and Mencius. For a long time he centred his thought on that problem, and when he made up his mind as to the true view, he pointed out the mistakes of his master. He and his uncle called on Jinsai, and Tenmin pointed out to Ito his doubts, and told him his own view. They questioned each other and argued, and finally Ito was forced to keep silence for he could not answer Tenmin. After a while Ito said: "If you were not a great man, you could not make such an original discovery. You are truly a remarkable man. I will surrender to your opinion, and as I have made a mistake, I will correct it." Tenmin taught his views, and his school became famous. When Jinsai died, one-half of his disciples followed Tenmin.

Tenmin died in the third year of Kyoho (1718 A.D.), at the age of forty. When he was young he lost his parents, for each of whom he mourned three years without entering service. He used to say to his disciples: "The names we attach to certain things in this world are very important. We must be careful of our names. Though I lecture on Chinese classics, I do not like to be called 'Country-wise-man'.¹ If they wish to name me, they had better call me 'Tenmin'."² Therefore when he died they gave him that name.

He was sagacious, brave and talented. Togai said of him: "Tenmin is truly a gifted man, but one would not care to trust 'An orphan prince'³ to his care." When Tenmin heard this remark he said: "Togai knows me very well; I may be a man to take another's place, but no one will take mine; I am different from Togai. He cannot take another's possessions, but he will let others take his." In this quotation we get a glimpse of the man's character.

Once his disciples gathered and asked him a question, "If you become great, for what will you use me?" One said: "I am fond of nothing, but please make me the keeper of your treasure; I will not steal; I am an honest man." Tenmin replied: "I could not give the key of the treasury to a man like you." The man replied: "Do you think I would steal?" Tenmin laughingly replied: "No; if a man would steal, then to him I would entrust my goods, but a man like you, who cannot steal, would be robbed. You are too small a man to steal."

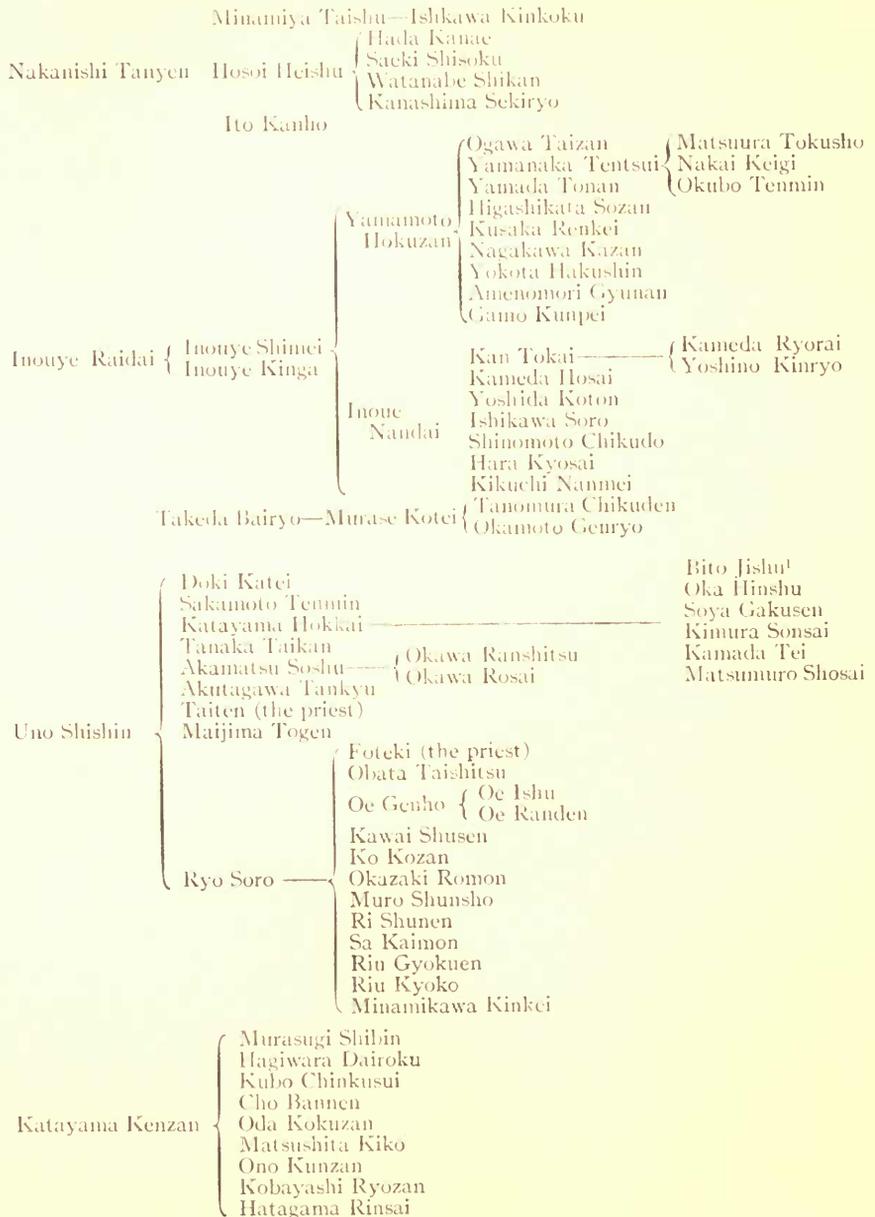
Tenmin favoured the annexation of Sagalien, and intended to tell the government of his idea, but died before he had done so. He was very practical. He recommended students to become physicians lest their learning should become vulgar. He himself was a physician. Among his students, there were many scholars and doctors.

¹ "Son Fushi"—Son is village. Fushi was used in addressing a learned man, but especially as an honorary title of Confucius.

² Ten—Heaven, and Min—people.

³ "Rokushaku no Ko", a phrase in the Analects. Book VIII, VI.

ECLECTIC SCHOOL



¹ This man was afterwards a disciple of the Shushi school.

PART V
THE ECLECTIC SCHOOL OF CONFUCIANISM IN
JAPAN

CHAPTER I

HOSOI HEISHU AND UESUGI YOZAN

The Eclectic School of Confucianism must be distinguished from the general eclecticism of those teachers who selected from Confucianism, Shintoism, Buddhism and Taoism. There have been many eclectics of both kinds in Japan. They have been men of very great influence and power in spreading moral teaching among the common people. In this present work it is only necessary to notice some of the men who selected their teaching from the various Confucian schools.

Hosoi Heishu (1728-1801 A.D.) belonged to a well-known family of scholars, who for generations were samurai. But during the Tokugawa age, the family gave up military service, and became farmers. Heishu was born in Hira-shima, in Owari province.

As a boy he was anxious for learning. At seventeen years of age he went to Kyoto. He had with him fifty ryo which his father gave him, and while he was in Kyoto, he lived so simply that he was able to spend most of his money in books. When he returned home, his father offered him the farm. He refused to accept it, but requested his father to give him two hundred ryo, and set him free to follow his own course.

His father accepted his offer, and Heishu bought books and retired for a year's study. He became almost completely absorbed in study. At the end of the year he went to Nagoya and studied under Nakanishi Tanen, who admired him greatly. From Nagoya he went to Nagasaki, where he remained for three years, until his mother's illness forced him to return. He then opened a school at Nagoya, but shortly afterwards, in company with Tanen, he went to Edo. Among his disciples were many feudal lords, several of whom

offered to employ him. He refused all their offers, saying he would work for no one, unless the lord of his native province would employ him. In 1780 A.D., the lord of Owari invited him to enter his service, and he did so.

Before Tanen died, he handed Heishu a very ordinary teacup as a keepsake. He asked him to keep it as a symbol of the kind of man he was to be, viz. unassuming but capable of holding much. Heishu cherished this cup. Once when a fire broke out in his house the first thing he did was to run for his cup.

Heishu was a quiet, hospitable man. No one ever saw him angry. At one time he had his father and two other families living with him. They all treated his father as if he were their own parent. The three families lived so agreeably together that strangers thought they were relatives, and congratulated the old man on having three such noble sons. When two of the husbands died, Heishu gave them a proper funeral service, and afterwards attended to the marriage of their children as if they were his own. His wife was a woman of rare good nature. She was very industrious and hard-working. After her death Heishu said it was rare for a woman to be so kind to so many strangers. So genuine was his grief that he became thin, and his neighbours laughed at him for mourning over a woman.

His disciples loved him. He was very patient with them, even when they made mistakes. Once a student was found guilty of stealing school funds. His fellow students ridiculed him so much, and said such hard things about him, that it was unpleasant to remain longer. Heishu called the boy, and giving him his sword said: "If you return to your parents in poverty, they will be troubled." The boy was so impressed by this act of kindness that he repented of his crime, came back to school, and became a very excellent and useful man.

After Hosoi became a teacher in Owari, he opened preaching places in several villages, and taught many people. He was the first Confucian teacher to give such popular lectures. It was in this way that he taught Uesugi Yozan, one of the most benevolent of Japanese lords.

Heishu's teaching was a compilation of the best, simplest, and most easily understood ideas from the other Confucian schools. He adapted his teaching to the wisdom of his hearers. He aimed to develop personality and improve the

economic conditions of the people. He admired practical rather than speculative teaching. He was convinced that no amount of learning was good unless it made others good and happy. He was always ready to give a helping hand to those who needed it. In some places where his work was known, the people almost worshipped him as if he were a Buddha.

Like most of the scholars of this school, Heishu was of an independent turn of mind, too independent to be a slavish follower of any of the great teachers of China or Japan. He used to tell his disciples that when what they read agreed with what they thought, their methods were in harmony with that of the sages. He said: "Many scholars fall into the mistake of reading widely without thinking for themselves."

He said: "After heaven and earth were created, man appeared. Later, the sages appeared with their sacred books. Sages are of the same kind as man. If so, then a man has the heart of a sage and can understand what they have written. Man can feel the interesting portions of the sacred books, but cannot express them to others. From ancient times commentators thought it possible to explain the words but not the real teaching. They could explain the sacred books, but when their explanation was put into practice, it fell short of the real teaching of the sages." "The important thing in Confucian learning is not to establish sects, but to make morality perfect. I am opposed to the man who regards his own sect alone as being true, and who is continually engaged in controversy."

The most illustrious disciple of Hosoi was Uesugi Yozañ, a very famous feudal lord. He had been adopted into the Uesugi family when he was but a boy of ten, and had become lord of the estate when he was seventeen years of age. The Uesugi family had once been very wealthy and powerful, but had gradually fallen into debt. When Yozañ took control of it, it was so straightened in its finances that something had to be done at once or the estate would be lost. Yozañ had already met Hosoi. When he found himself face to face with the great task of saving his estate, he went to Hosoi for advice. Hosoi told him that he had been giving him the teaching which in theory was intended to produce such results as he desired, but that it was now his privilege to put them into practice.

Yozan's first step was to reduce the expenditure of the estate as much as possible, and rally the people to him by explaining the condition of affairs. He then went to the temple and made a vow that he would not neglect his own training, that he would be a father to his people, would avoid extravagance, would be careful in speech and in administration of justice.

As he rode through his estate for the first time and saw the wretched condition of the villages, his heart sank within him as he realized the greatness of his task. In the midst of his discouragement he noticed the dying spark in the little firebox in his chair. He took it up tenderly and began to blow it into a flame. As the spark revived he took fresh courage, for as he afterwards explained, he had learned a great lesson. In this same way he would redeem his estate and save the people from their own wretchedness.

In his work of reform he led the way by reducing his personal expenses to a minimum amount and by adopting the simplest methods of living. He exhorted his officials to be sincere in their dealings with the people, for "Sincerity begets love", and "Love begets knowledge". He provided teachers for the people, and arranged that they should be regularly taught in filial piety, care for the needy and in the observance of various necessary ceremonies. He also provided magistrates to detect and punish crime. In these and other ways the estate was reorganized, and many important reforms commenced.

On one occasion several instigators of revolt called to remonstrate against his methods. Yozan called all the people together for a consultation over the affair. From all parts of the estate they gathered. Thousands of them crowded into his castle. When they were gathering, Yozan went to the shrine and prayed for a peaceful settlement of the trouble. When the people were asked their opinion about his methods, they unanimously decided in favour of them. The conspirators were condemned. The two principals were ordered to commit suicide, and others paid heavy fines.

Yozan encouraged agriculture. He taught the farmers the divinity of agricultural pursuits by a very impressive ceremony. He and his officials, dressed in ceremonial dress, went to the shrine, and announced their purposes to the god. Then they went to a piece of newly broken soil. First,

the lord himself took the small plough and struck it into the earth three times. Then the governor struck it into the ground nine times, the county officials twenty-seven times, the village officials eighty-one times and so on, until the farmer himself took his turn in the ceremony. In this way they publicly announced their intention to regard the cultivation of the soil to be a sacred duty that they might receive the products of the soil as so many blessings from God. Even his samurai were not ashamed to till the soil when they had leisure to do so.

He encouraged industry of all kinds, planted lacquer trees, mulberry trees for silk culture, and Kozu for the manufacture of paper. He built waterways and dug tunnels for irrigation purposes, protected the fish in the ponds, the stock on the farms, and even went so far as to import weavers and miners from other parts of the country. In order to encourage them in those various kinds of industry, he offered prizes for those who excelled in their work.

Yozan took an active interest in the social welfare of the people. He provided a school for the study of Confucianism and encouraged the study of medicine, especially the study of western medicine as the Dutch had introduced it. He abolished public prostitution in spite of the protest which has always been made against such action, that it was necessary for sensual passion to spend itself in order to safeguard society against worse evils.

He organized the farmers into Associations of Five and Ten for mutual help, in order that they might the better fulfil their mission of tilling the soil and raising silk, and thus be able to support their families and pay their dues to the Government. The members of these associations shared each other's joys and sorrows as if they were members of one family. He also banded the villages together for mutual helpfulness. Mr. Uchimura describes his instructions to these village associations as follows: "Be ye thus kindly disposed one towards another and fail not. If there be one among you who is old and has no child, or is young and has no parents, or is poor and cannot adopt sons, or is widowed, or is a cripple and cannot support himself, or is sick and has no means of help, or is dead and left without burial, or has met fire and is exposed to rain or dew, or if by other calamities his family is in distress, let any such who has no one else to

depend upon be taken up by his Association of Five, and be cared for as its own. In case it lies not in the said Association's power to succour him, let the Association of Ten lend him its help. If his case is more than the latter can do for him, let his village see to the removal of his distress and make possible his existence. Should any calamity overtake one village so that its existence is endangered thereby, how can the neighbouring villages stand aloof without extending help to it? The four of the Associations of Five Villages in the Association should give it willing salvation."¹

"To encourage the good, to teach the bad, to promote temperance, to check luxury, and so to enable each to abide in his mission,—these are the aims for which these associations were formed. If there is one who neglects his farm or follows not his trade and runs to other employment, or indulges in dances, theatres, banquets and other laxities, such and such should have peremptory admonition first of his Association of Five and then of Ten: and in case he is still refractory, he must be privily reported to the village authority and receive due treatment."

Yozan was very successful. It is said that in his dominions men placed on the roadside sandals, shoes, fruits, vegetables, and other articles for sale, with a label on each to mark the price. Buyers would take what they wished to purchase, and leave the price of the article for the owner on his return. No one would steal any of the goods or the money, even though the owners were all absent. His officials caught his spirit, lived the simple life, and were said to be entirely free from dishonesty.

In the fifth year of Bunsei (1822 A.D.) Yozan died, having accomplished a great work for his people, who mourned for him as they would for a parent.

¹ Representative Men of Japan, p. 81.

CHAPTER II

KATAYAMA KENZAN AND OTHERS

Katayama Kenzan (1730-1782 A.D.) was born in Hirai village, in Kozuke province. At seventeen years of age he went to Yedo, and studied archery and Confucian learning under Ugai Shinei for three years. He was especially interested in practical morality. His teacher said that he was a man who did not merely assent to his words, but went about to discover his own point of view.

On the advice of Shinei he became a disciple of the classical school. He became very friendly with Akiyama Gyokuzan, who, seeing that Kenzan needed help, took him to Hige, where he secured a small allowance for him as a teacher. On the death of Gyokuzan, Kenzan returned home. After spending two years in the neighbourhood of Kyoto, he finally returned to the home of Shinei. Under his instruction he mastered the teaching of Sorai, and was soon able to lecture on the sacred books.

Shinei now introduced him to Usami Shinsui, another teacher of the classical school. Shinsui adopted him as his heir, and took him to Izume. For four or five years in this place he made great progress in learning. By this time his own views were taking shape, and he came to doubt the truth of Sorai's opinions. He then began to question Shinsui about the classical school, but Shinsui would not agree with him. Kenzan pointed out several errors in the teaching of Sorai, and as he could not agree with Shinsui's teaching, he gave up all connection with him, and took up his abode in the home of Toyama Shuri, a retainer of the Tokugawa family, and began to take in disciples of his own.

His own views were largely based on the teaching of Chinese scholars before the twelfth century. He chose the best views from many Chinese teachers. He made it his duty to oppose Sorai. He was so outspoken that the teachers of this sect regarded him as an enemy, and called him an evil teacher of Confucianism. Kenzan did not pay any attention to this. He said: "I criticize their views for the sake of morality. The people can judge for themselves whether I am evil or not."

Kenzan was the first scholar to study famous Chinese teachers who were not Confucian. He received much benefit from them.

For twelve years he remained in the home of Toyama, during which time his reputation gradually increased. He was often invited by the nobility to lecture to them on morals, but he refused to become a permanent teacher to any of them.

Inouye Kinga (1732-1784 A.D.) was the son of a family physician to the lord of Kasama. Later he resigned his post and moved to Yedo, where he opened a private school. Kinga did not claim to be bound to any of the existing schools. He had just been trained by a disciple of Ito Jinsai and later by Inouye Randai, a disciple of Ogiu Sorai. He was also trained in the teaching of Yomei and Shushi. In this way he investigated all the leading schools and teachings, and compared them, accepting from each only such teaching as he admired.

He said that after the Sung era Confucian scholars were so under the influence of Taoism and Buddhism that they did little but struggle to overcome their influence. Some clever scholars went so far as to hold the same opinion as Buddhists. Their works and ways were very different. Jinsai did a great work, but he could not break entirely with the Sung scholars. Sorai seeing this made his way the way of the ancient kings, which was to give peace to the people. When this teaching arose, men knew how to establish virtue and give peace to people. Then Confucianism returned to its original teaching. He said: "This is all I admire in Sorai's teaching. Sorai was too earnest in reading books, too clever and too anxious to establish his own sect. In these things I must oppose him. All Confucian teachers to-day respect Sorai, but they do not know his opinion about the way. They say he had many books stored away, and that he could repeat them without mistake from memory. Such words of admiration for him are just the same as one hears from the devoted followers of Tei and Shu. This is shameful."

In another place he said: "The disease of present-day scholars is to follow any teaching whatever without thought. If a man has a reputation for literary ability, everyone will listen carefully to his words, not because he speaks the truth, but because he is clever, and even when his mistakes are pointed out the people do not believe them. They think that

this teacher makes no mistakes. If you intend to discuss learning, first learn whether the age is good or not, discover what the people like or dislike; find out what the ancients thought and what men to-day think, and then judge in an impartial manner. Then make your own point of view clear, and you are in a position for the first time to discuss a question. Merely to receive another's teaching as law and then to judge all other teaching by that law is a mistake. For example, a man invited guests to a feast. He set before them the flesh of a cat. Everyone ate it with relish, thinking it was rabbit. But when they discovered that it was really cat meat, they vomited. Such men have no taste. If they could detect the taste of meat, they would reject cat meat and eat rabbit, or reject the rabbit and accept cat meat according to their taste. It is not necessary to accept everything one hears. Everybody likes learning, but there are certain objectionable teachings. But some teachings which are disliked by the people are really good. Ordinary people think that teaching good which resembles their own views, and they do not like what is out of harmony with their own views. Some praise those who praise them, and slander those who slander them. This is a very common custom, but scholars should not do it."

These quotations give us a fair idea of the methods and thought of this school. Yamamoto Hokuzan, one of Kinga's disciples, adopted these same methods. He was independent and practical in his teaching. His independence of action is illustrated by a story which is related of him, that a wandering loyalist whom the people deserted for fear of the government was received and welcomed in his home without hesitation or fear.

Kameda Hosai, another of the disciples of Inouye Kinga, was in Yedo when the edict against heresy was promulgated, and suffered great inconvenience because of it. Once he was advised to forsake Kinga's school, and become a disciple of Heishu, in order to get a position in the employ of a feudal lord. He refused, saying that men must not serve for money but for righteousness. When the volcano Asama exploded in the third year of Temmei (1783 A.D.), many people were embarrassed. Hosai sold all his books, and gave the proceeds to help the sufferers. He then became a farmer in Kanasugi village in Edo, but the lord of Kumamoto took pity on him, and granted him a small allowance.

He was a skilful writer, and many employed him to write mottoes. This he did freely. He was poor but very well known. He died in the ninth year of Bunka (1812 A.D.).

Ota Kinjo was born at Daishoji, in Kaga province, in the second year of Meiwa (1765 A.D.), in the home of a physician. After a varied experience in which there was much struggle with adverse circumstances, he became one of the best versed scholars of his day. Taki Keizan, a doctor of the Tokugawa family, sent his two sons to him for training. After that many nobles sought his teaching. In his later life he became a retainer of the lord of his native province. He died in the eighth year of Bunsei (1825 A.D.). He may be said to have brought the eclectic school to its highest point of development. His life and teaching were very influential.

The eclectic school was very practical. It was in reality a wholesome reaction against the tendency to become slavishly devoted to a teacher, regardless of the truth of his opinions, and was a protest against the evil custom of confusing true learning with the use of very difficult language. The eclectic school spoke in a language which could be understood, and had great influence with common people. These scholars prepared the way for the wider eclecticism of Ninomiya and others of his type who appealed to the masses.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

AN APPRECIATION OF CONFUCIANISM

BY THE REV. DANJO EBINA

In the feudal age the intellectual and moral field of Japan was divided into three distinct sections: Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. The gods of Shintoism were considered as ruling over the affairs of this world. The Buddhas of Buddhism were regarded as dealing with things of another world. Confucianism was appointed to take up the intellectual and moral education of Japan. Teachers of Confucianism were principally occupied in cultivating the five virtues and in practising the five relations of men. But they could not wholly refrain from metaphysical and religious problems. As they were teachers of morality, none of them were materialists. All of them acknowledged a spiritual entity which pervades the whole universe. They perceived the same spiritual elements dwelling in the soul of man. They also believed in some divine dealings with the affairs of mankind, punishing and rewarding, according to the deeds of the individual, the family or the nation. Concerning these problems I will pick up some thoughts of some of the principal Confucianists and explain them in detail.

There were several schools of Confucianism in Japan. They differed more or less from each other. Still they agreed in main points. The great scholar Sorai often said: "If the intelligence of Kumazawa and the virtue of Ito be put together with my learning in one man, there will appear a sage on the Eastern sea". Let us go to these eminent men to know their thoughts about divine government, and then we will survey the main currents of the Confucian ideal in Japan.

Leaving behind the old Confucianism, I will take up the new. The Shushi school was the first introduced to Japan. It was favoured by the Tokugawa government as the orthodox Confucianism. It taught strict morality and emphasized obedience and loyalty to the government. It put more emphasis on idea than on force, on reason than on life. Though it produced great scholars and pious men, such as

Kinoshita and Muro, its traditionalism, conservatism and speculation made it barren, cold and hypocritical. Ito, Kumazawa and Sorai all opposed this orthodox Confucianism.

Ito Jinsai put emotion in opposition to reason, and force in opposition to idea. Reason and idea are to him dead types, dead laws and fossilized fibres. They have no life-giving energy. The Shushi school compared the human soul to a shining mirror or to tranquil water on which everything that passes reflects its own shadow. Jinsai strongly opposed this comparison. He said: "The human soul is not so passive and lifeless as the Shushi school holds. It has life, originality and moving force in itself. It throws its own light on other objects and is not so passively reflected upon". "No virtue is greater than to love men". He is extremely practical, and his meaning is never a law of love, an idea of love or a reason of love. "Benevolence is", he says, "after all to be concentrated in love. Where love touches, there multitudinous virtues are produced. Love is like a bubbling fountain that flows, whirls, becomes a torrent, or a deep, a rapid, or a lake; you cannot tell how many thousand or ten thousand forms it will take in its course. All these multitudinous forms are the transformations of one water. Love is the heart of the benevolent man. Therefore he is tranquil, forbearing, imperturbable in all things. He ever enjoys and never grieves. Therefore he rests in peace and is self-complacent. Whatever he gives is always right; whatever he does is always proper. This is a golden chain of benevolent actions. You cannot call it by one name." Thus he combats the intellectualism of the Shushi school.

He did not bestow much contemplation on the reason of the universe, but rather on its life-process. The universe is the working-process of one energetic spirit which produces and transforms without ceasing. It is in a constant flux. As he puts more stress on force than on reason, idea or law, he appears sometimes to incline to materialism. But he perceives a moral order more mysterious than the universe of constant flux of the male and female principles. Here in the moral order he perceives an all-ruling and all-seeing heaven. "The universe of constant flux", he says, "is like man's actions and conduct, while the moral order is like man's thought and devising". This moral order is not a law but a providential dealing. He was very cautious not to fall into anthropomorphism, pure empty reason or non-being. The essence of Heaven is to him something between these two.

The ruling Heaven is, according to him, the supreme good, mysteriously pervading the universe. Nothing can escape from its sight. It punishes evil and rewards good. No one who sins against Heaven can escape its punishment. No one can intercede for him, because the way of Heaven is uprightness. As sparks rise upwards and water goes downwards, as birds fly in the air, and fish sink in the water, as plants grow and bear fruit, so good is good everywhere under Heaven, and bad is bad everywhere under Heaven. This we call uprightness, the way of Heaven. This way pervades the whole universe. If there be any one who tries to succeed by practising evil, it is, as it were, to throw ice and snow into boiling water. Sooner or later he shall be punished. Angels or demons cannot send him happiness. On the other hand, heaven will protect good men who delight in goodness. For example, Confucius was protected through all the vicissitudes of his life. There may be an apparent discrepancy in the distribution of punishment and reward. But it is simply an apparent discrepancy. The true insight is hidden from the sight of ordinary men. It is mysterious; only the sage can read the real meaning of it.

Kumazawa, whose literary name was Banzan, belonged to a different school. Jinsai applied his sharp criticism to Confucian classics, and repudiated the authenticity of the "Great Learning" and "The Mean". Banzan did not care much for criticism. He belonged to the intuitive school of Nakae Tojiu. According to his view, the way of Heaven is one in principle and diverse in application. Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism try to know the way of Heaven. It is greater than any of them. None of them has the exclusive right to hold the perfect truth. The way revealed to the Chinese sages shall not be accepted by the Japanese without some modifications. So he was not a blind follower of Chinese philosophers. He was not slavishly attached to the Confucian classics. On the contrary, the way explained by Buddhism must not be repudiated because of Buddhistic teachings. He emphasized the way of Shintoism because it is revealed to the genuine spirit of the Japanese. But he attacked Shintoism and Buddhism, especially their teachers, because they were misleading the people. He did not pass over the errors of Confucian teachers. His teaching was more practical than scholarly, richer in application than in

speculation, more intelligent than mysterious. He also holds, like Jinsai, that the universe is a living being.

Banzan views heaven and earth and all things therein as one infinite organism produced from one breath of the Taikyo¹. Therefore, a benevolent man does not cut down even a blade of grass or a tree without a proper reason; much more he does not kill birds or animals. He feels despondent and sorrowful when he contemplates grass withering because of the summer's heat, but feels glad when its leaves sprout out and grow exuberantly. Man is a part of this great organism and breathes its all-pervading life. The essence of the universe dwells in him. He introduces a beautiful analogy, "I see a plum tree deep rooted in the ground before my window. Its deep root is like the Taikyo; its one large stem is like heaven and earth; its luxuriant branches are like all things therein; and its flowers and fruit are like men. Leaves and fruit are equally produced from the same tree. But the leaves do not represent the whole tree. They wither, fall off, and decay. On the contrary, the fruit, though it be small, compared with the main tree, still contains the whole tree. If it be put into the ground, it will sprout and become big trees. All things of the universe are produced through the same breath of the eternal Taikyo, but none of them contains the whole universe. But man, though he appears very small, contains the whole universe. Therefore in him dwells shining virtue. Man is called a heaven of lesser organism, while Heaven is a man of larger organism." The Taikyo dwells essentially in man. So he is really a microcosmos. Banzan's Taikyo is essentially the spirit of man. This all-pervading spirit of the universe is, according to him, the living truth, the source of increasing activities.

Banzan holds sincerity to be the essence of the universe, just as sincerity is the central one of the five virtues of man. Sincerity is not a virtue separated from all virtues. No virtue is perfect apart from sincerity. So it is the essence of the Taikyo that pervades the whole universe. This sincere life of spirit sets itself up against insincerity. This is divine punishment. No matter what man swears, if he is not true to himself, he deceives himself and shall not escape divine punishment. Heaven sees better than men. Not all who are judged by men shall be punished by Heaven. The

¹ Literally, "great limit", probably best translated "The Absolute".

apparent discrepancy in divine dealing is due to the imperfect judgment of men, not to the true and righteous judgment of Heaven. So man has no right to criticize divine government. Moreover each man is as a link in a long chain. He has many ancestors, either bad or good. Heaven does not deal separately with individuals, but with families. He lives in intricate relations. Therefore, divine government cannot be solved in a simple manner. Banzan defends the efficacy of prayer. As there is the parent of higher order than the parent of passion, men must serve and obey the most divine and the most honourable parent. As man is a son of the most honourable, his body is the temple of God. His spirit is one and identical with the God of Heaven. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and intelligence are the virtues of the heavenly God. If man lives and acts in harmony with these virtues, no doubt he will receive heavenly blessings. In this manner, spiritual man can enter into communion with Heaven. Heaven will bestow blessing upon him. This true parent always protects his child. Man may see and worship him in the real nature of his earthly parents. Filial obedience is deeply rooted in the very essence of the universe and man.

Banzan appears to hold the idea of man's immortality. According to physical nature man perishes and has no hope of future existence, but according to his spiritual essence he never dies. He never comes and therefore never goes. His essence is the very essence of Heaven, always present in the universe. He is above the category of life and death.

Sorai reveres the subjective view of heaven. He not only attacked the Shushi school, but the intuitional school also. His historical research is more thorough and penetrating than that of Jinsai. Nothing could escape his historical criticism. Jinsai's ultimate standpoint is on the Confucian Analects. Sorai goes beyond that. He relies on the authenticity of more ancient kings and sages than Confucius. The conception of Heaven becomes more and more deistic as we go up to the ancients. It is very natural that Sorai's view of Heaven is deistic and personal. It is very interesting to see that he has brought out the idea of God very similar to the Old Testament view of God, while other scholars have gone to that of Greek philosophers. "Rationalists", he says, "overesteem reason and intellect. They do

not believe in angels and demons. They say Heaven is reason; angels and demons are the essence of the male and female principles; reason is in us, if we realize and are conscious of it, then Heaven is in us; therefore, as they are accustomed to be, philosophers are proud and overbearing". They say we can know all things if we undertake to know them. Thus they destroy the way of ancient kings and sages, that is the fear and reverence of Heaven. There should be no fear of Heaven, angels and demons, if everything is explained by reason. Pride is their common symptom. In reality, the universe is full of mysteries. Who can search out the nature of all things? To know them all is nothing but delusion. Heaven should not be defined. All men should know it. All things receive their existence from Heaven. Heaven is the source and ruler of all angels. Heaven is supreme and incomparable. No one can attain it. No doubt there is mind in Heaven. It is self-evident, clear and manifest. Sorai quotes some words from the ancient classical history of China. These are as follows: "There is no respect of persons with Heaven", "Heaven blesses good and curses evil", "Heaven empties the full and increases the humble". These words testify that Heaven has a mind. He praises Jinsai, who thoroughly refuted the Shushi school, but regrets for him who hesitates between anthropomorphism and empty reason, that is, between the soul and the soullessness of Heaven. "Heaven has a soul", he says, "but not identical with man's soul. Animals have souls; but they are not identical with man. We men cannot fully understand the minds of animals. May we say animals have no souls, because we cannot fully understand them? No! So we cannot deny the existence of mind in Heaven on account of our ignorance. Heavenly mind is mysterious and its ways are unsearchable. Therefore, the ancient sages revered and feared Heaven."

Sorai vehemently attacked the founders of the Shushi school who laid great stress on self-respect, self-reverence and the subjective conception of mind. Sorai reverses the process. The true reverence is to honour and respect the superior mind and concentrate the mind on objective existence. To honour parents, to respect masters, to reverence ancestors, all need concentration of mind on the external, real object. In the same way, the reverence of Heaven

really implies the objective existence of Heaven. The Shushi school destroys the fear of Heaven which is the important teaching of the ancient sages. Sorai's disciple, Dazai Shundai, specially puts emphasis on the living universe whose essence is not reason but unsearchable mind. This universal mind to him is mysterious and cannot be comprehended by human reason. The universe produces marvelous things. Therefore, as we serve living masters, we must fear and reverence Heaven. It is very natural that Heaven is called "The Ruler" and "The Heavenly Emperor". Since there is mysterious life in Heaven, Heaven is called "The King". Heaven ordains happiness for the good and misery for the bad. Though we pray to angels, archangels or demons for happiness, yet we cannot get it unless Heaven permits it. Angels, archangels or demons cannot save us from punishment and misery unless Heaven forgives our sins. No god or Buddha is superior to Heaven. "Heaven is the supreme God", says Shundai, "therefore I have no idol, no incantation in my room; though I be in extreme danger, yet I will not call upon the name of Buddha".

The Confucian teaching in Japan spread a wholesome influence over the minds of young men. Scholars popularized their writings so that the common people could read them. Their influence was certainly tremendous. They paved the way for new Japan. Without doubt the educated Japanese of the feudal age were more religious than those of the present. The western antitheistic science newly introduced to Japan utterly destroyed the religious and moral teaching of Confucianism. But it prepared the way for Christianity. It has done something like Judaism on the one hand and Greek philosophy on the other. The two tendencies above mentioned, namely, pantheistic and deistic, have been providentially appointed to find their final solution in the truth of Christianity. Japan would have been Christianized sooner if the western antitheistic science and the deistic conception of God through older missionaries had not obstructed the way. Yet the way was not entirely destroyed. The grand synthesis of the deistic and the pantheistic tendencies is still awaiting accomplishment in the higher conception of divine and human personality which modern Christianity endeavours to attain. Confucianism is dead in its form, but the seed sown by it is still awaiting its transformation.

CHAPTER II

AUTHOR'S CONCLUSION

The introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism could not but influence Japanese ideas about the gods. In the fifteenth century certain sects of Shintoism opposed the Buddhist theory that the gods of Japan were incarnations of the one original Buddha. In the eighteenth century a revival of Shintoism was occasioned by a reaction against the constant effort to idealize things Chinese. This revival led to a deeper study of ancient Japanese learning.

In these more modern attempts to explain the Japanese gods, there is a decided tendency towards monotheism. This tendency was probably the natural result of the influence of the unity found in Buddhist pantheism, and in the Confucian heaven.

In 1868 A.D., national spirit so asserted itself that the Buddhist gods which had been placed in the national shrines were thrown out in a very iconoclastic manner, and for a time it looked as if Shintoism might become the national religion. But the wiser spirit of the nation prevailed, and in 1899 A.D., Shintoism was declared not a religion, but "merely a mechanism for keeping generations in touch with generations and preserving the continuity of the nation's veneration for its ancestors."¹

Confucianism suggests a very excellent, practical mode of life. Its precepts, so far as they go, contain much that is helpful and common to all moral codes. As taught in Japan during the Tokugawa age, Confucianism was especially admirable, because of the importance it gave to wisdom, and because of its reverent attitude toward nature. In so far as this was not mere form, but was a living relation to all things, it could not fail to be helpful. In the lives of some of its Japanese representatives it is probably revealed in its purest form.

The Confucian scholars of Japan are open to criticism because of the emphasis placed upon a classical language, unintelligible to the great mass of the people. Their work

¹ See Clement, *A Handbook of Modern Japan*, p. 243.

is thereby largely limited to the scholarly class. They seem to lack that burning desire for human good, which is so much superior to mere scholarship of a linguistic type, that while the one transforms the world and becomes a saving element of humanity as a whole, the other is mere pedantry, without much influence apart from a select class who pride themselves on their scholarship.

The moral ideal of Confucianism is good, so far as the letter of it is concerned. It is an excellent moral code in ink. Its weakness lies in its spirit. It is open to the same objection which can be brought against all such moral systems. They fail to inspire and to give life. An illustration will make clear the importance of this objection. In 1904, Russia and Japan went to war. From the standpoint of physical force and knowledge of military laws and tactics, Russia, because of her past history, should have had the advantage. But these were powerless before the indomitable spirit of the Japanese. So a moral code in ink may be ever so fine, but if it is mere form, it is powerless. Confucius has been regarded by many of his disciples as the ideal, but according to his own confession he was not worthy of such reverence. He said in the *Analects*: "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained."¹ He did not himself lay claim to be either a sage or a superior man. He was a mere teacher about the way. He did not take the responsibility of saying, "I am the Way".

The five relations of Confucianism are good so far as they go. They provided for the needs of the ancient type of civilization, but they fail to provide for the complicated relations of modern civilization. They do not describe the relation of a man to his enemy. They do not provide for the relation of one loyal man to a loyalist of another country, and especially to the patriots of a subdued or conquered people. They do not provide for the relation of men to world-wide humanity in a world-wide intercourse.

Loyalty and filial piety have called forth many acts of heroism. In Japan loyalty is of first importance. It is largely the traditional type which defines the duty of the subject to the ruler. This type is well illustrated. We are told of parents who voluntarily gave their own son to save

¹ *Analects*, Book VII, Chap. XXXII.

the life of their master's son. From one point of view such loyalty calls forth our highest admiration, but from another it is loyalty become insane. But while loyalty to the emperor is emphasized, there is no provision for loyalty to a constitutional government, except in so far as that government is supposed to voice the attitude of the sovereign.

The loyalty of Confucianism makes no provision for circumstances in which loyalty or filial piety are impossible. The master has certain obligations to his subjects. If he does not measure up to these obligations, loyalty to him will soon become impossible. There are conceivable demands which might be made from a subject which could not be met without sacrificing the principle of truth and righteousness. The master who demands loyalty at the expense of truth loses sight of the fact that a man who sacrifices truth, even for his master, will, when untruthfulness has become a habit, be incapable of being true to his master; he will sacrifice his master's interests to suit his own convenience.

In a similar way filial piety lays stress on the responsibility of the child to a parent, but fails to outline the duty of a parent to his child. In Japan filial piety has been subordinated to loyalty. If a man must choose between them, there are very many who will choose loyalty first. This is explained by the fact that the imperial line has continued without break for centuries. If a man's ancestors have served the imperial ancestors for generations, then if he is loyal, he will be at the same time filial. In this way filial piety and loyalty have sometimes been regarded as one. The emperor is the father of his people.

Some reference must now be made to the difference between the simple form of Confucianism as it first came to Japan and the complex, philosophical form of the later Confucian schools. An exhaustive treatment of this difference and the reasons for it would necessitate a complete review of the development of thought in China from the time of Confucius to the end of the Ming era (1644 A.D.). The change from a series of moral aphorisms to a metaphysical system was not the work of one generation, nor of a few Chinese scholars. It was the ripe fruitage of over eighteen centuries of development, and was due to influences which were world-wide in their significance. There were greater influences at work than are generally recognized.

While it is impossible to present an exhaustive statement of Chinese thought in the limits of this concluding chapter, it is important to point out some of the natural influences which were working to transform Confucianism into a philosophical system. There were several stages in the process of development.¹ The first was the union of Taoism and Confucianism; the second was the introduction of Buddhism; the third was the introduction of the Zen learning; and the last stage was the reaction from these teachings to the more practical morality of Confucius. During several of these stages Confucianism was almost lost sight of; but its simple, practical, moral teaching contained too much truth to be permanently crushed by the extreme supramandane doctrines of any of the other sects. The result was that Confucianism came out of the process enriched and systematized by ages of conflict.

Confucianism as taught by Confucius was simple and practical. It emphasized virtue and propriety. It was intended to help rulers to bring peace to the people. The ruler who would influence his people must be virtuous. At the time of Mencius the standpoint was very greatly modified. The discussion no longer centred around practical morality and the duty of rulers; but the question which was uppermost was, "What is the essential nature of man?" Many opinions were given by various scholars. Some held that human nature was fixed in either good or evil, and as a result, ethics was degraded to an external, utilitarian value. Mencius rejected this conclusion, and based his ethics on the fundamental goodness of human nature. As, for example, different men have differently formed mouths but the same taste, so men, though different, are essentially the same. All men naturally rejoice in righteousness and reason. They become cultured without books by merely nourishing the treasure which has been given them by nature. They possess their own "good wisdom" which they have received from heaven without study or investigation. This is revealed in the natural love of a child for its parent, or in the fact that men cannot endure to look upon the sufferings of others. The spirit which prompts such feelings is benevolence. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom are not

¹ I am indebted to Yamaji Aizan's book on "History of Chinese Thought" for most of the material here outlined.

given from without, but are possessed by every man in himself.

In Mencius there is a very healthy reaction from the external treatment of morality as taught by earlier Confucian scholars. It is a reaction which implies the necessity of a psychological or spiritual basis for morality; but it showed a tendency to develop the internal without proper reference to the practical. In this early progress from the external and formal to the internal were the germs from which spring the later developments of Confucianism. Even the tendency of the Shushi school to lay stress on erudition, and of the Yomei school to emphasize intuition, may be observed in this early movement of thought from Confucius to Mencius. These two tendencies after centuries of contact with the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism, Taoism and Zen learning, finally developed into two opposing systems of metaphysics.

The first stage in the development of Confucianism was the union of Taoism and Confucianism. While the Confucianists in the North were discussing practical topics in regard to man and his duty, the Taoists were theorizing about the essence of the universe, attempting to solve the problem of change and decay, happiness and misery. They said the origin of the universe from which all things emanate, and to which they return, was an absolute "Ri" or principle which they called the way. If we will only rise to a point where we destroy all distinction between ourselves and others, and realize that heaven, earth and man are absolutely one, then human happiness and misery will be abolished, and we shall enter the supreme peace and joy of the one. Clouds gather and scatter, buds come and go, but they cannot get away from the atmosphere. So in heaven, earth and man, there is one "Ri" apart from which there is nothing. Men glibly say "I" and "he" from their individual point of view, but if they realize that all things reveal the one, then, if *this* is god, *that* cannot be said to be not god. The water of the lake, river, or the sea are all one, as water. Small fish play in it; big fish play in it; all are submerged in it, but the water fills up every corner. So it is with the way; it generates all things. If we know that we reveal the way, and that we and they, heaven and earth are one, then the limited will become the unlimited, and we shall rise out of joy and sorrow into true happiness, which is the great peace of the heart, intended to

destroy the most painful human experience. Death, pain and sorrow are all created by "Ri"; there is only one reality. Soshi, in a dream, became a butterfly. Then he thought as a butterfly, and was happy. The dream ceased, and he knew himself as Soshi. Yesterday we laughed; to-day we cry; there is nothing permanent in life. Soshi became a butterfly in a dream; the butterfly in a dream became Soshi. In this way all things are enveloped in one principle, in which they exist or cease to exist. Men must not depend upon individual wisdom; they must follow nature, and become one with the wisdom of the universe. Such teaching resembles the thought of Christian Science, Northern Buddhism, Brahmanism and other mystical teaching.

Shortly after the death of Confucius, Taoism and Confucianism began to influence each other. Mr. Yamaji Aizan argues in a very scholarly way that "The Great Learning", "The Doctrine of the Mean", "The Books of Philosophy and Propriety" reveal the influence of Taoist teaching. There is little doubt that this view is correct. The Doctrine of the Mean and The Great Learning are evidently products not of pure Confucianism, but of the union of Confucianism and Taoism. In this union the metaphysical reconstruction of Confucianism had already begun. But it is difficult to say definitely when this happened. Tradition says "The Doctrine of the Mean" was written by the grandson of Confucius. Yamaji Aizan thinks they are later than Mencius, but his arguments are not conclusive. If Confucius and Laou-Tsze associated together when living, it is not at all impossible that considerable influence was exerted on the disciples of Confucius before three generations were over. Also the discussion of nature by Mencius at least suggests Taoist influence.

The second step in the development of Confucianism was the introduction of Buddhism into China about 67 A.D., and more especially the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism in the fourth century. Northern Buddhism impressed Taoist teachers very profoundly because of the striking resemblance of many of its doctrines to Taoist philosophy. After the death of Mencius down to the end of Shiu era, 206 B.C., the government were so afraid of the influence of scholars that many of them were put to death and their books destroyed. But after the introduction of Buddhism, down to the be-

ginning of the eighth century, there was very much philosophic discussion in China. Pure ethical teaching was neglected. Men retired from the world and talked in an enlightened way, but the general moral tone of the age was little the better for it.

The third influence in the development of later Confucianism came from the Zen teaching. This was introduced into China by Dharma in 528 A.D. It was regarded as a form of Buddhism, but it is so different from other forms that it can scarcely be called Buddhism. Older Buddhism laid great stress on merit accumulated by the reading of the scriptures, performing works of benevolence, and by good daily conduct. It forced man to practise many religious austerities, to read many books, and perform many difficult tasks.

The easiest kind of victory is that which is achieved through reaction. The people had become tired of these religious works, and were ready to receive Zen learning, which emphasized the necessity of mere heart culture, and discredited the possibility of any merit being stored up by works. All men possessed the perfect heart for wisdom. This heart was the universal essence of Buddha, and there was no need to follow or obey anything else.

There is a Buddhist poem which describes a man searching for spring from morning until evening. Putting on straw sandals, he went to the mountains and searched for it in vain. He returned in disappointment. In the quiet of his own room he took up a plum blossom and found spring in its perfume. So the ancient Buddhists had crossed rivers and mountains in search of spring, but the Zen scholars, while sitting quietly on the floor, smelling the plum blossom, had found what they were seeking. For years men had been investigating endless volumes of scriptures, performing many meritorious deeds, but the clouds did not open and reveal the clear sky. When they were weary with their fruitless task, the Zen learning came and showed them an easier method of enlightenment.

They taught that the essence of the universe and all things came from one "Ri". Its origin is without shape and is quiet. It is the master of all things and remains permanent amidst change. That essence is in me and becomes pure wisdom.

A Zen priest said: "The eyes of the priest constitute the light of all worlds which are his body. I am a small world; the universe is my greater self, and the essence, which is the origin of all things and governs all things, dwells in me, and is my heart. My heart governs all things; all things reveal my heart. Things which fall on the earth are not different from the earth. Mountains, rivers and earth together constitute the body of Buddha." From this first body of Buddha, which is one of three resembling the three bodies of Hinduism, the Zen scholars infer that the Buddha has from all time been passing down from heart to heart. The heart is Buddha, and apart from it there is no Buddha. Let all who are enslaved by religious austerities turn to their own hearts for light. Our own nature is not born, nor does it die, according to the Zen teaching; all things subject to transmigration are as a dream, a bubble, a shadow, as dew or as lightning. In the midst of all this there is one imperishable substance, the true heart, the organ of all things. This is the soul of man, and is always quiet. It is beyond all things, and yet is in all things as their essence. If we name it, it is called the excellent one, pure wisdom. It produces all things and destroys all things, but itself is self-existent. The scriptures and the ritual are merely commentaries on the heart. If the heart is awake, there is no need to read books.

Those who wish to learn the way must, apart from books and all external influence, find the way by meditation. It is said that Dharma, the first missionary of Zen to China, spent nine years lost in meditation, with his face turned to a wall. A Zen scholar said he had an art of separating himself from various thoughts, and that his heart would remain unmoved no matter what he saw. He could thus always retain an enlightened heart. With such teaching as this coming in contact with Japanese Confucian loyalty and filial piety, we begin to understand the stoical elements of Bushido.

Northern Buddhism and Zen learning came from India, while Taoism came from South China, but they are so similar that it is likely all three owe much of their teaching to Brahminism. It is impossible at present to establish the historical connections. For several centuries these three teachings had a dominating influence in China. In the beginning of the ninth century, after the Chinese had driven out their enemies, there was a very strong patriotic feeling

which led to a reaction against foreign influences, and among others, against foreign religious teaching. The first man to take this attitude was Fuchi, who wrote to the emperor that Buddhism was a product of the western barbarians, and did not belong to China. He was followed by Hanyu (768-823 A.D.), who protested against the worship of the supposed finger of Buddha. Hanyu was a utilitarian, and laid stress on the concrete. He opposed the mysticism and supramundane teachings which we have just outlined. He thought they were mere shadows, and their happiness was a dream which no one had ever experienced. Men must live and separate themselves from sorrow, but he did not attempt to explain why. The development of the race lies in union and co-operation in society. He criticized the priests for their useless discussions and idleness; the Taoists, for forgetting the value of the sages, and for overlooking the fact that human happiness depended on social organization. He censured them for teaching that men are to destroy weights and measures, and return to their original way. Buddhism and Taoism destroy filial piety and loyalty, and teach men to seek a supramundane happiness and purity.

Hanyu was a very important factor in the awakening of the So era. He drew the attention of the people to the defects of Buddhism, Taoism and Zen learning, but he was not a philosopher. His disciple, Riko, was just as much opposed to these older teachings, but he was not satisfied with the discussion of purely concrete subjects. He intended to establish a philosophy of his own in order to explain Confucianism, but in reality he unconsciously returned to Buddhism and Taoism. His doctrines are based on the Doctrine of the Mean. He wrote three books on returning to our original nature. "If men would become sages, they must follow their natures. Men stray from their real natures because of passion. Joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, hatred and desire spring from passion. When passion is aroused, our natures are darkened. This is not a mistake of our real nature. These seven feelings constantly change and attack man, and man cannot overcome them."

"Truth is the nature of a sage. It is quiet and unmoved, great and wide and clear. It shines in heaven and earth. It shows how to govern the earth. It is in harmony with the right way. Those who return to their original

natures are wise men. If they persist in following their natures without break, they can return to them." These quotations show how closely Riko returned to the teaching he criticized. The result of Hanyu's work was that his most brilliant disciple adopted the form of Confucianism, and what was in reality the philosophy of Buddhism. It is evident that he was influenced by the thought of his time. Those who live in the air breathe it whether they are conscious of doing so or not; so in an age when all the leading officials were Buddhist or Taoist, Riko was influenced by Buddhist philosophy even when he thought he was opposing it.

Riko thought he discovered the essential ideal of Confucianism in the "Doctrine of the Mean", and that he was the first one to discover it. His work is very important because he gave Confucian scholars confidence in their teaching. As a result of this new spirit, Confucianism gradually gained in power until it reached its highest point in the life and teaching of Shushi and Yomei. But before that time there were many excellent scholars, among whom the most celebrated are: Shiu (1017-1073 A.D.), Chosai (1020-1077 A.D.), Choyo¹ (died 1077 A.D.), the two Tei brothers, Tei-Ko (1032-1085 A.D.), Tei-i (1033-1107), Yokizan (1053-1135 A.D.), Rayosho (1072-1135 A.D.) and Riempei (1093-1163 A.D.). All these men helped to deepen the relation between metaphysics and the ancient classics. They prepared the way for Shushi and Riku Shozan, the greatest scholars of the So era.

It is now possible to discuss the differences between these Confucian scholars and the teachers of Buddhism, Taoism and Zen learning. While their philosophy of the universe resembles that of Buddhism, they differ from it in several important respects, and because of these differences they may be said to supplement and round out the philosophy of the other schools.

In so far as "Ri" is the essence of all things they are at one with either Buddhism or Taoism, but they differ as to the nature of "Ri." The other schools made it pure wisdom, but Shushi gave it a moral value, and placed the emphasis on its nature as righteousness and benevolence. Shushi said:

¹ Choyo attempted to explain the universe by number. He received the idea from the ancient classic on Philosophy. His teaching resembles that of Pythagoras.

"We Confucianists nourish the five cardinal virtues. The Zen sect cherishes seeing, hearing, saying and moving. They merely see the physical heart. They do not see the moral heart." Shushi thought "Ri", as revealed in man, was moral, and men should nourish it. The others thought "Ri" was an absolute principle which destroyed the individual. Their "Ri" was an intellectual one. This was as great a difference as exists between the Pure Reason and the Practical Reason of Kant. The Zen scholars and the Taoists are, as it were, seeking to explain the "Ri" as noumenon, while the Sung scholars are laying stress on "Ri" as the essence of the universe in such a way as to absorb the five cardinal virtues. For them "Ri" is human nature, the basis of the practical life. The Sung scholars received such practical teaching from the Confucian classics that they cannot ignore man. They accepted much of Buddhist philosophy, but their object was not so much to seek quietness and peace apart from the world as it was to save the world and give peace to the people. They explained themselves and nature as one, and extended the moral law into all things. Koun Ho said: "The Emptiness (Reality)¹ of the Sung scholars has being; that of the Buddhists and Taoists does not exist. The former is felt; the latter is annihilation."

It is evident from this that the Sung scholars did not accept Buddhism and Taoism as it stood. There was a very important difference between them. Just as in "The Doctrine of the Mean" Buddhist and Taoist philosophy is united with the practical, so these men in a more pronounced way attempted to unite some of the best elements of that philosophy with practical moral ideals. They were fully awake to the defects of Buddhism. The younger Tei exhorted men to strive after the perfect good, but he objected to meditation because it tended to lead men into the errors of Buddhism; he substituted respect.

Shushi was well versed in all the older philosophy. He said of himself: "From early days I have striven earnestly for peace of heart. I threw away the Confucian classics and earnestly sought peace of heart. It was all in vain; I experienced nothing but disappointment. Now I know I have been losing precious moments of time." He sought peace so

¹ See note on page 57.

earnestly that he even sat in Buddhist meditation. But he received satisfaction from the teaching of his great-grandfather, Tei. He saw clearly the weakness of Buddhism and Taoism. He said: "Buddhism merely plays with the spirit. If we clearly investigate Zen learning, it is purely a mental culture without any relation to conduct. In Buddhist enlightenment the mind is merely wrestling with itself. Apart from the concentration of the mind there is nothing." When Seiseido, an enlightened priest, first began to study, he was at a loss to know what to do. Someone drew his attention to a cat watching a rat. She sat on the ground, her paws motionless, her heart concentrated on one object. Because she sat so motionless, when she moved the rat could not escape. Thinking on this, Seiseido was enlightened. Buddhist enlightenment is largely concentration. An old proverb says that people are disappointed when they see Mount Fuji. It is not so sublime as they expected. So Buddhism appears to be sublime, but when you investigate its teachings you are disappointed. This was what the Sung scholars felt.

Hanyu attacked Buddhism and Taoism because they were not practical. Shushi was convinced that as systems of philosophy they failed to satisfy the demands of the moral life. He said they were of no real value to conduct.

Shushi's discussion of the nature of evil makes provision for genuine conversion from it. Men fall into evil because of the existence of the sensible world or substance (Ki). They must keep their natures from the temptation of "Ki". They must not allow their original nature to be controlled by it. When men fall into the power of evil, they receive a second nature, which must be thrown off before they can get back to their original nature. In order to return to their original natures, men must have respect, which, as opposed to Buddhist quietness, was active. He said: "Purify yourselves from lust, and let heavenly reason prevail in your lives." He based his ethics on this human nature which was the legitimate child of the absolute "Ri". As a result of such teaching, many men have been led to live a new life, by being born again in the sense of throwing off the power of lust and rising to the ideal of the original good natures. His teaching is not unlike the idea that man has a divine nature which must control his animal nature. It was very different from Buddhism or Taoism, in which all differences were explained

away as illusions. They taught men to do nothing but to free themselves from all desire, in order that they might "polish" their hearts. Shushi believed that in the heart was an all-governing good nature, by which the heart and life were to be governed.

But Shushi felt the importance of study. He thought it well to investigate the lives of the best men, in order to avoid dangers into which men have fallen who depended only on their own hearts. In doing so he was in harmony with the Mean,¹ which recommends "extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it."

Shushi did not explain his dualism. He did not explain how "Ki" originated in "Ri". Neither did he explain how evil could spring from an absolute good. The solution of the old problem of evil is not seriously attempted by those scholars. They did not realize that to make good absolute implies the absolute nature of evil.

This whole movement of thought reveals the similarity between East and West. Men cannot study Eastern thought without sooner or later coming to feel that there are similar movements of thought in the West. A sympathetic investigation of things Eastern will convince even the most sceptical that "East is West" and always has been so.

The movement of thought which has just been discussed reveals the dangers of a purely mystical position. Men cannot long be satisfied with pure mysticism. It does not satisfy the demands of the practical life, and does not always produce the highest moral character. On the other hand, men cannot long be satisfied with the purely concrete point of view. They must know more about the nature of the universe and man. Then as they gather the facts, they very naturally tend to interpret them or give them a place in the unity of their own experience. The purely concrete does not usually constitute man's idea of what is of greatest value to him. As he develops he comes more and more to value thought and character, which, when thought of as a self-conscious unity, constitute personality. Yomei's "Heavenly Ruler" is a very near approach to this idea. This is especially so of the teaching of Nakae Tojiu, the chief Japanese representative of this school in Japan.

¹ See "The Doctrine of the Mean", Chap. XX, 19.

The relation of the Sung scholars to Buddhism and Taoism resembles the relation of Northern Buddhism to Brahminism. Just as Buddhism, when opposing Brahminism, came to restate it in the Mahayana philosophy, so these Confucian scholars, even when opposing Buddhism and Taoism, came to adopt a very similar philosophy of the absolute. These movements of thought remind us of Hegel's dialectical method.

For the most part there is very little originality in the teaching of Japanese Confucian scholars. Like Confucius, they were mere transmitters and interpreters of what they received from one or other of the Chinese scholars. The Shushi scholars resemble the scholastics of Europe in their intolerance of anything which was out of harmony with the accepted truth of the classics. In adherence to the authority of the wisdom of the past, there is little chance for the same progress which may be reached by a doctrine which values its teaching, not merely because of its historical setting, but because of its essential unity with the nature of things.

APPENDIX
BUDDHISM IN JAPAN¹

“Buddhism introduced art and medicine, moulded the folk-lore of the country, created its poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese grew up.” In these eulogistic words Chamberlain summed up the best influence and work of Japanese Buddhism. The early Buddhist priests were men of strong character and purpose, who gave Japan a great impetus to moral, religious and intellectual development.

To recount their works of mercy, or to expound in anything like an exhaustive way their “eighty thousand doctrines” are both beyond the purpose of the present appendix, which merely aims at giving a brief outline of some of the most outstanding elements of Japanese Buddhism.

According to some Japanese² accounts, the great sage, “Siddhartha, was born³ in 1027 B.C., in the palace of his father, Raja Suddhodana, in the city of Kapilavastu, Magadha”, India. When he was nineteen years of age he was so moved with pity for the sufferings of old age, disease and death, that he fled from the luxury and ease of his palaces, and became a wandering ascetic, seeking for the secret which would emancipate his fellowmen from the suffering he saw all around him.

Several years of fruitless wanderings led him to the conclusion that asceticism in itself was powerless to help him. He then sat down under the Bodhi tree, that he might meditate on the nature of truth. Here he attained perfect

¹For instruction in Japanese Buddhism I am indebted to Mr. Hayashi, who introduced me to Mr. Miyake, Moral Teacher in the Kanazawa Prison, an earnest and devout Buddhist priest and a disciple of the well known Professor Bunyu Nanjio, M.A. (Oxon.). At Shizuoka, Mr. Abe, a graduate of the Imperial University, also assisted me. I also wish to acknowledge with gratitude the valuable help received from Dr. A. H. Abbott, of the University of Toronto, with his peculiar power of bringing a man face to face with the real problems of a subject, and that derived from the course of lectures on Hegel and Hegelianism, in the University of Toronto, by Professor Hume.

²“Outlines of The Mahayana as taught by Buddha”, by Kuroda, Superintendent of Education of the Jodo sect.

³Western writers put the date of his birth in the 5th century, B.C.

enlightenment. This took place when he was thirty years of age, and from that time until his death, at the age of seventy-nine, he strove to propagate his teaching, that he might relieve some of the distress of his fellowmen.

His teachings during those fifty years are very extensive. The Hosso sect of Japanese Buddhism divides them into three parts, corresponding to three periods of the sage's life. In the first period the people, in their confused condition, falsely believed in the existence of their individual self, and were, as a result of it, compelled to an endless series of births and rebirths. To them, Buddha taught the unreality of all living beings and the real existence of things. In the second period they were still bound by the idea of the existence of things, so he taught them the doctrine of the emptiness of things. But this left them in confusion over the paradoxical way in which he had taught, first the reality of things, and then the emptiness of things. So in the third period he endeavoured to correct their false notions, by teaching them of true emptiness and of richer, truer existence. These three periods are designated (1) Existence, (2) Emptiness, (3) The Middle Path, and include all the doctrines of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. Dozen Nanzan, the founder of the Ritsu sect in China, also divides the doctrine of Buddha into three parts: (1) The Doctrine of the Emptiness of Nature, (2) The Doctrine of the Emptiness of Form (these two include all the doctrines of Hinayana Buddhism), (3) The Doctrine of the Completion of the Only Knowledge, including all the deep teachings of Mahayana Buddhism. These attempts to classify the teachings of the sage will give some slight idea of the vastness of the subject, and also some suggestion of the possibility of variety in the various Buddhist sects of Japan, and the greater diversity of Buddhism in different parts of the world.

For our purpose Buddhism may be divided into two main divisions, Northern or Mahayana Buddhism, Southern or Hinayana Buddhism. Both of these divisions claim Buddha as their great sage, and lay stress upon the four fundamental truths¹ of Buddhism, the destruction of human delusion, and the attainment of true enlightenment, culminating in Nirvana. The Hinayana, which is regarded by Japanese scholars as suited to converts of inferior ability,

¹ See below.

is found in Southern India, Ceylon, Burma and Siam. This form lays stress upon removing the misery of birth and death, and is designated "The Doctrine of attaining enlightenment through the perception of misery".¹ The Mahayana emphasizes the cultivation of Wisdom, and is designated "The Doctrine of attaining enlightenment by perceiving the non-existence of all things".² It is the dominant form of Buddhism in Northern India, Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. Japanese scholars of Buddhism study both forms, and, as a result, both are found in Japan.

During the earliest period of Buddhism in Japan there were eight sects introduced from Korea and China:

1. The Jojitsu sect, introduced in 625 A.D. by Ekwan from Korea.
2. The Sanron sect, also introduced in 625 A.D. by Ekwan from Korea.
3. The Hosso sect, introduced in 625 A.D. by Japanese students who returned from China.
4. The Kusha sect, introduced in 658 A.D. by Japanese students on their return from China.
5. The Kegon sect, introduced in 736 A.D. by a Chinese priest named Dosen.
6. The Ritsu sect, introduced in 754 A.D. by Kanjin, another Chinese priest.
7. The Tendai sect, introduced in 805 A.D. by Saicho, on his return from China, and established on Mount Hiei, Kyoto.
8. The Shingon sect, established on Mount Koya by Kobo Daishi on his return from China in 805 A.D.

Later than these, but before the fourteenth century, there were four other influential sects of Buddhism established:

1. The Jodo sect, founded by Genku in 1174 A.D.
2. The Zen sect, introduced by Eisai in 1191 A.D.
3. The Shin sect, founded by Shinran in 1224 A.D.
4. The Nichiren sect, founded by Nichiren in 1253 A.D.

For the sake of brevity and clearness, Japanese Buddhism is here discussed under three natural divisions: (1) Unenlightened or confused beings, (2) The process of emancipation from desire, (3) The ultimate end of the process of deliverance, i.e., Nirvana.

¹ "Outlines of The Mahayana as taught by Buddha", by Kuroda, in the introduction, page 11.

² Ibid.

Unenlightened or Confused Beings

The confused ones are found in six states of existence: (1) Lower orders of life, including beasts, birds, insects and even reptiles. The "cunning fox and badger" of Japanese folk-lore belong to this class of beings. (2) Hungry ghosts of various kinds. Some of them have stomachs like mountains and throats as small as the needle's eye. Others eat their own offspring, and others are unable to satisfy their thirst, because even water turns to fire as they drink it. (3) Devas or heavenly beings. (4) Those who have entered either the eight hot or the eight cold hells. Their suffering is indescribable, but whether they are described as blazing hot or freezing cold, their misery is the product of their own thought. (5) Demons inhabiting the spaces under the earth. (6) Man.

All these states of existence belong to the three worlds, the world of desire, the world of form, the world of formlessness. The state of existence in which a being is placed depends upon his thinking, or upon the influence of former existence, and the law of retribution.

Connected with these states of existence is the "Twelve-linked-chain of Causation". From the combination of tendencies comes that which makes up what we call consciousness; from consciousness comes individuality; from individuality come the six organs of sense (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind). From the six organs of sense comes contact with objects of sense; from objects of sense comes sensation; from sensation comes desire; from desire comes clinging to life, from which comes constant transmigration; from constant transmigration comes birth; from birth come decay and death, from which comes suffering.

Closely connected with those links of the chain of causation are the four fundamental truths of Buddhism, a comprehension of which is necessary in some degree before a man starts on the path of emancipation.

1. All existence involves suffering.
2. All suffering is caused by desire.
3. With the destruction of desire suffering ceases.
4. Destruction of desire and suffering may be obtained by perseverance in the eight-fold path.

The difficulty of harmonizing the unity and identity of the self with the doctrine of transmigration, or the doctrine

of Nirvana, has led to the denial of the individual self altogether. But it has been replaced by a doctrine of the five combinations (Skandhas). Every being is made up of five elements, which are constantly combining, dissolving and recombining. These are (1) form or organized body, (2) sensation of pain, pleasure or neither, arising from contact with objects of sense, (3) perception of ideas through this contact, (4) mental tendencies, fifty-two in all, forming individual character, derived from one's former existence, (5) consciousness, or thought faculty, which in theory dissolves at death with all the other elements. At the death of one individual another set of five combinations is born, dominated by a consciousness which has received its bias from the merit or demerit of the former existence. The clinging to existence found in the former being is the chief influence in bringing about the birth of the new being, and it is this clinging to existence which it is the desire of all Buddhist teaching to destroy, but as individual beings, they are blinded by worldliness, and see not the truth which would set them free. Even the good words and noble conduct of the confused are described as resembling words accidentally formed on boards by worms. They are not inspired by the light of truth or wisdom.

In this connection it is important to bear in mind, that while Mahayana Buddhism denies the reality of the individual self, it does not deny the existence of mind. In some sutras, seventy-five, in others one hundred, and in another, even as high as six hundred and fifty things are enumerated and classified in a way which impresses one as an attempt to draw the mind away from the illusion of the identity, unity and continuity of the self. These things are material and immaterial. The material things are subdivisions of the five Skandhas, which combine at birth to form a new being and separate again at death. They contain much which is the object of western psychology. The immaterial things are not objects of mind, but are themselves the abstract essence which is free from birth and death. It is to understand this abstract essence, the "self-existing natural pure mind", which is the ultimate end of the Mahayana teaching.

Man is bound to his unenlightened condition by at least ten fetters, which retard his progress toward a better and more enlightened condition. These are:

1. Belief in the existence of his individual self.
2. Doubt of Buddha's doctrine.
3. Dependence on ceremonial practices.
4. Lust or sensuality.
5. Anger.
6. Craving for material existence.
7. Longing for immaterial existence in the higher heavens.
8. Pride.
9. Self-exaltation.
10. Ignorance.

The Process of Emancipation

Japanese Buddhist sects are essentially the same in regard to the general principles of Buddhism. Each sect receives its distinctive doctrines from its special emphasis of the teaching of some one or more of the many sutras of Buddhist scriptures, or of some phase or method of attaining Buddhahood.

All Buddhists adhere to the teachings of Buddha, and make Nirvana their ultimate end. They all dwell upon the law of retribution and the non-individuality of the self. Japanese Buddhism, being the Mahayana, emphasizes the non-existence of the self and of things outside of it, in addition to the important doctrine to which reference has already been made, that all things are nothing but mind.

But while all Japanese sects are very similar in regard to the outstanding facts of Buddhism, there is a striking difference in the method of attaining Buddhahood, between what is known as the Sho-do Mon, or true wisdom sects, and the Jo-do Mon, or pure land sects. The Sho-do Mon sects emphasize attaining Buddhahood by faith in the vow of Amida Buddha, or as they sometimes express it, "By the power of another". But even in the case of these two methods the end is the same, because the one who trusts in Amida's vow is born as a Bodhisattva in the "Western pure land". From there, having done the work and performed the vows of a saint, he enters Nirvana, from which he is not again born as an individual.

The Sho-do Mon includes many sects of Buddhism, such as the Tendai, Shingon, Sanron, Hosso, Kegon, Ritsu, etc. Some idea of their methods is necessary.

As might be expected, there are various stages in the process of emancipation, which covers countless ages, during which they are not only constantly reborn, in ceaseless transmigration, but even universes come and go. Those who are in the path that leads to Nirvana may be divided into two main divisions, "the Hearers" and "the Saints" (Sravaka and Arhats), each of which may again be subdivided into several different stages of development.

The Hearers, in Hinayana Buddhism, were the great disciples who heard the law from Gautama, and through his assistance were able to enter sainthood. In Japanese Buddhism there are several kinds of hearers, in various degrees of progress in the way that leads to sainthood. The lowest is the layman or monk, who has just awakened to his need of Buddhist teaching, and has freed himself from the first three fetters¹ which bound him to his unenlightened condition. After this class there are many grades of heroes, until, finally, we come to those who have freed themselves from all the fetters, and are about to be reborn as Saints, not to be reborn on the earth.

The Saints, of whom there are also several grades, are freed from all the fetters, and especially that of clinging to existence, which it has been their aim to shake off. Some of them have with difficulty thrown off their evil tendencies by the help of Buddha, but are not able as Saints to teach others. The Solitary Saint (Pratyeka Buddha) has attained perfection for himself apart from any monastic order and without the help of a supreme Buddha. The Bodhisattvas have attained perfection by practising the transcendent virtues. There are six of those virtues: (1) Giving alms to all who ask, and on occasion even sacrificing life or limb for others; (2) Moral conduct; (3) Patience and toleration; (4) Fortitude and energy; (5) Suppression of desire, sometimes described as profound contemplation; (6) Transcendental wisdom. Sometimes they added four other virtues to the six: (1) Truth; (2) Steadfast resolution; (3) Good-will or kindness; (4) Absolute indifference or apathy, resulting in ecstatic quietude.

The Bodhisattva is entitled to enter Nirvana, but because of his desire to help others and save the world, he delays receiving Nirvana for which he has struggled for countless

¹See above.

ages. Amida Buddha, whose vow is the object of faith to many Buddhists of the Jodo sect, belongs to this class of saints.

There are various grades of teaching provided for these different stages of progress. The Hearers reverence the Buddha, the law and the priesthood. They obey the five prohibitions, which forbid the taking of life, stealing, adultery, lying and intoxication. They are taught the four fundamental truths of Buddhism and the noble eightfold path, which consists of right belief and views, right resolves, right speech, right work, right livelihood, right exercise or training, right mindfulness, and right mental concentration. They are also taught the Twelve-linked Chain of Causation, the Buddhist Discipline, the five combinations and other teaching. They meditate on the nature of the cause and effect of everything, and if they are clever, they become saints quickly, but if not, they do so after several ages have passed.

The Pratyeka Buddhas, from similar teaching, grasp a deeper meaning. They practise meditation, and even while gazing on the falling leaves or flowers, learn of the transient and relative nature of the world and everything in it.

Various kinds of meditation are adopted by different sects as a help toward emancipation. Some of their methods are decidedly mechanical. The Jojitsu sect has two kinds of meditation—meditation on the supineness of self and on the emptiness of things. There is nothing in the five combinations which constitutes what men falsely call the self. They are as empty as an empty jar. The consciousness of man is merely a name. Past and future are unreal, the true state of things is constantly changing, being produced and destroyed every moment. Although things seem to be existing continuously, they are like the circle of fire which is seen when a match is swung around quickly. All things and all distinctions of here and there, now and then, are temporary. They are as empty and fleeting as bubbles. The unenlightened, not knowing the emptiness of the self and of things, are submerged in the misery of transmigration, but if they will meditate on the emptiness of the self and things, they will be freed. It is scarcely necessary to refute such teaching. Meditation on the saying of Saigyo, a Japanese hermit, should work a cure for such ideas, especially if a little laughter be added. Saigyo said: "If I think I am nothing because I have thrown myself away, yet I will feel cold on a snowy day."

Thus by practising morality and meditation and by acquiring wisdom, a man may, by his own power, after the several stages of "Hearer" and "Saint" have passed, become a Buddha, and enter Nirvana. In addition, Japanese Buddhism has come to lay great stress upon another method known as the "Pure-Land-Method" of attaining Buddhahood.

Three Indian patriarchs, Ashvagoshā, Nagarguna and Vasubandhu, and several Chinese priests, Eon (d. 416 A.D.), Donran (d. 542 A.D.), Doshaku and Zendo (*circa* 600-650 A.D.), taught about the Western-Pure-Land. The greatest teacher of this doctrine in Japan was Honen Shonin. He was led to think upon the hopelessness of the older method, especially for the ignorant, and because of his desire to teach a simple faith for simple people, he began to devote all his thought to the propagation of salvation by faith in the vicarious power of Amida Buddha's vow. He based his appeal on three of the many Buddhist scriptures, and on Zendo's Commentary, which was regarded as being so peculiarly inspired by Buddha that men were forbidden to add to, or take from the book, even a word or a sentence.

The world in which we live is governed by an iron fate. We are forced by the actions of those who lived in some former existence to come into this world, and suffer the pains of birth, death, old age and disease. Consequently, this is a very undesirable place to be; it is so full of misery that everyone abhors it, and tries to escape from it. Therefore Amida, the Buddha of measureless light and life, pitying the suffering ones submerged in the ocean of transmigration, took a solemn vow that he would not enter Nirvana, but would save all who in faith call upon him. He said: "If any living beings of the ten regions, who have believed in me with true thoughts and desire to be born in my country (The Western-Pure-Land), and have even to ten times repeated the thought of my name, should not be born there, then may I not obtain the perfect knowledge."¹

Relying on this vow, these Buddhists constantly repeat the words, "Hail, Amida Buddha", believing that in spite of all the impurity, deception and sin of this present life, they

¹ Cf. "A Short History of the Japanese Buddhist Sects", by Bunyu Nanjo, page 125.

shall be saved, and shall partake of the mercy of Amida, and shall be in harmony with his wisdom, losing their own peculiar nature, and shall partake of his, just as fresh water becomes salt by flowing into the boundless ocean.

This faith and practice are so effective that the secluded life of the ascetic or the hermit is no longer necessary. Even the priests of one of those sects marry, and make their homes the centre of their religious life. They even eat meat and fish, and take a more active part in life's responsibilities than the older type of priest. They are expected to be good citizens, careful of their own and their family's character, separating themselves from all evil, practising all good, thinking well what is best to do. The moment they believe in Amida's vow, they become conscious of the great mercy of Buddha, and are joyful in spirit.

Nirvana

The ultimate end of all Buddhist effort is Nirvana. Because of its connection with Oriental mysticism, one hesitates to attempt to explain Nirvana. The word is older than Buddhism, and originally meant the condition of an extinguished flame. Nirvana may be said to mean the condition of the soul in which the fires of desire, lust and craving for life are destroyed. According to the fundamental relation of desire and pain, such a soul would be not only completely freed from suffering and pain, but would be delivered from the bondage of transmigration with all that it implies. Individuality, life, death and disease would all be banished. The soul would be in an unchanging condition of blessedness, although it is not conscious in the ordinary sense.

Some of the arguments for the possibility of Nirvana are very naïve. It is argued¹ by an analogy of opposites—because there is pleasure, the opposite of pain, so there is cessation of existence, the opposite of existence. As there is cold, which neutralizes heat, so there is Nirvana, which destroys the fires of lust. As there is a good state as opposed to a bad, so Nirvana, "the birthless" condition, must exist, destroying the possibility of the evil of rebirth.

By studying such methods of argument for Nirvana, we are led to conclude that it is practical individual annihila-

¹ Rhys David's Jataka, page 4.

tion. We must not forget that Buddhist thought of the soul, as already described, logically precludes the possibility of individuality, and consequently what is actually destroyed is the mental illusion of an individuality. This will become clear as we study the idea of Nirvana from the standpoint of Northern Buddhism.

In order to understand Nirvana as it is taught in Japanese Buddhism, it is necessary to trace the mystical development that took place after the death of Buddha, concerning the triple nature of his body. In Hinduism¹ three bodies are assigned to every living being. In process of time Buddha also came to be possessed of three bodies. The first body, the Dharma-kaya, is the body of the law, or doctrine of Buddha. The explanation of this body probably is, that after the death of Buddha his disciples personified their master's doctrine. In process of time, through the influence of the Upanishads, and especially through the Yoga philosophy, this revered law became practically identified with the impersonal deity of Brahminism. It was regarded as a very sublime ethereal essence, coextensive with space, the fundamental element of all existence. It was thought of as a unity, in which all individuation was lost. It was the absolute reality, apart from which the individual was regarded as an illusion, and in which all particularization was destroyed. Later on, it came to be idealized still more as abstract intelligence, pure wisdom, or pure form. The reverence which was formerly rendered to the doctrine of Buddha became changed to a worship, which in some of its more highly developed aspects, is not altogether unlike some developments of Christian thought.

The second body, the Sambhoga-kaya, is the "body of conscious bliss", which is still ethereal, but sufficiently material to experience joy and sorrow. This is the condition in which Amida Buddha exists while fulfilling his vow to save all those who call upon him. It is a condition not unlike that of a deistical god.

The third body, the Normana-kaya, is the material body in which the Buddhas appear on earth, in order to propagate the truth. This is the incarnation of the inscrutable, eternal essence of the first body, which has already been described.

¹"Hinduism", by Monier Williams, page 65. Also "Buddhism", by the same author, page 246.

It will now be possible to get a fairly clear idea of Nirvana as taught by the Northern Buddhists. "Nirvana is by no means a state of mere extinction, nor is Moksha (deliverance) afar off . . . Moksha is open to all clergy and laity, to high and low, to great and humble. In the Hinayana mind and body are considered as the source of pain, and consequently Moksha is equivalent to the leaving of the six states of life, giving up mind and body, and Nirvana is to attain to the eternal extinction of them. This view comes from the doctrine called 'seeking extinction', and is only a partial exposition of Buddhism. The true nature of Moksha and Nirvana, therefore, cannot be understood from the point of view of Hinayana alone."¹ In this quotation the superintendent of education of the Jodo sect makes it clear that the Hinayana conception of Nirvana is only a partial view. In the same chapter Kuroda describes what may be called the Mahayana conception of Nirvana. "Rising above love and hatred, not seeing friend or enemy, right or wrong, and abiding in truth even among worldly relations, passing the time peacefully, and thus attaining to perfect freedom from all restraint, this is the state of the true Moksha. To be free from all pains of restraint, and reach the state of the perfect and everlasting happiness, this is the highest Nirvana. For them all mental phenomena, such as blind desires, etc., are annihilated. And as such mental phenomena are annihilated there appears the true nature of mind with all its immeasurable functions and miraculous actions."

This condition of deliverance is reached by the process of mental discipline which has already been described. The individual becomes conscious that he has within himself this inscrutable essence whose nature is pure and calm. He then perceives that all worldly phenomena are mere illusions of the mind and have no reality of their own. Having grasped these truths, he can practise the means of deliverance which have been described, and thus in time ignorance will be annihilated, and the individual will be lost in the pure wisdom of the Buddha, freed from the idea of self, submerged into the unity of reality or existence.

In attempting to explain how the finite mind ceases, and yet is not annihilated, Ashvagosha uses the waves of the ocean to illustrate his point. When the wind subsides, the

¹ "Outline of the Mahayana", by S. Kuroda, page 6.

water which is the same in both cases, becomes calm. So when the mind which, in itself, is pure and clear, is lashed by the winds of ignorance, the waves of consciousness arise. When the disturbance ceases, and wisdom, the unchangeable essence of mind, becomes calm and undisturbed, this condition of absorption of the individual into the pure wisdom of the Buddha is Nirvana.

Kukai, whose posthumous name is Kobo (775-835 A.D.), very clearly used this doctrine of the nature of Buddha to draw Shintoism and Buddhism together, by teaching that the Japanese gods were the incarnation of this indivisible and eternal Buddha. As a result, Buddhist idols and the gods of Japan were reconciled. Buddhist priests were in attendance at Shinto shrines until the Revolution of 1868 A.D. Japanese ideals became saturated with the mysticism of these Buddhist priests; the art, sculpture and literature of Japan were influenced by it.

Conclusion

During the Tokugawa age Buddhism declined in power. There were over one hundred thousand temples in Japan and many thousands of priests, few of whom were educated. Because of the government's fear of Christianity, every citizen had to be registered in some Buddhist temple. Consequently, regardless of the ability or inability of the priests, the number of members neither decreased nor increased. The result was that the priests became careless both morally and intellectually. No special qualification was required even to become a head priest of a temple. The ranks of the priesthood were filled with an inferior class who entered to escape the press of poverty, especially in the latter part of the Tokugawa age when famines occurred frequently. There is an account given of the grossest immorality being tolerated in houses constructed in the temple grounds. The result of all this is that popular Buddhism even yet is suffering from the effects of those abuses which, in 1840 A.D., became so conspicuous that the government, hoping to improve the conduct of the priests, issued an edict ordering them to mend their ways.

Some time ago Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, in discussing Buddhism, said that there were five defects to be remedied. In substance these were as follows: (1) The Buddhist priests

must be raised to a higher level; (2) Idolatry must be abandoned; (3) The passivity, pessimism and supermundane character of Buddhism must be abandoned; (4) It must be purged of superstition; (5) Its morality must be raised to a more definite intelligible character. Such a criticism from a man of Dr. Inouye's standing is very valuable. Dr. Kato Hiroyuki, the ex-president of the Imperial University, in criticizing Buddhist priests said: "The priests are indeed a rotten set, and they themselves have the greatest need of reformation. They are absolutely unable to save the masses, and are moreover a peril to society. It is a sad and grave question how to deal with them. Of course, their corruption is not a child of to-day; it is the accumulation of ages and has reached the climax now. Christianity is very different. There are bad priests there too, but it is marvellous the zeal of the majority of them. Christian doctrines are hardly worth looking at, but the men who propagate them are good and helpful to society. The prime thing in religion is the men who uphold it, not the religion they uphold. The priests of to-day are evil fellows, and the damage they are doing to society cannot be condoned."

The word Buddha is not a proper name. It means the "Enlightened", and signifies one who has attained supreme knowledge. It is not proven, however, that Buddhist enlightenment is supreme knowledge. It is evident that what Gautama meant by the term was merely knowledge of how to crush out desire and attain deliverance from the possibility of rebirth. But such knowledge cannot be regarded as supreme because it is based on mere assumption in regard to human life.

The fundamental truths of Buddhism present a view of human life which is largely responsible for most of the doctrines of Buddhism. It points out that as long as I want or desire anything, I am dissatisfied. If I get rid of desire I am satisfied, and so far as I am concerned, I get rid of the necessity for change, and consequently for rebirth and transmigration. This assumes that human life without desire is more complete than life with desire. This assumption cannot be accepted as axiomatic. If we accept it as true, we destroy the incentive to progress, and belittle everything pertaining to human life. Education is a mere fancy. National spirit and national greatness are dreams. Home

life is an evil to be evaded. Hence Buddhism can say that "Woman is the messenger of hell", and even one who speaks with her is defiled, and he who cohabits with her can scarcely hope for purification. Existence is an evil, and everything pertaining to it is valueless. Once the later Buddhists of Japan begin to tolerate the home and marriage, they have practically admitted that the Buddhist view of life is false. If this life and all that it involves is an illusion, then the assumption that behind all things there is an inscrutable reality is itself unreal. Even the impetus to get rid of the entanglements of this illusion and the thinking involved in the meditation are illusions. Therefore, if Buddhism were logical, it would begin with nothing and would never reach anything, because every process by the first assumption is unreal.

Buddhist cosmology reminds one of a vast whirlpool in which devas, men, devils, animals and insects are hurled about by the irresistible currents of desire. If you can assume that these things belonging to the six states actually exist, then it would be logical to expect any object of superstition to be possible. Such assumptions are not proven to be anything else but assumptions. Until they are proven to be in harmony with scientific fact, they need scarcely be treated seriously. Buddhism makes no attempt to prove its assumptions.

At first Buddhism was atheistic, but by an interesting process of change Buddha comes to be regarded as God, the custom of respecting his memory becomes worship, and a reaction against individual annihilation ends in the poetic creation of Amida in paradise, seeking to save men from the charmed circle of transmigration. Scholars have tried to discover some connection between Northern Buddhism and Christianity. Even if they have been related in history, historical connection is always open to question. But as a matter of fact the Amida theory is the logical outcome of the dualism, Buddha versus the world, and might naturally arise without any direct connection with historic Christianity. It is also a fact that the tendency to separate God and man, heaven and earth, soul and body, which belonged to the formative age of Christian theology, after the fourth century, resembles Buddhist thought. Man in this evil, temporary, fleeting world needs salvation by the effort of some super-

natural intermediary. If Christian thought assumes a complete separation between the secular and the spiritual, between a deistical god and man, between heaven and earth, then the similarity to Northern Buddhism is very close.

On the assumption that the dualism is real, then either there is a principle of union with God or there is not. If there is not, then so far as we are concerned we can never know his inscrutable essence, which, in so far as we speak of him, is equivalent to saying that he is merely a creation of our imagination. If there is a principle of union uniting us with this inscrutable being, then he is less than that which unites him with us, and is consequently one among others. He would therefore not be God to us. In this way it becomes clear that the assumption of a one, apart from the many, logically leads to a One among the many, none of which can know the other. If therefore Northern Buddhism is to hold an eternal being, he must be all-inclusive, destroying the dualism which is supposed to have existed and the necessity for the intermediate state in which Amida is supposed to dwell.

The mercy of older Buddhism is essentially selfish in its content. It does not spring out of a genuine love for men and things, but from a desire to save oneself from the law of retribution. The man who cuts off the head of a frog as he digs in his garden has been represented as having his head cut off in a later age, as a result of the law of retribution. Therefore it is better to avoid such evils by refraining from taking life.

But in Amida's vow we have a very different conception of mercy. The mercy of Amida is genuine. He has nothing to gain by his refusal to enter Buddhahood. But in an unselfish way he sacrifices that privilege for the good of the race. This involves an ideal which is very different from that of the older Buddhism. It is so out of harmony with older Buddhism that it seems to demand a complete change in the Buddhist philosophy. The new doctrine is altruistic. The object of life is no longer selfish deliverance from rebirth, but rather that the world may be saved. They no longer seek annihilation in an abstract universal, but in seeking to save others they imply an ideal of life which is the death-knell of the old, and involves a universal which is concrete and worth living to attain.

But as this doctrine is still associated with the pessimistic interpretation of the universe, it has its dangers. Once when some women had been taught by Honen Shonin that all they had to do was to call on Amida for deliverance and he would deliver them, they called on him and then deliberately walked into the sea and drowned themselves, that they might take the quickest method of reaching paradise. Their action is not unreasonable. In order to hold such a method of salvation as the Shin sect holds, without having such results, it is important that a more optimistic interpretation of the universe be adopted.

In conclusion, the similarity between the deistical god of the Jew or the Greek and the so-called pantheistic conception of Buddhism is so great that it is very difficult to see wherein they are different. The fact is that the former cannot be accepted as monotheism because it ends in a dualism, and in so far as God becomes one of two things, He becomes finite, and the natural result is that polytheism is not only a possibility but a reasonable probability. The latter cannot be accepted as a self-consistent pantheism, because it too ends in a dualism one side of which, say, for example, the individual life, would not be included in the all. Consequently, both alike are inadequate and illogical. In a sense they were complementary. The Jewish god emphasizes the importance of the personal and psychical. The Buddhist conception places value upon unity. A consistent pantheism will not explain away the fact of individual life, and a satisfactory monotheism will become an all-inclusive unity. In other words, Buddhism, pantheism and the Jewish god, from the side of unity, point toward the same fulfilment in a consciousness which sees God in every minute detail of experience, in a consciousness in which even the very hairs of our heads are numbered. The fleeting, changing sense quality is so closely connected with the permanent element of experience that if you destroy the possibility of one, you destroy the possibility of the other. This is a significant fact in the search for God, and should lead to a more adequate idea of both the fleeting and permanent in which individual existence, instead of being destroyed, will be preserved and protected.

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