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ABSTRACT

The main task of this study was to examine the proposition that the modernization processes of Japan had commenced during the late Tokugawa period (1804-1867) and that the impetus to social change was not concentrated solely in the post-Meiji Restoration (1868) period.

A survey of contemporary literature on modernization enabled us to select a suitable working definition of modernization. For analytical purposes, modernization was defined in terms of the adaptive and reforming efforts by the late Tokugawa ideologues. The definition implied nothing specific about the component processes involved and this permitted us to be free in selecting the component actions within the modernization process.

The study of the adaptive and transformation processes consisted of an analysis of five biographies written in Japanese and representative of the ideologues of the late Tokugawa period. For our investigation, the method of content analysis was employed. This allowed the extraction of desired data according to explicitly formulated and systematic rules. The coding scheme employed to analyze the biographical material was designed taking into account our basic proposition. The process of assigning extracted data into the appropriate categories consisted of a dichotomization process whereby the data was recorded in mutually exclusive categories. The
interpretative categories selected for content analysis were not based on a specific theory purporting to explain certain aspects of social change but it suggested a model which lent clarity to the study of the linkage between causal forces (societal conditions and formative factors) and the ideologue's structures of activities. In this model, the underlying assumption was that the causal forces were linked to the observable variations by the ideologue's attitudes, orientations, and concepts. This assumption was supported by the data and the structure of activities gave rise to patterns which tended to be similar although the structural processes themselves varied from ideologue to ideologue.

On the basis of our investigation, we concluded that the data obtained from the content analysis of five biographies supported our proposition that the adaptive and transformation processes of modern Japan established their roots during the late Tokugawa period and that the impetus to social change was not concentrated solely in the post Meiji Restoration period.
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CHAPTER I

ASPECTS OF MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN

One of the first attempts to develop an agreement on the meaning of the term "modernization" by Western and Japanese scholars together resulted from the Conference on Modern Japan which was held in Hakone, Japan, in 1960. Ever since the Meiji Restoration, Japanese scholars have tended to refer to the processes of modernization in terms of westernization, the most common yardstick being western technological development. Tadao Yanaihara's description of the "problems of modernization" is worth noting:

The problem of modernization in Japan is to import and absorb western techniques and culture. In short, it is westernization of Japanese society and Japanese culture. But the Japanese people have too long and solid a past to let their country become only an imitation of western countries. Also, complete westernization of Japanese society would not benefit the world, for world culture can be enriched only by differences of characteristics among nations. But, if Japan wants to undertake a mission of fusion of eastern and western civilizations which she entertains as her national ideals, she must not be content merely to import the externals of western civilization; she must learn and absorb its essence and its fundamental spirit. If it may be assumed that this essence of modern western civilization is democracy, then it can be said that the basis for modernization of Japan is democratization.¹

For men like Yanaihara "modernization" and "westernization" were synonymous and consequently, relatively simple indicies were used to measure this importation of western technology. They included miles of railroad or telephone wires, or harbor facilities. Westernization was not just limited to the importation of technology, but it encompassed society and culture as well.

Initial efforts by western scholars to conceptualize the modernization process merely resulted in the enumeration of the many elements of contemporary North American and European societal conditions. As a result, in certain respects there was very little differentiation with the Japanese understanding of modernization as westernization except that the western scholars were better able to categorize the vast number of characteristics identifying the "modern condition." Conceptual formulation based upon selected classification of transformation processes will no doubt emphasize the elements of the contemporary "modern condition." Such an approach may be useful in presenting the static aspects of what we wish to

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describe as "modern," but it has less relevance to the developmental dimension or to the dynamics of the transformation process.

1. Toward a Definition of "Modernization"

If we survey the vast sources of contemporary literature currently available on the process of modernization, we can readily obtain an inventory of various definitions and concepts but it will soon become evident that much disagreement exists among the critics over the exact meaning they attach to the expression. Various scholars have used the term "modernization" to describe the characteristics common to the countries with changing structural processes or transformation. However, the meaning attached to "modernization" as a general word has varied from author to author. Some authors have never attempted to define the term and they have assumed that the reader has some understanding of the expression used.

One inadvertent result of describing the modernization process by enumerating the various criteria selected as essential for applying the modernization label is that such an approach has isolated the various processes of change into a disjointed account of history. Though the criteria selected may be valid for modern society, the same criteria cannot be

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Ibid., p. 11.
applied to describe conditions at specific periods in the past, because each criterion selected by present-day scholars may have had no parallel at that particular period in history. A relatively minor societal change may have contributed the necessary impetus to initiate further transformations and the latter simply would not have occurred without the former. It is thus essential to consider all facets of the transformation process in historical perspective and to relate pertinent facts to each other if we wish to form an overall picture of the modernization process.

The term "modernization" has been defined in numerous ways. Myron Weiner notes that:

Each of the social science disciplines has focused on different elements of the modernization process. Economists see modernization primarily in terms of man's application of technologies to the control of nature's resources in order to bring about a marked increase in the growth of output per head of population. Sociologists and social anthropologists have been primarily concerned with the process of differentiation that characterizes modern societies. They have explored the way in which new structures arise to assume new functions or to take on functions once performed by other structures, and they give attention to the differentiations occurring within social structures as new occupations emerge, complex educational institutions develop, and new types of communities appear. Sociologists also study some of the disruptive features of the modernization process: rising tensions, mental illnesses, violence, divorce, juvenile delinquency, and racial, religious, and class conflict.5

Recent methodological development concerning the analysis of the transformation processes of society has focused on the socio-demographic and structural characteristics. The term "social mobilization" has been derived by Karl Deutsch to denote the "process in which clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior." This definition is illustrated by an enumeration of the "socio-demographic indicies" of modernization.

Perhaps the best definition of the term "modernization" is that given by C. E. Black. He defines "modernization" as:

... the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution.

This latter definition by Black appears to be the most appropriate definition to keep in mind as we attempt to study the modernization process of Japan.

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In contrast to Black's definition of modernization as an adaptive process, Dore describes modernization in terms of the reforming efforts by the political leaders and intellectuals. Dore asserts that it is useful to speak of reforming efforts using selected countries as models of attempts to modernize:

Clearly, wholesale and rapid "modernization" in this sense is a neat epitomisation of the policy aim of the Meiji leaders of Japan in the 1870's or Kemal Ataturk in Turkey in the twenties, or of countless other political leaders since. This sense of "modernization" may be paraphrased as follows: The transformation of the economic, political, legal, social or cultural life of a nation in accordance with models derived from other contemporary societies thought to be more "advanced."9

The definitions advanced by both Black and Dore imply nothing specific about the component processes involved and consequently these definitions allow us to be free in selecting the component actions within the modernization process. Within the framework of the definitions provided by Black and Dore, our study will be concerned mainly with those individuals in Japanese history, who were either directly or indirectly responsible for the initiation of the adaptive and reforming processes which we have subsumed under the rubric of modernization. As far as it will be possible, an attempt will be made to relate the significant dimensions of the transformation process to the institutional aspects of Japanese society. Here the term

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"institutional" refers after Levy to those normative patterns or those patterns to which general conformity is expected with sanctions imposed upon those who fail to conform.\textsuperscript{10} Stated in sociological terms, those who fail to conform to the existing social norms of the time can be classified as deviants. However, we much exercise extreme caution when applying such terms to a behavioral condition. A normative pattern being a temporal quality can only be considered as normative with specific reference to the time dimension and consequently, deviance defined in terms of the existing social order cannot be used as a measuring instrument when discussing historical data. Deviance is a useful term to designate those who are engaged in activities considered as an infringement of the existing social values.

2. The Modernizing Elites

From the outset, we can make a very simple generalization about any society: that there are two classes of people, the class that governs and the class that is governed.\textsuperscript{11} Regardless of this differentiation, there will appear from either


class certain individuals who are in a position to influence their fellow men. Those individuals who are able to exert or exercise such influence will be referred to as elites. For example, those individuals in the political sphere who are or who become influential by virtue of the political power they possess can be called the political elite. Similarly, those individuals who are influential because of the vast resources of knowledge which they possess and are at the same time capable of articulating their ideas can be called the intellectual elite. To describe those individuals who are regarded as influential for whatever the reason, and regardless of their sphere of activity, we shall use the simple term "elite." At this juncture, we are not concerned with any theoretical concept of elites but we are only interested in a general term which will enable us to devise a simple coding or categorization scheme whereby we are able to select from a system of stratification those individuals who are either directly or indirectly responsible for the initiation of the adaptive and reforming processes. It will be noted that contingent upon these processes of modernization, the existing social stratification structure itself will be subject to change leading to some degree of dissociation not only amongst the elites themselves but also from other groups.  

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If we are to select the modernizing elites associated with the adaptive and transformation processes of Japan, the late Tokugawa ideologues are perhaps our best examples. Their members included a variety of types characterized by the vast scope of their activities as well as by the multi-faceted character of the individual. Basically, the ideologues called for a transformation in traditional Confucian morals and social values and a restructuring of personal relationship between the Imperial Court, Shogunal government, and the individual. Although there is little evidence of cohesion among the late Tokugawa ideologues, there is, however, an indication of a shared sense of motivation. They were the intellectuals who acknowledged the evident superiority of western technology and who were intensely aware of the necessity for Japan to adapt to the changing conditions of the times if she were to escape the tragic fate of India and China.

The modernizing elites who eventually became the forerunners of the Meiji Restoration were politically oriented as evinced by the emphasis which they placed on the political sector of Tokugawa society. They were the intellectuals who articulated the socio-political demands and theories advocating the restructuring of the Tokugawa political order. In the attempt to break away from the framework of the established political order, the ideologues were confronted by the problems of formulating new concepts which would accommodate both the
traditional Confucian social values and the new technological knowledge from the West. As will be indicated later, a few of the intellectual elites were successful in producing new political concepts. Others failed to accommodate the idea of change and the introduction of western learning into the Confucian or Neo-Confucian framework of values. This eventually resulted in the complete abandonment of the latter in the formulation of the new policies. The intellectual conversion to western ideas by a few of the late Tokugawa ideologues indicates that they were completely committed to the socio-political transformation of Japan even if it meant they had to sever their ties with the Confucian system of values.

Another facet of the intellectual transformation which occurred during this period can be illustrated by the shifts in the pattern of priorities in selecting the new leadership. Consistent with the subordination of traditional social and moral values, the main emphasis was now placed upon jitsugaku or practical learning. It was important for the governing elite to be familiar with the ever changing international scene and to possess some knowledge of the supposedly superior western science. Despite the observable change in emphasis for a new leadership demanded by the ideologues, formidable obstacles were present which gave rise to a disparity between the stated goal and the likelihood of its realization. As H.D. Harootunian pointed out:
Two hundred years of Tokugawa rule, essentially based upon the principle of hereditary recruitment of officials, made impossible any effort to restore a jinsei staffed by able administrators within the framework of established political practice. Nor could late Tokugawa writers reasonably suppose that it was any more possible to retain the traditional meaning of jitsugaku, especially when circumstances were obliging men to equate utility with Western technological competence.  

The gradual shift in priorities by the ideologues away from the culturally defined goals of the Tokugawa shogunate meant that the ideologues were now engaging in non-conforming conduct and were consequently subject to restraints imposed by the Tokugawa bureaucracy. The important point to note here is that the restrictive measures employed to discourage those non-prescribed activities were open to a certain degree of flexibility. As a result it took considerable time before the government actually carried out the ultimate penalty of beheading.

An analysis of the elite patterns within the Tokugawa social structure leads to a close parallel with Pareto's model of elites. In his theory of the elites, Pareto asserted that society can be divided into either the lower stratum, the non-elite, or the superior stratum, the elite.  

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category was further sub-divided into the governing elite and the non-governing elite. The late Tokugawa ideologues can be subsumed under the category of the non-governing elite since they had no direct role in the shogunate. A point of departure from Pareto's elite conceptual scheme occurs in the case of the non-governing elite in Tokugawa Japan in that the "circulation of elites" phenomena was absent. Pareto's concept of elite circulation accounted for the changes in governing elite membership either through the recruitment of new members from the lower stratum or through the establishment of the counter elite taking over political command. The Tokugawa system of social controls provided for checks and balances which prevented the formation of an aggregate counter force. Within the governing elites, however, the circulation of elites occurred through the development of a power structure which Totman describes as follows:

In the bakufu, as in seventeenth-century England, there was no conceptual distinction between administrators and politicians, and the growth of an elaborate bureaucracy at Edo was accompanied by the development of an informal power structure, the vertical clique, which accommodated shifts in the locus of power and enabled a single group of men to control both political and administrative functions. The resultant clique system of politics gave the bakufu enough flexibility to meet very adequately the political needs of the Tokugawa house within the framework of the Edo period seclusion and class structure. At the same time, however, this clique system encouraged bakufu officials to lose sight of the underlying political structure of the bakufu system.15

The governing elites functioned within the political and social framework based on traditionally established Confucian values, and it soon became evident that structural reform was necessary. The growing awareness by the modernizing elites of the inability of the Confucian elites to deal with the changing world political climate was brought to the forefront of intellectual debate as a result of the Opium War in 1840. The penetration of China by western powers formulated the basis for all future international relations in the Far East and it did not take very long for the Tokugawa intellectuals to realize that Japan could no longer remain indifferent to the rapidly changing international situation. In contrast to the dynamics of external affairs, the Tokugawa shogunate was bound by the static aspects of Neo-Confucian doctrines. As the crisis facing Japan became more acute, the only action taken to counter the foreign forces was an endeavor to emphasize the main differences between China and the "barbarian" countries, the rationale being based on traditional Confucian moral obligations and doctrines.

From the time that Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) established the Neo-Confucian school in Japan, the Hayashi family succeeded in their aim to maintain Neo-Confucianism from generation to generation as the official philosophy of the Tokugawa shogunate. Neo-Confucianism was specially authorized by the shogunate as the seigaku, or true subject for study, and its profound influ-
ence on the leading thinkers of the late Tokugawa period was evident in their political concepts. The Neo-Confucian stress on fundamental rationalism directed the intellectuals to examine underlying reasons or principles. The basic frame of reference was Chu Hsi and the *Great Learning* which contained the ethical teachings of Confucianism. An important aspect of Chu Hsi's thought was his distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy of rulers which had without doubt greatly influenced the attitudes of the forerunners to the Meiji Restoration. One other aspect of Chu Hsi's philosophy which served as a basis for ideological growth was the emphasis placed on moral obligations and human loyalties. These characteristics examined in conjunction with the exhaustive study of history provided the foundation for the formulation of new philosophical and political concepts as well as a new sense of direction for the ideologues.

The adaptive and reforming processes of traditional Japanese society did not commence with the Meiji Restoration of 1868 as we are sometimes led to believe, but these processes were already established in the various sectors of society during the latter part of the Tokugawa era. The foundations

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being gradually prepared, the modernizing elites of the Meiji era were able to take advantage of the pre-conditions to pave the way for further societal transformations.
The general framework within which we will examine the adaptive and transformation processes of Japan is best illustrated by a diagram like Figure 1 on the following page. In this scheme, the vertical axis represents the dividing line between the Tokugawa and Meiji periods. This turning point in Japanese history is officially documented as January 3, 1868. The horizontal axis is merely a line indicating a division with the ideologies of the time on one side and the existing system of government on the other. These are represented by the symbols 1 and s respectively. With reference to these datum lines we shall direct our attention to the relationship between the ideologies and the ruling government structure during the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods. These are symbolically represented as illustrated in Figure 1.

With the general framework of the component elements of societal change as illustrated in Figure 1 in mind, we will state the following proposition and later examine historical data to see what the supporting evidences are. The proposition

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1The conceptual framework was formed during the Asian Studies 513 Seminar (Problems of Japanese Intellectual History) given at the University of British Columbia during 1967-1968. I am indebted to Professor Shūichi Katō for his suggestions and critical comments.
Figure 1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK EMPLOYED TO STUDY THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS OF JAPAN
is that the adaptive and transformation processes of modern Japan had their roots firmly established during the late Tokugawa period (1804-1867) and that the impetus to social change was not concentrated solely in the post-Meiji Restoration period. For this study, an accurate sampling procedure in order to obtain representative historical data for analyzing the ideologies as well as the individuals of the late Tokugawa period is the first problem which we encounter. The methodology employed for this study will be explained later.

1. Tokugawa Ideology and Feudal Control

Under 1, we have subsumed not only the Tokugawa ideology but also those organizations or institutions specially instituted to perpetuate the feudal order of Tokugawa Japan. When we refer to Tokugawa ideology, we are not directly concerned with the problem of how the bakufu officials thought. Instead, we are mainly interested in the body of ideas employed as guidelines by the bakufu for the execution of certain patterns of behavior and in "the creation of a cohesive group out of more or less diverse elements." The emergence of the political philosophy based on Confucian ethics, morality and loyalty

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2 The dates represent the period in history in which the ideologues selected for this study lived.

resulted as an aftermath of the period of the Warring States at which time Ieyasu sought to restore peace to the nation. At the same time, Ieyasu established a highly centralized social and political structure based on the Confucian idea of a graded social order which enabled continued Tokugawa rule for over two hundred and sixty five years. The development of political thought during the early days of the Tokugawa period very closely paralleled Mannheim's concept of ideology in that it was born as a result of political conflict and that "the ruling group became so intensively interest-bound to a situation that they were no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination."  

The guiding principles of the Tokugawa shogunate or central government subsumed under 1 consisted of an accumulation of Confucian philosophy as well as a mixture of Buddhist and Taoist doctrines. The philosophy of Chu Hsi which came to be known as Shushigaku or Neo-Confucianism in Japan provided Ieyasu with the basic framework for executing his administrative policies. David Earl has noted that the principles of the Chu Hsi school of Confucianism responded ideally to the demands of the Tokugawa stratification system. He describes them in the following terms:

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In his writings, Chu Hsi singled out for particular attention the principle of fulfilling one's duty or obligation. His argument revolved around the nature of righteousness which appeared among both the Five Relationship and the Five Virtues. Righteousness between sovereign and subject, from the viewpoint of the subject, became Duty or the obligation of rendering loyal service to the sovereign. It also demanded, as a prerequisite to this, recognition of one's proper station or rank and a complete dedication to meeting the requirements connected with it. This combination—knowing one's place and fulfilling one's obligation to his sovereign lord—summed up the entire duty, or great Way, to be followed by all subjects.5

These principles were all incorporated in the expression taigi meibun, "the highest duty of all" or "the highest of all obligations, that to the sovereign"6 and paradoxically, as we shall see later, it became the main doctrine for the restructuring of the Tokugawa system of values which eventually led to the Restoration movement initiated by the intellectuals of the Mito school and their shift in loyalty from the shogun to the Emperor.

The Tokugawa concept of loyalty extended throughout the hierarchical structure and was established to inculcate loyalty to the shogunate. The patterned relationship between the daimyo and the shogun, the samurai to the daimyo or the vassals to the lord, all demonstrated various forms of obligations one owed to one's superior by virtue of one's social position on the Tokugawa status scale. Each person had an appointed place in


6 Ibid.
society, a hereditary position in the hierarchical structure determined by one's birth. The patterned rules of conduct became ritualized over time thereby securing social stability and ensuring the permanence of the established rule. Alternate range of behaviors was severely limited by legislation designed to guard against the formation of conflicting forces and also by the strategic disposition of the daimyos. The strict adherence to the ritualized patterns of behavior prevented the exchange of ideas between the various status groups and as such it served as an effective control mechanism to reinforce the feudalistic Tokugawa administration.

Another form of highly ritualized behavior and one which was instituted by the Tokugawa shogunate to act specifically as a political control device was the *sankin kōtai* or system of alternate attendance in Edo. Under this system, the daimyos were required to divide their time between the capital and

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7 The daimyos were categorized into three classes depending on their relation to the main Tokugawa house. The *shimpan* daimyos represented the branch han of the Tokugawa house and consisted of families related by blood. The *tozama* daimyos comprised those lords whose families became loyal to the Tokugawa house at the time of the Battle of Sekigahara. The *fudai* daimyos consisted those lords whose ancestors were closely associated with the bakufu, in other words, the hereditary vassals. Quite naturally, the *fudai* daimyos staffed the important positions of the shogunate. The *fudai* daimyo fiefs were strategically interspersed among the *tozama* han.

their fiefs according to a fixed schedule devised by the shogun. It was required by shogunal order that each daimyo establish a permanent residence at the capital for his wife and children. The state policy further required that the wife and children serve as sureties while the daimyo returned to his fief. The daimyos were thus burdened by the expense of travelling between their domain and capital, the expense of maintaining two residences, and furthermore, by the expenses incurred in maintaining formal relations with the bakufu, for example, the exchange and presentation of gifts and special periodic offerings which was carried out according to a prescribed procedure. The obligations imposed upon the daimyo by the shogunate placed an extremely heavy financial burden on the daimyo and his han and consequently served as an effective control device to prevent the daimyo from becoming a threat to the established order. The rules and regulations for proper conduct by the daimyos were contained in the *Buke shohatto* or "Regulations for the Military Houses."  

2. Reform Proposals and the Rise of Nationalism

With the passing of time, certain individuals within Tokugawa society came to question the existing feudal order.

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The ideologues, their activities and new ideas are contained under $1_2$ of our conceptual schema represented in Figure 1. This phase of our investigation will commence with the reform proposals advanced by the critics of the sankin kōtai system.

The financial burden placed upon the daimyo and his fief by the sankin kōtai system spread throughout the nation and its adverse economic effects became a matter of urgent concern for the Tokugawa authorities. The leading intellectuals of the Tokugawa period, for example, Kumazawa Banzan (1610-1691), Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), Muro Kyūsō (1658-1734), Nakai Chikuzan (1730-1829), and Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) were all outstanding critics of the sankin kōtai system. Because they felt the feudal ruling class was becoming increasingly weaker, they submitted numerous proposals for reform to the shogunate in order to revitalize the various sectors of the Tokugawa society. As one example of suggested policies, Kumazawa's proposals called for the return of the warrior class to the agricultural sector and looked to the shogunal model of the Kamakura period (1192-1333) as a practical solution. Furthermore, Kumazawa suggested that the inflexible sankin kōtai system be slightly modified.

Kumazawa wanted to relax the sankin kōtai system as part of an overall program which aimed at nothing less than the

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complete revolutionizing of the current social and political organization. It was not enough, he believed, merely to reduce the period of attendance at the capital. Nothing would be gained if the daimyo and their retainers were simply returned to the provinces to indulge in idleness and extravagant living. The warriors should be settled on the land and restored to their former position as farmer-soldiers (nōhei). The economy of the rural areas should be revitalized by a land program which would redistribute and equalize peasant holdings. The public authorities—the bakufu and the daimyo—should use their resources to pay off the debts and mortgages of the peasants. Fields which had been sold should be returned to their original owners, if the seller had less land than the buyer. This done, the next step would be to settle the warrior class on the land among the people they ruled, instead of keeping them segregated in castle towns.\textsuperscript{13} Needless to say, Kumazawa's recommendations were ignored by the shogunate though they did have a profound impact on the reform formulations advanced later by Ogyū Sorai and Yokoi Shōnan.

The social reform program outlined by Ogyū closely resembled those policies advanced by Kumazawa. Ogyū, in his role as a scholar and advisor to the shogunate, also recommended that the warrior class be returned to the land.

In contrast to Kumazawa and Ogyū's scheme to modify the existing sankin kōtai system, Muro Kyūsō advised his Shogun Yoshimune not to make any adjustment to the established procedure of alternate attendance to the capital. The reason given by Muro was that the sankin kōtai had become a system of highly ritualized behavior and a symbol of authority that any change would have serious effects on the Tokugawa order. In this

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 106.
instance also, the shogun disregarded the recommendations and proceeded to modify the *sankin kōtai* schedule. The policies advocated by the other reformers were all considered to be too radical for immediate implementation and were consequently suppressed by the bakufu.

A concomitant development with the increasing concern with the problems of daimyo and han finances and the widespread nature of general economic discontent was that the bakufu was confronted by external pressures to open the country to foreign intercourse. The inability of the Tokugawa shogunate to fulfill the requirements of society produced a group of intellectuals who advocated a systematic formulation for the restoration of the Imperial regime. This collectivity which came to be known as the *sonnō-jōi* or "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Foreigners" faction consisted of the scholars of the Mito school such as Fujita Yukoku (1773-1826), his son Fujita Tōko (1806-1855), Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863), and Lord Nariaki (1800-1860). The Mito school philosophy stressed the "emperor-directed aspect of patriotism" and even advocated the use of military force to oppose the foreign threat. Aizawa Seishisai "succeeded in integrating the Mito viewpoint on Confucianism, Shinto, *taigi meibun*, and the essentials of patriotism" and his book *Shinron*

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15 Ibid.
(A New Proposal) became the text representing the Mito political philosophy. Aizawa emphasized the role of the Emperor and asserted that the Emperor must regain control of the leadership to which he was entitled.

A point of view contrary to the Mito school philosophy described in the foregoing has been advanced by Albert Craig. It has been documented by Craig that the Mito concept of kokutai or national polity affirmed the hierarchical social order of Tokugawa society but that the Mito school failed to specify whether the primacy of loyalty should be directed to the daimyō or to the Emperor:

... the Mito school never made clear which loyalty was primary or what should be done if the different claims were to conflict. This lack of clarity was of crucial importance. Had the daimyō's claim to loyalty been primary, then the struggles of, and within, the han, which constituted the sonnō movement, would have lacked a legitimating principle, and their outcome would not have been accepted by the nation at large. On the other hand, had loyalty to the Emperor been primary, the Mito synthesis would have been rejected outright.

This ambiguity in the Mito philosophy concerning the central value of the Tokugawa ethic enabled groups with radically different orientations to accept variations of the same ideology. In the course of the Bakumatsu period this proved to be very useful to the anti-Bakufu han.\(^{16}\)

These statements indeed illustrate the ambiguity in the Mito philosophy; however, it must be noted that the new philosophy of

the later Mito school, as evidenced in the writings of Aizawa Seishisai for example, left little doubt that loyalty and filial piety were both oriented in the direction of the Emperor. In his Shinron, Aizawa elaborated on the theory of *kokutai* according to which all the Japanese people were related to the head or the imperial household. With the Emperor placed in the sacred position as head of the family, he became the supreme object and receptor of loyalty and filial piety.

This shift in emphasis of loyalty and filial piety from the daimyo to the Emperor resulted in part from a re-examination of the *taigi meibun* concept. Another factor was that during the late Tokugawa period, the concept of loyalty became much more impersonal than in previous periods, and consequently the practice of loyalty and filial piety became nothing more than a ritual.

Craig has noted that loyalty to the daimyo became "loyalty to a status rather than personal loyalty to an individual"\(^{17}\) and that it was this distinctive aspect which allowed for the shift in loyalty pattern.

Another collectivity of intellectuals which we have subsumed under \(^{12}\) consists of the supporters of the *kōbu gattai*, a concept which called for the unification of the civil authority represented by the Imperial Court and the military authority

represented by the Tokugawa shogunate. The reform policies of this group were more moderate than those advanced by the sonnō-jōi scholars. A very seldom noted characteristic of the kōbu gattai group was that its advocates consisted of two factions:

... those who aimed at the preservation and face-saving of the Bakufu and were hoping to broaden its base; and those who desired to restore the power of the emperor, but were willing that the Bakufu should continue if it proved its loyalty.

It is of some significance to note that the leading spokesman favoring the union of civil and military authorities was Sakuma Shōzan for it was Sakuma who saw the compatibility of the Confucian ethics and Western technology in order to solve the economic and military weaknesses of the country. His political philosophy was summed up in his famous slogan "Tōyō no dōtoku, Seiyō no Geijutsu" ("Eastern ethics and Western science").

If we list a few of Sakuma's disciples who became the leading intellectuals of the late Tokugawa and Meiji periods, we have Katō Hiroyuki, Katsu Kaishū, Nishimura Shigeki, Tsuda Masamichi, and Yoshida Shōin.

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19 Earl, op. cit., p. 194.

20 This expression has been translated in numerous ways. Dōtoku can be translated as morality, morals, or moral principles. Geijutsu literally means art, or the arts. Gakugei meaning arts and science has been used instead of geijutsu in some texts.
The final group of late Tokugawa ideologues to be subsumed under 12 of our categorization scheme consists of those intellectuals who advocated the complete absorption of Western civilization in order to enrich and strengthen their nation. These scholars of Western culture were not content with the mere adoption of Western technology and called for practical solutions to the economic and political problems through Western studies. Their emphasis on research provided the stimulus to establish a system of education based on rangaku or Dutch studies. Scholars such as Maeno Ryōtaku, Sugita Genpaku, and Takano Chōei represented this philosophy during the Tokugawa period while Fukuzawa Yukichi became its principal advocate during the Meiji period.

The consciousness of nationalism grew along with the shift in loyalty from the bakufu to the Emperor as demonstrated by the sonnō-ji movement. This development in nationalism was challenged by the scholars of the kōbu gattai theory and followers of Dutch studies. However, the final outcome was that as foreign pressure increased, so did the feeling of national consciousness. Those intellectuals who tried to solve the national problems through Western learning failed miserably,

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22 Ibid., p. 330.
either ending up in prison or died. The most significant result of the intellectual movements of the late Tokugawa period was that they had profound influence on the scholastic, intellectual, and political leaders of the subsequent generation. As John Whitney Hall has observed:

In the final analysis, it may well have been the growth of nationalism during the Tokugawa period which, more than any other factor, was to account for Japan's successful transformation into a powerful modern state.  

3. The Tokugawa System of Government

The component elements constituting the Tokugawa system of government have been represented by the symbols in Figure 1. Figure 2 on the following page portrays this feudal administration system. At the apex of the hierarchy was the Emperor and his Imperial Court which served as a symbol which legitimized the vast powers of authority exercised by the shogun. The bakufu proper was composed of a hierarchical structure consisting of the shogun and the principal bakufu officials. It has been reported by Totman that there were some two hundred and seventy-five different official positions in the bakufu bureaucracy and that these offices were mainly staffed by the vassal daimyō and liege vassals. Membership to the two policy making

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24 Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, p. 40.
EMPEROR

Imperial Court

- Envoys to the bakufu (buke densō)
- Kyoto Deputy (Kyōto shoshidai)
- Envoys to the Court (kinrizuki)
- Daimyo of Takamatsu
- Masters of Court Ceremony (kōke)

SHOGUN

(Principal bakufu officials)

Shogunal household members

Liege vassals

Fudai daimyo

Shimpan daimyo

Tozama daimyo

FIGURE 2

TOKUGAWA GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

29 Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, pp. 34 & 38.
bodies consisting of the rōjū (Senior Councilors) and wakadoshiyori (Junior Councilors) was by appointment. Only the heads of the shimpan and fudai houses were eligible. The most important bakufu offices are listed in Appendix A.

The maintenance of formal linkage between the Imperial Court and the bakufu was a cleverly disguised yet extremely important aspect of the Tokugawa administration in the performance of its legitimizing function. The transmission of information, official requests, and ritual greetings was conducted through a number of established channels such as the buke densō or envoys to the bakufu,26 the Kyoto shoshidai or the bakufu official in Kyoto, the kinrizuki or envoys to the Court, the daimyo of Takamatsu who "had the traditional function of journeying to Kyoto, after court appointment of a new shogun, to express Tokugawa gratitude,"27 and the masters of Court ceremony who "handled ritual shogunal pilgrimages to Kyoto or other places of imperial consequence, received the imperial envoys to the bakufu, and handled other ceremonies at Edo."28

At the following level of Tokugawa administration, we have the structure of the han government. Here the daimyo was located at the apex of the hierarchical framework followed by the tōyaku or gyōsho (Accompanying Elder), kahanyaku or karōshū

26 Totman, op. cit., p. 38. 27 Ibid., p. 39. 28 Ibid.
(Council of Elders), and the tōshoku or kokushō (Han Administrative Elder), all located at approximately the same level of power.  

Under these offices were the Edo Administrative Offices and the Han Administrative Offices. The Council of Elders at first dealt with all of the han problems though by the end of the Tokugawa period its function had become limited to advice alone. At the same time, the Han Administrative Elder "came to include virtually all of the officials continuously in residence in the han" and consequently the position became more powerful than that of the Accompanying Elder, which as the title indicates, "accompanied the daimyo, whether in Edo or in the han."  

Another component of the Tokugawa system of government consisted of the liege vassals. According to Totman, the bakufu officials were mostly liege vassals and they occupied "all but the top sixty or so positions, about 17,000 of them performing the government's military, administrative, ceremonial, and attendant function." Very little information is available concerning the relationship of the liege vassals to the bakufu though the following description of the liege vassals may be helpful in our understanding of the term.

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31 Ibid.  
32 Ibid.  
33 Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, p. 131.
Usually liege vassals are identified as bannermen (hatamoto) and housemen (gokenin), but during the later Edo period neither the meaning nor relevance of these titles was clear even to bakufu officials. The preferred definition indicated that liege vassals with a strictly theoretical (and functionally irrelevant) "right of shogunal audience" (omemie) were bannermen, whereas others were the inferior housemen. Another definition indicated that bannermen were liege vassals with a right to enrollment in the five elite guard units (ban), whereas housemen were those without this right.  

Totman in another place very cautiously indicates that much of his descriptive study is subject to modification as more information becomes available. For our purposes, it will suffice to note that the liege vassals in the bakufu consisted of "two fundamental categories, those with bakufu office and those without."  

The remaining sub-component of the Tokugawa administrative system contained under s of our conceptual schema indicated in Figure 1 is the shogunal household which consisted of a structural organization of lady officials. The household provided the means of access to the shogun because it was "composed of ladies drawn from the court aristocracy and from families in every major warrior group (liege vassal and vassal, related and outside daimyo)."

The various offices constituting the bakufu and han administrative structure as described briefly in the foregoing

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34 Ibid., pp. 131-32. 35 Ibid., p. 132.
36 Ibid., p. 37. 37 Ibid.
came to be known as the bakuhan system. These offices were vertically linked through a system of highly ritualized practices based on Neo-Confucian principles.

4. Post Restoration Elites.

With reference to Figure 1, we have three components represented by $I_1$, $I_2$, and $S$ in the post Meiji Restoration phase of our conceptual schema. For the purposes of this study, we need not elaborate on the dimensions of $I_1$ which represents those subjects who still maintained some degree of loyalty to the traditional feudal order as these people were now extremely few in number and rendered practically impotent by the dynamics of the Meiji Restoration. Consequently, we are primarily interested in the $I_2$ and $S$ components which represents the post Meiji intellectuals and the modern system of government respectively.

Category $I_2$ comprised two groups of intellectuals, the practical intellectual elites who were mainly concerned with the political process of the new Meiji bureaucracy and the literary intellectual elites who were active in the enlightenment movements such as the Meirokusha. The former group made an attempt to restructure the political, economic, and social framework by incorporating new ideas based on their knowledge of Western institutions. These practical intellectuals immediately realized the necessity to develop the home industry and
to raise the economy of the nation. The recommended course to follow was the complete adoption of Western technology and the restructuring of society by replacing the feudal regulations and han system with the more centralized prefectural form of government. Initial steps in this direction toward a more centralized form of administration occurred on June 11, 1868 with the promulgation of the Seitaisho which outlined Japan's first systematic plan for government.\(^{38}\) In addition to specifying local administrative procedures to be adhered to by the daimyō, the Seitaisho

\[\ldots\] obliged the daimyō to accept restrictions on their freedom of action by virtue of the fact that they now existed under a constitutional document promulgated by the emperor. Moreover, this document for the first time clarified in legal terminology the daimyō's local powers and authorities, and made provision for the central government to interfere in the affairs of the daimyō domain, primarily in fiscal matters. In other words, the local territories were now treated as though they were units of a central administration.\(^{39}\)

It was not until August 29, 1871, however, that the final step of the haihan chiken or "the abolition of the han and establishment of prefectures"\(^{40}\) was achieved. This achievement was realized largely through the leadership provided by Ōkubo


\[^{39}\text{Ibid.}\]

Toshimichi and Kido Kōin who were able to convince Saigō Takamori and his brother, Tsugumichi, Ōyama Iwao, Yamagata Aritomo, and Inoue Kaoru that the haihan chiken and the new political structure with centralized government control offered the best solution to deal with the han economic situation. It should be noted that the members present at the haihan chiken deliberations consisted mainly of the Restoration leaders who were able to influence the events of the time. A further indication of the caliber of these leaders can be seen in the composition of the Iwakura mission of December 21, 1871 that left for the United States and Europe on treaty matters. It was headed by Junior Prime Minister Iwakura Tomomi, Finance Minister Ōkubo Toshimichi, State Councilor Kido Kōin, Vice Minister of Public Works Itō Hirobumi, and Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Yamaguchi Naoyoshi.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to comment on the contributions made by all of the Meiji political leaders who formulated and exercised various policies. If we list a few of the more prominent political elites subsumed under I2, we have the elected members of the Sanshoku or the three offices of government composed of a nucleus of ten members. This oligarchy which was conceived by Ōkubo in an effort to concentrate the powers of authority in a smaller more workable group

\[^{41}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 144-45.} \quad ^{42}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 154.} \quad ^{43}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 130.}\]
than the Seitaisho government consisted of the following: Sanjō Sanetomi, Iwakura Tomomi, Tokudaiji Sanenori, Nabeshima Naomasa, Higashikuze Michitomi, Kido Kōin, Goto Shōjirō, Soejima Taneomi, Itagaki Taisuke, and Ōkubo Toshimichi.

The second group of intellectuals of the post Meiji Restoration period consisted of the literary intellectual elites who were instrumental in the formation of the Meirokusha or the "Sixth Year of Meiji Society," a literary association which encouraged Western studies through lectures and publications such as the Meiroku Zasshi (Meiji Six Journal). This group comprised those influential and progressive scholars such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Katō Hiroyuki, Mori Arinori, Tsuda Masamichi, Nishi Amane, Nishimura Shigeki, and Nakamura Masanao. Although this group consisted of prolific writers and was best known as a literary society, it is perhaps more appropriate to describe their collectivity of scholars following Irwin Scheiner as "a society of intellectuals interested in Westernization . . . to study Western knowledge in all its forms in order to see how applicable it was for Japan."
5. Meiji System of Government

The Tokugawa system of government was officially abolished on January 3, 1868 and in its place the Sanshoku or the three offices of the central government was established in Kyoto. It was a provisional government headed by the Sōsai or President and assisted by the Gijō or Senior Councilors, and Sanyo or Junior Councilors. Prince Arisugawa filled the position of Sōsai and the Gijō positions were filled by the leading daimyos of Aki, Echizen, Owari, Satsuma, and Tosa. The Sanyo was composed of the Restoration leaders Iwakura Tomomi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori, and Gotō Shōjirō. The aforementioned members formed the first government.

On April 6, 1868, the leaders of the new Meiji government outlined their fundamental policies in the Gokajō no Goseimon or Charter Oath. It was first drafted by Yuri Kimimasa, corrected by Fukuoka Kōtei and later re-drafted by Kido Kōin.


48. Ibid., p. xxxiv.

49. Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, p. 112.

The political leaders were greatly influenced by the works of the Meirokusha intellectuals, for example, Nishi Amane's Bankoku Köhō (International Law), Tsuda Masamichi's Taisei Kokuhōron (Public Law in the West), and Fukuzawa Yukichi's Seiyō Jijō (Conditions of the West). The parliamentary concept of the executive and legislative functions was already familiar to the Meirokusha intellectuals and Nishi Amane for one had proposed the following in his draft constitution:

He proposed a threefold division of power into what he called the rights of the court, the rights of the bakufu, and the rights of the daimyo. Legislative power was vested in two houses—an upper house composed of leading daimyo and a lower house made up of samurai from each han. Legislation would be submitted to the bakufu which would retain "executive power over the whole country." The bakufu would present laws to the court for sanction, but the court would not have the power to veto. In this way, after returning the government to the emperor through the principle of the separation of powers, the bakufu could protect its real authority.

The Seitaisho which was proclaimed on June 11, 1868 outlined the basic structure of the second organization of the government. The Seitaisho established the Dajōkan or Council of State which was divided into seven departments comprising the Deliberative Assembly which was divided into an Upper and a Lower House, Office of the Lords, President of the Council, and the Departments of Shinto Religion, Finance, War, Foreign Affairs, and Justice. The Upper House of the Deliberative Assembly was

composed of the Gijō and Sanyo of the former Sanshoku and it possessed the powers to establish or to amend the laws, to appoint individuals to high office, to conclude treaties, and to exercise judicial authority.\textsuperscript{54} The Lower House constituted the representatives of the feudal clans.

The actual functioning of the new government based on the formal structure and policies as promulgated in the Seitaisho did not meet the administrative requirements of a responsible government as envisaged by Ōkubo Toshimichi. Consequently, on June 22, 1869, Ōkubo managed to pass a law in order to elect the various officials and at the same time succeeded in reducing the number of members comprising the Seitaisho government.\textsuperscript{55} In this way, Ōkubo was able to obtain a more capable and responsible administration. The next major change in the political structure of the government occurred in 1871 with the announcement of the haihan chiken on August 29 which converted the feudal han structure into a modern prefectural system.\textsuperscript{56} It is not important to list the major reshuffling which occurred in the government posts at this time though it should be noted that other reforms did take place in the government organization:

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., p. xxxvi.
\textsuperscript{55}Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., p. 144.
On September 24, the Dajōkan, or Council of State system, was modified for more effective administration. It became the Seiin, or Central Board, composed of Sanjō as the Dajōdaijin, or First Minister; the Sadaijin, or Minister of the Left, left vacant at this time, Iwakura as Udaijin, or Minister of the Right; Saigō, Kido, Itagaki, and Ōkuma as sangi; all of whom formed the council of the Emperor. This council and the chiefs of the various departments met as the Uin, or the Board of the Right. The Sain, or Board of the Left, was composed of members nominated by the Emperor and served as a privy council. Soejima replaced Iwakura in the Gaimusho, or the Foreign Ministry.  

The changes which occurred in the central political structure of the government during the first three years after the Meiji Restoration is indicative of the rapid transformation processes in all sectors of early Meiji society. Further structural changes occurred throughout this period until the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution on February 11, 1889.

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57 Ibid., pp. 146-47.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The universe from which our sample of late Tokugawa leaders has been selected is the Asahi Jōnaru's *Nihon no Shisōka* (Thinkers of Japan) which lists sixty-seven of the scholars and statesmen of the Tokugawa and Meiji periods considered by the editors of the Asahi Jōnaru as the intellectual elite of that era. The editors of the Asahi Jōnaru have not specified the selection criteria in choosing the sixty-seven individuals. Repeated inquiries have failed to produce any response from them. Consequently it had to be assumed that the data for this study did in fact contain a representative sample of the intellectual elites. With this assumption then, the data categorization procedure employed for this study was as follows. Initially a dichotomous decision made by the coder separated the subjects into either the pre- or post-Meiji Restoration dimensions as shown in Figure 1. The inherent danger in such a simple coding scheme will become readily apparent when we consider that we are not really

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interested in simply whether our subject was born before 1868. This study is primarily concerned with his activities which may have contributed to the later adaptive and transformation processes of Meiji Japan.

The second step in selecting the appropriate sample subject was to decrease the sample size by eliminating those subjects whose main activities were concentrated in the post-Meiji Restoration period. The third step in our categorization procedure separated the residue subjects into sub-category 1, which represented those supporting the policies of the Tokugawa bakufu, or into sub-category 2, which represented those who supported the Emperor and those who advocated reform. To produce the representative sample of intellectual elites was a relatively simple matter because of the convenient cut-off point provided in the Nihon no Shisōka biographical listing between Sakamoto Ryōma (1835-1867) and Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901). Sakamoto Ryōma was assassinated on December 10, 1867 but had he lived, he might have emerged as one of the strategic leaders of the new Meiji government along with Ōkubo, Kido, Saigō, and Goto. In contrast, Fukuzawa Yukichi's fame commenced with his activities as a member of the Meirokusha. In the final analysis, the sample of intellectual elites consisted of the first five of those members listed in the Nihon no Shisōka, Takano Chōei (1804-1850), Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), Yokoi Shōnan (1809-1869), Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), and Sakamoto Ryōma (1835-1867). The data for this study will be derived from the
biographical material provided in *Nihon no Shisōka* by utilizing
the method of content analysis.

1. Content Analysis

The research procedure employed in this study to extract
the desired data from the biographical material relies on ex-
licitly formulated and systematic rules. This procedure for
assessing and extracting data from written material to which
the term content analysis is applied has a number of character-
istics. Ole R. Holsti has specified these characteristics as
follows:²

**Objectivity:** Objectivity stipulates that the analysis
must be carried out on the basis of ex-
plicitly formulated rules from the same
documents.

**Systematic:** Systematic means that the inclusion and
exclusion of content or categories is done
according to consistently applied criteria
of selection. This requirement eliminates
analysis in which only materials support-
ing the investigator's hypothesis are
examined.

**Generality:** Generality requires that the findings must
have theoretical relevance. Purely de-
scriptive information about content, un-
related to other attributes of content or
to the characteristics of the sender or
recipient of the message, is of little
scientific value.

²Ole R. Holsti, "Content Analysis" (Vancouver: Depart-
ment of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1966),
p. 3. (Mimeographed.)
The content analysis requirements of objectivity, system, and generality are the three main characteristics important to this study. The quantitative aspects of content analysis, that is, the non-frequency or frequency of occurrence of certain key sentences, have been omitted entirely. The main reason for this omission is that this study is not directly concerned in determining the exact degree of generalization.

In examining the biographies using content analysis techniques, there are a few advantages which should be noted. Because the data selection criteria employed in the analysis are already explicitly specified in the coding rules, other investigators can replicate the study. Moreover, when the examination of written material requires a team of investigators, the reliance upon explicitly formulated rules and well defined coding categories will decrease the margin of error in drawing inferences from the sample material. When standard data acquisition procedures such as conducting interviews and processing questionnaires cannot be employed either because of physical distance or historical separation in time, content analysis allows one to make an examination of written sources such as biographies, letters, and diaries.

2. Coding Content Data

The coding scheme employed to analyze the biographical material was designed taking into account the basic proposition that the adaptive and transformation processes of modern Japan
had their roots firmly established during the late Tokugawa period and that the impetus to social change was not solely concentrated in the post-Meiji Restoration period. The recording unit used throughout the data categorization process has been the sentence. This has meant that from the vast collection of descriptive data available from the biographical sources, each sentence containing the desired information as specified by the coding rules was extracted and assigned into pre-selected categories. The coding rules for each category are given in Appendix B.

The process of assigning the extracted data into the appropriate categories consisted of a dichotomization process whereby the data was recorded in either Category I or in Category II. Category I contained all those sentences pertaining to societal conditions affecting society as a whole whereas Category II contained those sentences specifically related to the societal conditions affecting the subject only. These categories are mutually exclusive so that each sentence cannot be assigned more than once within a given category-set. This procedure of assigning data into one or the other category does not place a very heavy burden on the decision maker and thus simplifies data categorization. Thus the coding procedure becomes a mechanical process whereby the extracted information is related to the constructs being dealt with in relation to the basic proposition. The overall categorization scheme employed in this study is illustrated in Figure 3 on the following page.
Subject

Category I
Societal Conditions affecting society as a whole

Category II
Societal Conditions affecting subject in particular

Category III
Formative influences on subject

Category IV
Subject's attitudes, orientations and basic concepts

Category V
Action taken by subject and realized

Category VI
Action taken by subject and partially realized

FIGURE 3
CONTENT DATA CATEGORIES
In the second stage of the categorization procedure, the data obtained from the initial dichotomization process was subject to further analysis. Data from Category II were separated into two sub-divisions, Category III and Category IV. Category III included those sentences which contained information linked to or associated with the formative influences on our subject's actions, attitudes, and orientations as well as the subject's basic concepts, guiding principles, and philosophy. At this stage of the investigation, information related to the distribution of the individual's manifest behavior under a given set of circumstances can be determined.

The final dichotomization procedure produced Category V and Category VI. Category V included those sentences which represented the course of action taken by the subject and which was directly implemented or realized during the modernization period. In contrast, Category VI included those actions taken by the subject and only partially realized. Here, it can be determined whether or not the action taken by the subject can be attributed to any given choice in alternatives available to the individual. From the content analysis as specified by the coding rules, the criteria used by the subject in taking the individual course of action as indicated in the biographies can be obtained.

The dichotomous-decision technique which has been employed in coding the extracted data provides several advanc-
The first advantage is that it simplifies data categorization because it allows the coder to focus his attention on a single decision before proceeding to the following category. At each category level, only a single decision is required. The second advantage occurs in the case where several processes of categorization require more than one judgement. Such a case can be given for example if the investigator is interested in say, the information extracted in Category II, Category IV, and Category VI of Figure 3. The logical progression in decision making greatly assists the coder in visualizing the resulting pattern of information. The third advantage is that in the event that a disagreement should arise between data coders during the coding process, it is possible to pin-point the precise location of the coding breakdown, thus permitting an immediate redefinition of categories or a modification of coding rules. This is a very important consideration especially if the study is to be replicated.

3. Methodological Problems

It has been stated previously that the universe from which our sample of late-Tokugawa leaders has been selected was

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Ibid., p. 81.
not derived from a specified source and that the selection criteria was not made explicit. For these reasons, the extraction of raw data from biographical sources for this study was carried out with the underlying assumption that the biographical material selected for the content analysis was representative of the pre-Meiji elites and that the information derived was an accurate representation of, or at least related in some way to, the orientations and attributes of the subject under examination. The relationship between the extracted data and the actual situational context cannot be accurately established.

Instead of relying on a pre-selected biographical listing for which not even the selection criteria is available, a much more acceptable procedure would have been to examine both biographical and institutional materials to produce a specified population from which a random sample could be selected. Biographical data can be derived from a variety of sources such as those compiled by Silberman. Institutional materials such as the listing of government officials, political figures, and offices held can also be obtained from the periodical tabulation of government offices.

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The interpretative categories selected for content analysis were not based on a specific theory purporting to explain certain aspects of social change as indicated in our biographical reference material. Although certain hypothesis can be suggested from the historical data, actual testing of the hypothesis would be difficult, if not impossible. In analyzing biographical material available in Japanese, an additional problem encountered was that of translating the Japanese source material into English. The translation problem encountered was one of translating according to the overall context of each paragraph of the biographical material or of translating each Japanese kanji or character literally into English. In this study, the main objective in translating the monographs available in Japanese for the selected sample of five subjects has been to reproduce as accurately as possible the original sense and style.
CHAPTER IV

STUDY SAMPLE: FORERUNNERS OF THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

With the frequent arrival of foreign ships to Japan between 1804 and 1853\(^1\), the bakufu was forced to re-examine its \textit{sakoku} (isolation) and \textit{kokubō} (national defence) policies. A concomitant development was that a small group of intellectuals who had been limited in their activities because of the rigid Japanese social structure challenged the issues confronting the nation. There is no other period in modern Japanese history like the late Tokugawa period in which ideas were related to consequent action.\(^2\) This fact is borne out in this chapter by the data extracted from the biographies according to the coding rules specified in Appendix B. The data obtained under Coding Category III presents the formative factors which influenced the ideologues. Data from Coding Category IV provides the material for the ideologue's attitudes, orientations, and concepts, and data from Coding Category V examines the structures of activities supportive of the ideologue's orientation. The purpose of this chapter is to present


\(^2\)Our study concerns the relation between orientation and behavior. The Tokugawa shogunate asserts that orientation and behavior are essentially the same. The ideologues challenged this notion and demonstrated that orientation and behavior are positively related.
the distillation of the important descriptive statements from the translated biographies and leaves out some information usually found in biographies. It is important to keep in mind that this chapter does not represent an attempt to write short biographies of the five ideologues selected for this study.

The sample subjects selected for the content analysis as representative of the 12 progressive intellectuals consists of Takano Chōei, Sakuma Shōzan, Yokoi Shōnan, Yoshida Shōin, and Sakamoto Ryōma. These ideologues can be subsumed under two generational categories. The first generation consists of those ideologues who were affected in some way by the Opium War (1839-1842). Takano Chōei, Sakuma Shōzan, and Yokoi Shōnan belong to this group. The second generation consists of those ideologues who were influenced by the events associated with the arrival of the Black Ships in Japan (1853) and those who played an active role at a time when Japan was transforming into a modern nation. Yoshida Shōin and Sakamoto Ryōma fall in this latter category and to give another example, the active members of the Meirokusha can also be included. Those who belonged to the first generation paved the way for the intellectuals of the following era and thus it can be said that they were the forerunners who influenced the intellectuals of the future both directly and indirectly.

1. Formative Influences

The formative factors affecting our subject as evinced
in the content data fall into four classifications:

1) Individuals with whom the subject made contact.

   Here the person influencing the subject acts as a transmitter of values.

2) Associational institutions, for example, family, schools, study groups.

3) Religious ideals, political ideals.

   Generally, ideas may be associated with events or may not be specifically linked to events. Those ideas arising because of certain events can be further categorized into issues ideas or identity ideas.

4) Dominantly mentioned social structure or the subject's social position in relation to others, for example, the subject's overlord.

General societal conditions may be included as the fifth classification and content data subsumed under Coding Category II may lend support. However, lacking the means to correlate environmental factors to the formative influences, such information will be utilized only if mentioned specifically by the biographer as a definite contributing formative factor. The forerunners of the transformation process selected for this study were all influenced in one way or another either through a single factor or through a combination of formative factors which will now be described.

The relaxation in feudal barriers and the circulation
of merchandise opened up new transportation routes between the capital and the outlying fiefs which provided these areas with information concerning foreign penetration into Asia. Disregarding his father's objection, Takano Chōei who was born in 1804 in a family of physicians decided to proceed to Edo for Dutch studies and he soon became a student and servant to Yoshida Chōshuku, a doctor to the Kaga han who was well known at this time for Dutch internal medicine. During the following three years, until his death in 1824, Yoshida imparted to Chōei the foundation for his later Dutch studies.

In 1825, the twenty-two year old Chōei moved to Nagasaki and entered the Meiryū Juku, a school administered by the famous Dutch scholar, Franz von Siebold. Meiryū Juku became the central meeting place for those Japanese students who expressed interest in the arts and sciences of Europe. It was from here that Western scientific knowledge radiated throughout Japan. Able young men between twenty and thirty were drawn to Siebold's school where they were able to acquire knowledge of European medicine and medical practices, botany, zoology, physiography, ethnology, and mathematics.

After a few years of studies at Meiryū Juku, Takano Chōei and his fellow students were able to establish friendly contacts with educated Europeans. This enabled the Meiryū Juku students to broaden their political outlook and made them realize for the first time the narrow mindedness of the Japanese government. This was vividly illustrated by the so-called
Siebold affair (1828) which occurred in the third year after Chōei enrolled. The incident arose when a set of maps of Japan based on an actual survey conducted by Inō Chūkei was loaned to Siebold. Siebold and the astronomer Takahashi Kageyasu made arrangements to print these maps in Holland but the bakufu intervened and eventually banished Siebold without giving any forethought to the fact that Japan could have made a great contribution to international scientific research. The bakufu proceeded to arrest those teachers and students who had been associated with Siebold. Chōei, believing that he too might be arrested, went to live with Hirose Tansō in 1829.

By November, 1830, Chōei had returned to Edo where he opened his own school at Kōjimachi, Kaizaka. It is believed that Chōei came to know the chief retainer of Tahara han, Watanabe Noboru (Kazan) in 1832 and they were probably introduced to each other by Ozeki Sanei, a fellow student at Yoshida Juku and Meiryū Juku. Chōei, Kazan, and Sanei met frequently for discussions and consultations and gradually the group came to consist of people with similar points of view. Because of the bakufu oppression, the group met under the pretext of paying respect to the old people calling it the Shōshikai ("The Old Men's Club"). Later, a formal organization of the same name was

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formed for the purpose of scientific research and practical experiment.

The Shōshikai was made up of intellectuals who had interest in the everyday civil administration of the bakufu and various hans, in particular the medium- and small-sized hans. These intellectuals who did not limit themselves to the study of medicine only were known as the Yamanote-ha. They were unlike the Dutch scholars called the Shitamachi-ha who were inclined to be absorbed in the special field of medicine only. The direction of Shōshikai activities is clearly indicated in Chōei's Tori no Nakune (A Song of a Bird) which he wrote later while in prison.

The present famine has continued for a long time and the people's hearts are filled with panic. Those who are rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The poor people are rioting here and there, and there is no security for anybody in this world. I deplore this situation.

Between 1833 and 1836, the farmers' riots were at their height and it became virtually impossible for the smaller hans to cope with the economic conditions. Chōei's contribution to alleviate the plight of the farmers was to bolster the agricultural sector of the economy. He published Kyōkō Nibutsu Kō (Two Articles for Averting Distress) explaining the cultivation, preservation and cooking of potatoes and buckwheat. Chōei also published Hieki Yōhō (Means Requisite for Averting Epidemics) which dealt with

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4 Ibid.
the prevention of epidemics. Chōei's studies and activities were clearly oriented toward the farmers.

There is no indication of religious philosophy playing a part in Takano Chōei's thoughts. In contrast, Sakuma Shōzan studied Confucianism and he deeply believed in Neo-Confucianism. Ever since Hayashi Razan had established the Neo-Confucian school in Japan, the Hayashi family had succeeded in maintaining Neo-Confucianism from generation to generation as the official subject of study (Seigaku) approved by the Tokugawa shogunate. Early in his youth, Sakuma left for Edo to study and became a disciple of Satō Issai, the principal at the Hayashi School, and a noted Confucianist and literary stylist. Because of his position as the principal of the Hayashi School, Satō was unable to criticize Neo-Confucianism but he came to believe in the Wang Yang-ming philosophy and began to expound its doctrine. In spite of Satō's teaching, Shōzan considered himself a true Neo-Confucianist and steadfastly believed in his conviction that Chu Hsi philosophy was the only true subject to study.

In 1838, Ōshio Heihachirō who was a follower of the Wang Yang-ming philosophy staged a rebellion and Sakuma thought that

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5Earl notes that Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) was a Neo-Confucianist of the early Ming period and that "Wang Yang-ming's viewpoint differed from that of Chu Hsi in several particulars, chiefly in placing more emphasis on action and intuition, less on pure scholarship. These teachings, called Yomeigaku in Tokugawa Japan, were considered heretical from the standpoint of orthodox Shushigaku." See David M. Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan, p. 23.
this demonstrated the evil of the Wang Yang-ming doctrines. After this time, Sakuma redoubled his efforts to revive Neo-Confucianism. With great confidence, he challenged eminent scholars to debates and took pride in refuting their arguments. Consequently, Sakuma held a superior and disrespectful attitude toward his teacher Satō, arguing that there is no master or servant in fencing and similarly there should be no teacher and student relationship when discussing the truth. Sakuma debated with Satō frequently without yielding at all. In the end, Sakuma stopped attending Satō's lectures on Confucianism.

The following was written by Sakuma in 1839 to his friend: "Ever since I came to Edo, I have searched for noted scholars in order to revive Seigaku (official studies) but I still cannot find anyone whom I can admire even in this great capital." This was one of the problems encountered by Sakuma, the spirited young Neo-Confucianist, but for the true believer of Neo-Confucianism, a very shocking event was about to take place. It was rumored that China, the country of "etiquette and music" was going to surrender under English gunfire. It was the news of the Opium War which had reached Sakuma. In October 1842, Sakuma expressed his shock in a letter to his friend Katō Hyōya:

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Incidentally, have you heard the rumour about the war between China and England? It cannot be said that it is absolutely true but according to recent news, it appears to be a very serious situation. Depending on the circumstances, this country of etiquette and music ever since the Tang dynasty may have to surrender to the barbarian countries of Europe which of course is a deplorable thing. If by chance a serious transformation should occur in China, our nation, being separated only by a narrow sea lane, will also be affected. Even now English ships approach our eastern coast from time to time. Although this fact is not reported to the shogunate by the people along the eastern coast, there is no mistake about it... in any event, it will soon become our own crisis.7

With the news of the neighboring country under English military pressure, Sakuma became seriously aware of the impending crisis. Ever since foreign ships had been reported at various locations off Japan, the intellectuals of the nation had gradually become aware of the foreign threat. The feudal lord Sanada who was a Councilor in the shogunate was appointed the Sea Defence Officer and consequently, Sakuma was chosen as an advisor to Sanada. Sakuma was well aware of the necessity to know the actual situation abroad. Sakuma had the good fortune to meet the noted gunnery expert Egawa Tarozaemon and as a result Sakuma enrolled in Egawa's gunnery school where he was fascinated by the knowledge of Western firearms. This was indicated in a letter to Kaneko Jōsuke in which he compared Western and Japanese gunnery technique:

Western gunnery is vastly different from that in our country. This is probably because our gunnery technique

7 Ibid., p. 24.
was improved gradually during a period of peace and relative tranquility. As a national characteristic, Western people are very skillful in inventing things. Furthermore, their gunnery technique was improved through the hands of many heroes during past wars. Therefore, if one compares gunnery based on practical use, our gunnery technique which has received abundant praise in Japan is nothing more than mere child's play.  

It should be noted that Sakuma pursued the study of new gunnery techniques principally from utilitarian considerations. It was this practical outlook which was the prime factor in initiating the transformation process of the late Tokugawa period. It was a point of view which disregarded the moral obligations, traditions, and customs of the conservative feudal society. Because of his practical outlook, Sakuma was able to understand the conditions brought about by the Opium War.

From the content data, the following contrasting features emerge between Sakuma Shōzan and Yokoi Shōnan. Sakuma had commenced his Dutch language studies when he was thirty-four years old, a prime age when he was already known as a great Confucianist. Sakuma had encouraged many young samurai to take up Dutch studies and he literally became a forerunner. In contrast, Yokoi Shōnan's knowledge of the West was gained only through his ears or through translations, that is, through secondary sources. Sakuma's ideas were based on his thinking

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8 Ibid., p. 25.
as a military scholar. Yokoi's concepts were the products of his own political consciousness. From the point of view of political administration, Yokoi questioned why Neo-Confucianism was not compatible with contemporary society, a society which was capable of developing industries as well as coping with such problems as ocean navigation. Consequently, he by-passed Neo-Confucianism altogether and formed his own philosophy. It should be noted that the special character of Yokoi's philosophy is found in his political outlook. He tried to accept Western ideology and culture by deepening his understanding of Confucianism, by altering the political, economic, and moral aspects of Confucian philosophy. Yokoi's ideology was formed under continued self-examination in order to solve those problems which occurred with changing conditions. The scope of these problems also enlarged with Yokoi's increased knowledge of the West and the resulting wider point of view.

Until Yokoi was thirty-one, he studied Confucianism at Jishūkan, the han school established by the lord of Kumamoto han, Hosokawa Shigekata. The Jishūkan was noted for its very high academic standards but the school gradually reduced itself to the research of trivial matters such that comic tanka were written:

Jishūkan was built in a tiny place and the students are trying to study minute details.
The vine leaves have so covered Jishūkan
There is no room for the Thirteen Chinese Classics.  

Under the influence of Akiyama Gyokuzan, who had contributed greatly to the establishment of Jishūkan and who was a noted writer, the school placed more emphasis on poetry and literature than on Confucianism. Yokoi was opposed to this trend and he made every effort to study history instead. At the same time Yokoi attempted to revive the academic traditions of Ōtsuka Taiya who was influenced by Yi T'oe-Ge, a Korean Confucianist. Ōtsuka's school was very similar to Yamasaki Ansai's Sakimon school. Later, Yokoi was attracted to the spiritual features of the later Mito school. In 1839 while Yokoi was studying in Edo, he met Fujita Tōko and they soon became very good friends, a relationship which was to last during their lifetime.

Ever since the establishment of the han school, going to Edo to study was a special prerogative available to only a few students. Although Yokoi received this honor, he became an alcoholic and eventually returned home a very disappointed man. Yokoi, who was once recommended to take up a post at Shogun Nariaki's office because of his extraordinary talent, was now

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10 Fujita Tōko and Aizawa Seishisai were the two most eloquent spokesmen for the later Mito school advocates of "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians" group.
confined to a very small six-mat room and was financially
dependent on his brother. Yokoi meditated for three years,
and scribbled on the lanterns, paper screens, and sliding
doors, passages written by Ch'eng Ming Tao.

The resultant philosophical orientations and concepts
will be discussed later as the main concern here is the for­
mative factors. It will suffice to note only that when Yokoi
re-examined his theories, he came across a book titled Kaikoku
Zushi which greatly stimulated his outlook. This book was
originally written by an American named Bridgeman and it was
titled Bankoku Chirisho ("World Geography"). It was trans­
lated into Chinese under Lin Tse-hsu's order. This trans­
lation plus other collections were edited and published in
1842 by Wei Yuan, a Chinese scholar. It underwent revision
in 1847 and in Japan, the scholar of Western learning Mizukuri
Genpo and the Chinese scholar Shionoya Taiun published this
revised version. It was probably this version of the Kaikoku
Zushi which Yokoi obtained.

After the Kaikoku Zushi came into Yokoi's possession,
he discussed its entire contents with his student Naitō
Yasukichi, a session which lasted over one hundred days. Yokoi
made a critical examination of his political viewpoint and in

11 Lin Tse-hsu was the Imperial Commissioner at Canton,
a man who possessed great power during the Opium War.
the end, he changed his mind to become a staunch supporter of the "opening the country" theory. Osatake Takeshi writes in his book *Ishin Zengo ni okeru Rikken Shisō* (Constitutional Ideas at the time of the Meiji Restoration) that it was not only Yokoi Shōnan who was greatly influenced by the Kaikoku Zushi but also Sakuma Shōzan, Yoshida Shōin, Hashimoto Sanai, and Yasui Sokken. It is interesting to note that Mizukuri Genpo published *Kaikoku Zushi* as one of his extra-curricular activities but at the same time he was able to play an extremely important role in the course of the Meiji Restoration.

It has been mentioned earlier that the ideologues selected for this study can be subsumed under two generational categories. The inter-generational linkage between the first and second generation ideologues can now be demonstrated in the case of Yoshida Shōin and Sakamoto Ryōma. Although Yoshida represented a new generation of intellectuals, the education which he received was still based on the traditional system of memorization. When Yoshida Shōin was still a child, he became the adopted son of Yoshida Kenryō, a master of military science to the daimyō Mōri. Yoshida was given a general knowledge of Confucianism and the appropriate military subjects in order to prepare him to become a teacher. Learning at this time was not for understanding but only to recite whatever was taught. As a result,

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when Yoshida was eleven years old, he was able to "lecture" in front of his daimyō the three arts of warfare as explained in the Bukyō Zensho (Book on Military Affairs) without making any mistake. Naramoto Tatsuya notes that both the Zokusen ni Yozuru no Setsu (Boarding the Barbarian Ship) which was written by Yoshida when he was eighteen years old, and the Senpō Rongi (Discussion on Military Strategy) which was written when he was nineteen lacked original opinion. Naramoto thus concludes that the method of study based on memorization probably continued throughout Yoshida's youth. 13

Gradually Yoshida took note of the various world conditions and he discerned the dimensions of crisis in the East. India was already a colony of the advancing powers of western Europe and China was threatened. The fact that the country which gave birth to Confucius and Mencius now suffered from the effects of the Opium War presented a grave problem to those scholars such as Yoshida who lectured on the teachings of these two great men. As long as Yoshida stayed in Hagi, the understanding of the world situation amounted to nothing more than a simple fear with no clear ideological understanding of the events taking place. Consequently, when Yoshida was twenty-one, he obtained the daimyō's permission to visit Hayama Sanai and Yamaga Bansuke in Hirado. From there, Yoshida proceeded to

Nagasaki and Amakusa learning many things along the way. For the first time in his life, he saw ships from Holland. Also, he was able to study and observe Takashima Shūhan's gun carriage. This was a military weapon which was so new that it was not even mentioned in the *Bukyō Zensho* (Book on Military Affairs) nor was it mentioned in the *Yamaga Ryu Gungaku* (Yamaga School Military Manual). It was also at this time that Yoshida managed to read the *Ahen Ibun* (The Collected Works on the Opium War) from which he was able to grasp a more authentic knowledge of the Opium War.

From what Yoshida had observed and heard in Nagasaki, the foreign countries must have appeared to be much more advanced than he had ever imagined. Now Yoshida questioned the value of the Yamaga school military studies which he had taught for twenty years. He began to read Western books on gunnery and also those books which provided him with a better knowledge of the rest of the world. Furthermore, Yoshida became interested in Japanese history and politics. He read Aizawa Seishisai's *Shinron* (A New Proposal) and was greatly influenced by it as indicated later in his political philosophy. For the very first time in his life, Yoshida was not forced to memorize and

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14 The *Shinron* presented the new Mito political philosophy which pioneered the work on the *kokutai* theory. It outlined the program for unifying and strengthening the nation as well as urging the Emperor to assert more authority and control over national affairs.
he read various books purely because of his own interest. Soon after his trip to Kyushu, Yoshida requested his daimyō to permit him to study in Edo in the conviction that there were true scholars in the capital. Because Yoshida wanted to start his study all over again, he enrolled as a student at Sakuma Shōzan's school. Yoshida and Sakuma differed greatly. While Sakuma always posed as a great man, Yoshida presented himself as a mere student. Sakuma was rather ostentatious and Yoshida very unsophisticated. Strangely enough, Yoshida was quite fond of Sakuma and was firmly convinced that there could not be a better teacher for him than Sakuma. Sakuma's teachings had vast influence on the formation of Yoshida's philosophy but the content data does not give a very good indication of either the degree or the extent of Sakuma's influence on Yoshida.

In the case of Sakamoto Ryōma, the content analysis data portrays a man which differs greatly from Yoshida Shōin. In 1853 when Sakamoto was nineteen years old and just three months before the arrival of Perry's ships at Uraga Bay, he went to Edo for the first time and enrolled at the Hokushin Ittōsai fencing school. The following year, Sakamoto returned to Kōchi and after spending two years there, went up to Edo again where as before he continued the art of fencing. He became acquainted with Takechi Zuizan who later became the organizer of the Tosa Loyalist Party. In 1858, Sakamoto returned to Tosa and had numerous discussions with fellow
countrymen like Zuizan. Gradually, Sakamoto became interested in politics.

In March 1860, Tairo Ii Naosuke was assassinated outside the Sakuradamon Gate by the Mito and Satsuma ronins and this news reached Sakamoto in Kōchi. The unconditional loyalty to the feudal authorities began to crumble gradually. Furthermore, in March of the following year, an upper-class samurai killed a lower-class samurai just outside the Kōchi Castle. This resulted in a direct confrontation which had been brewing between the two classes of samurai for many years. Sakamoto became one of the central figures among the lower-class samurai. He immediately began to revolt against the system of class status. Shortly thereafter in response to Takechi Zuizan's address, Sakamoto joined a group of loyalists supporting the sonno-jōi (Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians) movement along with many other townsmen such as Nakaoka Shintarō. Afterwards, Sakamoto became Takechi Zuizan's trusted reporter and consequently, Sakamoto travelled to Chōshū and the Keihan areas to feel out the situation in these areas.

In the meantime, the han government began to exert pressure on the jōi (Repel the Barbarians) faction. Sakamoto antagonized his han government and in March 1862 left the han. Now Sakamoto was free from the feudal restraints of the han and he became an independent loyalist. But for Sakamoto, the slogan "Repel the Barbarians" was still not beyond simple anti-foreignism and furthermore, "Revere the Emperor" was nothing
more than an abstract theory indicating the true relationship between sovereign and subject. It was however, a reform ideology which sprang out of the existing feudal system which governed the bakufu and han.

Sakamoto's ideology developed rapidly. Soon after he ran away from the han, a coup d'état was successfully accomplished in Tosa by the loyalists and this marked the highest peak for loyalist activities throughout the country. Only a few months after Sakamoto had abandoned his han to pursue his own philosophy, he became an enthusiastic admirer of Katsu Kaishū who was the leading advocate of the kaikoku (opening the country to foreign intercourse) party and also an executive of the bakufu navy. Sakamoto became Katsu's most faithful and talented follower and assistant. Sakamoto first met Katsu when he went to kill Katsu. Instead of killing him, Sakamoto came away very much impressed by Katsu's theories on ocean navigation and on the navy. While still in Tosa, Sakamoto had already realized the need for sea trade and commerce from the artist Kawade Shōryū who was knowledgeable on overseas conditions. Sakamoto had been under Katsu's guidance for about two years when Katsu's naval training school was ordered to close by the shogunate. During this time Sakamoto came into acquaintance with many great men of the day such as Saigō Takamori, Kido Kōin, and Yokoi Shōnan with whom Sakamoto was able to participate in lengthy discussions which enabled him to increase his knowledge of politics.
2. Subject's Attitudes, Orientations, and Concepts

One way of viewing the attitudes, orientations, and concepts advanced by the forerunners of the transformation is that they serve as a direct linkage between the general societal conditions and the later action or activity undertaken by the forerunner. From the content data, an inventory of the objects of orientation can be made and common determinants of orientation be found for the five ideologues selected for this study. These are indicated as follows:

1) Orientations to social entities, for example, the concern for the country, domestic, economic, and political problems.

2) Orientations to ideas and ideology, for example, the question of achieving a certain ideological objective considered either in terms of an immediate transformation or in terms of a long-range transformation.

3) Orientations toward personal conditions, for example, personal motivation as a factor in making statements to persuade others to a personal state of affairs.

The categorization scheme employed by Marion Levy to observe the various types of orientation was not used in this study.

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because of the difficulty in allocating the content analyzed data into the appropriate categories due to the lack of specificity in defining the various categories. The constituent indicators of attitude and orientation described in this study are assertions as originally specified by the ideologues and also descriptive statements expressed by the biographer. With the exception of the Takano Chōei biography, the content data reveals sub-orientations embedded in the major orientation. The major orientation in each instance is the main cause of an activity and the sub-orientations are the supportive orientations reinforcing the activity. The attitudes, orientations, and concepts of the five ideologues will now be described.

In addition to the specialized professional training received by Siebold's students, they also learned the importance of the spirit of humanism. In Takano Chōei's case, Siebold's concern for the welfare of human beings had substantial impact on the formation of Takano's orientation and attitude toward foreigners. This was manifested in 1825 when the bakufu promulgated the so-called Muninen Uchiharai Rei (Repel the Barbarians without any second thought). In a letter informing his birthplace of the arrival of the British ship Phaeton, there was no indication of a feeling of hostility. On the contrary, the letter indicates that Takano administered to the needs of the British seamen by supplying food and water. Furthermore, Takano was able to treat and cure those people who suffered
from scurvy and beriberi. Takano administered to the needs of the "barbarians" with a true spirit of international friendship. This may be attributed to two factors. First, Takano was brought up in an environment of doctors and druggists. Second, Takano was greatly influenced by Siebold's humanitarian outlook. This concern for the welfare of fellowmen is evident in the direction and attitude taken later by Takano concerning the Morrison incident which resulted in the Bansha no Goku (Imprisonment of the people involved in Western affairs). It should also be noted that while many of the students at the Siebold school concentrated on medical examinations and lectures, Takano administered to the needs of the common people.

Immediately after the Siebold affair of 1828, Takano went to live with Hirose Tansō to escape from bakufu oppression. At this time Takano became quite conscious of the national problems and while on a clinical and lecture tour of Hiroshima, Osaka, and Kyoto, Takano decided to sever his ties to the Takano family and Mizusawa han. He even allowed his fiancee Chigoshi to take another husband. In a letter to his relatives, Takano explained that although he had retired from his han, he had no intention to enter the service of another daimyo.¹⁶

¹⁶ The reasons for breaking away from the han are not specified in the content analyzed material; however, the biographer suggests that the main reason for giving up the family duties was to allow Takano greater freedom in his activities. This can be substantiated in part by examining Takano's later activities such as establishing a school at Kōjimachi as well as writing and translating numerous books.
Ten years later, at an assembly of the Shōshikai in the autumn of 1838, it was announced by Haga Ichisaburo the recording secretary that according to recent Dutch reports, the "Morrison" was expected to bring Japanese stowaways back to Japan. Haga reported that the bakufu was fully aware of the Dutch report and that after a consultative meeting held by the bakufu, it was decided to ward off the foreigners as promulgated in the Muninen Uchiharai Rei. Watanabe Kazan and Takano Chōei were much disturbed by such state of affairs. They had made an incorrect judgement and had assumed that the Morrison mentioned was the distinguished Chinese scholar of the time, Robert Morrison. Watanabe and Takano were deeply troubled by the fact that if Morrison's arrival was greeted by gunfire it might bring discredit upon Japan. The bakufu had also committed an error in reporting that the Morrison was a British ship when in fact it was an American ship. Although they had mistaken the name of a ship with that of a person, Watanabe and Takano's ability to associate just the name "Morrison" to the English missionary in China is a very good indication of the extent of their knowledge and consciousness in international affairs.

It was a very serious offense to comment on bakufu policies but Watanabe wrote in secrecy the Shinkiron which criticized the narrow mindedness of the bakufu. In contrast to Watanabe's secretness, Takano disclosed his critical views in his Yumemonogatari (A Dream), a dreamlike account of conditions
in England:

In Western countries, the common people are respected. If a human life is saved, it is a great virtue. Now if Morrison and the stowaways are turned away from our country, the whole world will look upon us as a heartless country. If I may be allowed to express my humble opinion, I believe our nation may suffer loss in prestige.17

When the Confucian teacher Hayashi Jussai read the Yume Monogatari, he commented that anyone who writes such a book should be executed. His second son, Torii Yōzō led the investigation to determine the author of the book. Takano was arrested and after a short trial, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. The proceedings of the trial give some indication of the cool manner in which Takano conducted himself:

Judge: The book Yume Monogatari, which is a description of conditions in England and English customs, is full of minute details. Have you ever stowed away to England?

Takano: Japan has a law which prohibits going abroad. How could I go?

Judge: Then the description which is given in the book is a fabrication which you have thought out by yourself just to fool the people.

Takano: We have not heard of anyone ever going to heaven, yet there are many astronomers. We have not heard of anyone who has gone down into the earth but there are geologists. Furthermore, England and Japan are both under the same heaven and we are both on the same earth. Thus it is not reasonable to say that one does not know anything about England just because one has not been there. This is something that can not be seen by the naked eyes of the common people. If one has penetrating eyes, it is possible to see

things thousands of miles away, just as clearly as the fingerprints of one's hands ... 18

Takano was not quite finished when he was angryily silenced and condemned.

From the content data, there is no indication that Takano was engaged in promoting a specific concept or philosophical outlook which could have been adopted later by Meiji society. In contrast, Sakuma Shōzan's advocacy in adopting Western culture became the guiding principle of Japan during the Meiji period. He was one of the great thinkers of the day, one of the forerunners of the transition period who not only advanced new concepts but also took the initiative to put those new ideas into practice. As was quite common for the ideologues of this transition period, Sakuma formed new concepts while he fought with the contradictions, compromises, and other difficulties which resulted from the clash between the old and new ideas.

Sakuma Shōzan's formula was "Ethics of the East, Science of the West." He asserted that by absorbing the best of both the East and West, the independence of Japan and the fulfillment of national power could be achieved. "Ethics of the East, science of the West" was often quoted because it indicated the way in which Sakuma and modern Japan acknowledged and absorbed Western culture.

18 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
One prevalent point of view at this time was that Japan was able to achieve national power quickly as well as to reach a high level of industrialization through the introduction of Western technology only, that is, without the morals and ethics of modern Western society which gave rise to modern Western culture. Opposed to this point of view were those who criticized the introduction of Western technology only. The critics argued that the preservation of traditional ethics made the Japanese people very weak when confronted by those in authority. It was further criticized that the modernization of Japan was literally in external appearance only. These criticisms certainly contain some element of truth when one looks back at the transformation processes of Japan since the Meiji era.

The route to modernization taken by Japan was perhaps foreseen by the forerunners as the most natural route to proceed ever since Japan made her initial contact with modern Western culture. Sakuma differentiated the culture of the East and the West as "the ethics of the East, the science of the West" and acknowledged Western culture only in terms of technology. The following ideas advanced by Sakuma are considered to be most significant: that Western technology can be learned without destroying the Confucian ideological system, that to study Western learning did not mean that one went over to the side of the barbarians but such study supplemented Confucian teachings. Sakuma proved this himself and encouraged many samurai who lived amidst the "Confucian ethos" to study Western learning without
fear. His motto, "Ethics of the East, Science of the West" indicated his attitude toward Western culture. Sakuma was convinced that the principle of Neo-Confucianism which formed the general framework of his ideology can be linked to the gorisei (rationality) of natural science. This formed the theoretical basis for Sakuma's study of scientific technology. Some of the faults in Sakuma's ideology were later criticized by Nishi Amane but regardless of whether Sakuma was right or wrong in his theory, the greatest historical significance was that his way of thinking opened up a new road to Western science without losing confidence in the Japanese cultural and ideological system.

Sakuma stated that "to learn about the enemy's weapon and then to employ it for our own use has been the first consideration in military tactics ever since ancient times." True to his own words, Sakuma studied Dutch, tried to reprint Harmo's dictionary, conducted chemical experiments, and made firearms. He also encouraged Yoshida Shōin to go abroad. "To overcome the West, we must know the exact situation in the West" was one of the regulations which Sakuma extracted from a tactics book written by Sonshi.

The fact that China succumbed to Britain was an unbearably shocking event for those people who cherished traditional

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Confucian ideals. But Sakuma was able to acknowledge this outcome as an inevitable result of impractical ideas on paper submitting to practical ideas. Sakuma was guided by a point of view which disregarded moral obligations and customs of the traditional society, and consequently he was able to sever his ties from Confucianism. For Sakuma who was previously convinced that Neo-Confucianism was the only true subject for study (Seigaku), a new world opened up before him. In a letter to his friend Kato Hyōya in October 1842, Sakuma wrote that:

To discuss military tactics is a part of a scholar's work and of course Confucian doctrine deals with military subjects. However, if there is no possibility for a scholar to become a General or a Commander, there is absolutely no use for Seigaku after all.20

Sakuma's academic interest was now conditioned by utility. He believed that research and absorption of Western technology and the establishment of an effective national defence policy must be considered. In this way, "Ethics of the East, Science of the West" became the basis for Sakuma's academic theory.

As mentioned previously, the year 1842 became the turning point for Sakuma's new philosophy. This resulted mainly from his keen awareness of the impending crisis caused by the Opium War. The change from Neo-Confucianism to Western learning did not mean a complete negation of Confucian morality itself but Sakuma had hoped for the co-existence of both Eastern ethics

and Western science. Sakuma's basic principle was to instruct his disciples in both gunnery techniques and Confucianism. For Sakuma, enlightenment in Western science meant enlightenment in the political world as well which was heretofore unknown to him. Previously, Sakuma clarified all problems in terms of moral obligations based on Neo-Confucian philosophy which he had regarded as the most essential element in politics. The existing Tokugawa disciplinary order based on rigid class differentiation placed severe restrictions on one's conduct, choice of words in conversation, and in the expression of one's innermost thoughts. Neo-Confucian influences were even manifested when dealing with political matters. Political outlook influenced by Neo-Confucianism was held not only by Sakuma but by all the people, a phenomena which existed for over two hundred years during the shogunal system of government. As a result of China's defeat in the Opium War, Sakuma was able to learn the importance of power politics. His new political outlook centered around his devotion to Western science and he paid particular attention to its utilitarian aspects. Sakuma's outlook on political power was one necessary step toward the advancement of modern political theory. Through his understanding of power politics, Sakuma was able to stay away from both the principle of exclusionism which was advocated by the radical Loyalist group and the "open the country" group (kaikoku-ha) supported by the shogunate which had neither the foresight nor the independence in making decisions.
In 1857 Sakuma was implicated in a stowaway incident attempted by one of his disciples, Yoshida Shōin. As a result, Sakuma was confined to house arrest in Matsushiro for nine years. Just prior to his release, Sakuma expressed his views on changing conditions in a letter to his feudal lord:

The arts and sciences as well as the technical skills of the whole world are gradually developing and each nation is changing its military forces and policies in accordance with new conditions. This should be considered the will of heaven. How does Japan intend to cope with the changing situation? The policy of closing the country to foreign intercourse cannot be imposed when lacking national strength as well as the capacity to enforce such a policy. The arts and sciences and technology will develop mutually reinforcing one another. Consequently, if our country is completely closed to foreign intercourse, our national power will decrease as well as our ability becoming inferior to other countries. Such being the situation, it seems difficult to fulfill the original intent of the isolation policy.21

Sakuma’s comments were based on the sakoku-jōi (closing the country and anti-foreign) policy, but in essence he advocated foreign intercourse.

In an earlier letter submitted to his feudal lord (1842), Sakuma commented on the barbaric nature of the foreigners:

Originally, the barbarians did not consider such things as morality, humanity, and justice and were quick to take advantage of any situation. Thus once they are militarily armed and find that they are at an advantage at any given time, they will attack us even though they bear no grudge against us.22

Sakuma’s primary aim was not to criticize foreign countries in terms of their lack of morality. He wanted his lord to be aware

21 Ibid., p. 29.  
22 Ibid., p. 30.
of the true nature of international politics. Sakuma considered it very rude to refer to foreign countries as barbaric and in a memorial presented to the shogunate in September 1862, he wrote that:

If we refer to Korea or to the Loochoos as barbaric, even they would not let such insults go unchallenged, not to mention the greater nations of the West. Referring to foreign countries as barbaric would only indicate our rudeness toward them.²³

It is evident Sakuma was not a mere supporter of the anti-foreign exclusion policy. Sakuma had already understood the cold realities of international politics ten years prior to the actual confrontation with a foreign power in 1853. In a memorial titled Kannō kō ni noborite Tenka Tōkon no Yōmu o Chinzu (Petition to the Lord concerning important affairs of the day for our country) which was submitted to his feudal lord in November 1842, Sakuma made an attempt to introduce modern political thought and procedures to Japan. He outlined the various steps to cope with the anticipated demands by the great powers to open up the country to foreign intercourse. The important point to note here is that Sakuma developed his political theory boldly based on kokka risei (national reasoning) and broke away from the strict adherence to Confucian philosophy.

Sakuma Shōzan was convinced that Japan's national defence system required immediate reinforcement. He thought that this could be achieved by producing firearms, building ships, and

²³Ibid.
by training a navy, all based on Western technology. The con-
stuction of large Western style ships had always been prohi-
bited by the shogunal government's sakoku (closed country)
policy. Sakuma's views concerning this were as follows:

We cannot follow the rules strictly when the whole
nation is faced by a crisis. Our predecessors enforced
such a strict law because they thought so much about the
moral obligations for the coming generation. We cannot
alter the restrictive rules merely because we feel like
changing them. These regulations were originally drawn
with the nation's future in mind. However, if we are to
amend a law because of future considerations for our
country, we need not hesitate at all in doing so. We will
obey the existing laws during normal times but we must
follow a special law during times of national emergency.
Such flexibility in thinking has been exhibited in both
China and Japan since ancient times.24

Sakuma's dynamic way of thinking had great impact on his fol-
lowers and produced a new breed of leaders who adapted to
changing conditions and formulated new laws.

Although both Sakuma Shōzan and Yokoi Shōnan emphasized
that Japan be opened to foreign intercourse, the difference in
the formulation of their philosophical concept naturally resulted
in an ideology of different content. The ultimate objective of
Sakuma's "opening the country" theory was that "in the end, the
five continents will all become part of the Japanese empire.
Japan will become the supreme ruler of the world."25 In order
to match the great powers of the West, Sakuma had hoped that
Japan would soon come to possess equal powers and eventually
surpass the Western nations.

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24 Ibid., p. 31.
On the contrary, although Yokoi fully recognized the necessity of possessing military strength, he questioned why Japan should remain idle as a wealthy and powerful country. Yokoi's ultimate objective was to uphold the cause of justice and humanity all over the world and he was convinced that this was the most important political principle to be considered. In one of his essays, he criticized the advocates of the *Yamato damashii* (Spirit of Japan) as follows:

They are illiterate and resourceless. Such a spirit only makes the people selfish. . . . Ah, how deplorable limited thinking has led the nation and her people to proceed in the wrong direction.  

Furthermore, Yokoi criticized the great Western powers for their self-interest only and stated:

Japan should equally love and be generous to all countries and by following the law of heaven and earth, Japan will eventually change the other nations' self-centered way of thinking. We must show the world that we can co-exist peacefully.

He stressed that Japan as an example of virtue should take the initiative to achieve universal brotherhood. Yokoi subordinated the self-centered principle of nation building and sought to establish a nation based on a universal principle through which he hoped to achieve lasting international peace.

*Yokoi's kaikoku-ron* (opening the country theory) originated in part from his thoughts concerning economics. He

\[26\text{Ibid., p. 42.}\]  
\[27\text{Ibid.}\]
asserted:

The people's business cannot be conducted without trade and because communication means had been closed throughout the country for a long time, Japan had become a very poor country. To raise the people's standard of living and to make them happy, Japan must end its isolation policy, reform the feudal system of sectional authority, unify the nation, and encourage trade with other great powers.²⁸

Concerning domestic politics, Sakuma and Yokoi were both opposed to lingering internal conflicts and they supported the kōbu gattai (unification of Imperial Court and the shogunal government) theory. Sakuma called for a more reinforced shogunal authority. Yokoi's views on the kōbu gattai theory was based on the premise that the bakufu could be reorganized into a more suitable form of government for Japan. Yokoi criticized the Tokugawa bureaucracy:

Tokugawa government policies were made for their own conveniences and for a private form of government. They never endeavored to make Japan a peaceful nation and they never considered the welfare of the people. There were neither political nor religious aspects incorporated in their policies.²⁹

In 1862, Yokoi made a suggestion to the shogunate that in order to solve the national defence crisis, the shogun should go to the capital in Kyoto and personally apologize to the Imperial household for all the discourtesies of the past. Yokoi was already aware that domestic problems had to be solved first and national unity achieved prior to solving international problems. He believed that there was no other way to change the

²⁸ Ibid. ²⁹ Ibid., p. 43.
feeling of anti-foreignism held by the Loyalists. Yokoi further suggested that the shogunate abolish some of the control policies such as the sankin-kōtai system (alternate attendance at the capital) which was established to prevent the daimyō from becoming too powerful, and to channel the money thus saved into the national defence budget. To a certain extent, Yokoi met with some positive results. But Sakuma asserted that there was an unwritten law concerning class status which had to be observed and he opposed reforms which called for relaxed daimyō controls. He stressed that to govern the nation with supreme authority was the best way to comply with the true spirit of Raiki. Sakuma's authoritarian way of thinking could not have easily produced the concept of democratic politics. In contrast, Yokoi adopted the parliamentary system and advocated a representative type of government. The foundation for Yokoi's political ideas was based on the principle that politics should be everyone's concern.

In the *Kaigun Mondōsho* (Questions and Answers concerning the Navy) which Yokoi wrote at the request of Katsu Kaishū, Yokoi emphasized that:

As one's training advances, do not appoint officers from other positions or from less qualified personnel to supervise the trainees. The trainees should be assigned to various tasks on the warship and they should be appointed to higher positions depending on their talent and ability. Even a man of humble origin should be appointed as a Captain of a warship or as a General of the army. This means that

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30 Collection of essays on etiquette, one of the five Chinese classics.
even a man of noble birth cannot be promoted if he has no ability. Thus we must discontinue all of our dull conservative customs concerning class status.\(^{31}\)

Yokoi's ideas were put into practice at the Kobe Naval Training Center which was supervised by Katsu Kaishū, and had considerable influence in forming the personality of important Meiji Restoration forerunners such as Sakamoto Ryōma. Yokoi was fully aware that Japan's domestic problems stemmed from the fact that the hans were concerned only about themselves which resulted in a loss of a unified public feeling for the nation. Without a unified national opinion, it was impossible for Japan to become involved in international matters. The concepts advanced by Yokoi were very similar to Sakamoto Ryōma's plan for a unified nation (Zenkoku gōdō no keikaku). Yokoi Shōnan was the intellectual leader of the kaikaku-ha (Reform Party) which was composed of such people as Matsudaira Shungaku, Katsu Kaishū, Ōkubo Ichīō, and Sakamoto Ryōma. The Meiji Restoration, after much struggle, finally occurred along the lines of an unified nation favored by Yokoi.

Yokoi's theories concerning sonnō-jōi (Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians) and his economic theory based on Confucian political ideas corresponded to the concepts of the late Mito school. He was very careful to maintain his distance from the spiritual features of the Mito school which he found to be rather vague. Rather than to oppose the political ideology of

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\(^{31}\) Minamoto, "Yokoi Shōnan," p. 44.
the Mito school, Yokoi managed to strengthen the Confucian political elements of the Mito school. By 1855, Yokoi's ideological standpoint was firmly established and for this reason, he decided to part company from Nagaoka Kenmotsu who had been his colleague for a very long time.

Shogun Yoshinobu and his administration wanted to appoint Yokoi to a post in the shogunal government and an offer was made to Yokoi in 1862. This was the first time for the shogunate to invite a tozama-han warrior to a government post which was usually shrouded in deep secrecy. But Yokoi refused the offer and remained critical of the Tokugawa political system. The main ideological problem which confronted Yokoi was how to maintain the independence of Japan without losing the spirit of Confucianism. This indicates that although Yokoi possessed many modern ideas, he was unable to escape from the influence of Confucian political ideology. To cope with this problem, Yokoi was forced to enlarge his political outlook and he returned to the political philosophy of Yao and Shun. Yokoi did not mean to revive the ideology of ancient times. He merely commented that if Yao and Shun were alive today, they would not hesitate to introduce Western guns, warships, machinery, and technology to Japan. Yokoi believed that the political ideas of the Yao-Shun era could be adapted to establish a government organization to cope with current needs.

To Yokoi, man was just a little star in a vast universe and man's main duty was to serve the will of heaven. He believed
that men will be able to understand each other only if sincerity prevailed. Yokoi personified heaven the "Heavenly Emperor" and consequently, his deep interest in Christianity was created. Many of his disciples like the students from the Kumamoto Western Studies School later became Christians. Yokoi's comments on peace, his program for an unified nation, and his anxiety concerning the disruption of unity within the han, were all based on his view of life which emphasized that people must live together in harmony.

The so-called spirit of humanism was noted in both Takano Chōei and Yokoi Shōnan. Takano was concerned with the welfare of fellow human beings and he administered to their needs at the local level. This did not require any intense ideological or philosophical exercise whereas in Yokoi's case he sought answers to national and international problems. His suggestions and comments were very often in terms of philosophical formulations. The political concepts advanced by Yokoi reflected his sincere faith in fellowmen to live in harmony.

In Yoshida Shōin, the humanitarian characteristics manifested in Takano Chōei and Yokoi Shōnan are also brought to one's attention by the content data. The data indicated that while in prison, Yoshida was encouraged by his sister Chiyo to read the Kannonkyo (Sutra of Avalokitesvara) but he wrote back to his sister saying that it was first necessary to firmly establish one's own mind. He presented his own views on
Buddhism and explained the Buddhist doctrine to Chiyo using familiar examples. This indicated Yoshida's love and concern for his sister. More generally, Yoshida was also concerned with the status of women. In contrast, Sakuma Shōzan completely disregarded the humanistic aspects of women and regarded them as desirable to produce descendents for great men such as himself. Sakuma's views are revealed in his Jokun (Don'ts for Women) as well as in his letters. To take another example, Yanagawa Seigan did not even allow his wife to approach his death bed saying the "brave men do not die in the hands of women and children." Yoshida's outlook toward women gained prominence because of the harsh opinions expressed by others.

In addition to the problems associated with the status of women, there was another social status problem. This concerned the eta and hinin. Both the eta and hinin were considered as non-people and were socially positioned outside the four designated social classes. They held the most despised occupations and were firmly anchored at the bottom of society. Yoshida viewed the problems associated with the status of women and the eta and hinin social status question as essentially the same problem. He maintained very close contact with the socially

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33 The term "eta" is generally used to mean "outcaste". The term "hinin" which literally means "non-people" was also used during Tokugawa times to designate a special outcaste status. See George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, Japan's Invisible Race (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 4.
deprived people and advanced numerous proposals to overcome some of their difficulties.

Yoshida's attempt to go abroad failed and he ended up in Noyama Prison in Hagi. While in prison, Yoshida demonstrated his special ability to teach. He met many prisoners who had been imprisoned for over forty years and who had practically no hope for the future. Yoshida organized the Mencius reading circle, Haiku club, and calligraphy groups. These prisoners who were knowledgeable in haiku or those who were skilled in calligraphy became the teachers. Yoshida himself became a student in these classes and the virtues of man which he emphasized were refined. Those who were in great despair gradually began to regain their self-confidence and Yoshida believed that if he were to stay in prison for a few more years, he might be able to produce a few great men.

To analyze Yoshida's political philosophy, his fundamental ideological attitude must be considered. For Yoshida, his ideology was neither a mere pretension nor the means to make his name known to the world. The political concepts advanced by Yoshida had to have practical value and eventually he came to question the value of the Yamaga school military studies. He made a suggestion to his daimyō stressing that the country must not blindly follow the military studies of one particular school. Yoshida emphasized the need to examine the military technology of the West and also the need to know more about foreign countries in general. While a student at the Sakuma
Shōzan school in Edo, Yoshida began to take greater interest in Confucian philosophy. In one of his writings, Yoshida asserted that:

Those who pursue military studies should also have an understanding of Confucian morals because military studies itself is a weapon and violates the principle of Confucian morals. Thus if one desires to have an element of humanity and justice in the military, one must have some knowledge of Confucianism.\textsuperscript{34}

Yoshida made a thorough review of his studies and he realized the superficiality of his education. Yoshida's re-examination of Confucianism confused him further because it conflicted with the military principles of the Yamaga school. With the arrival of Perry's ships in 1853, Yoshida became completely absorbed in the study of English and in Western affairs. His great determination to study about the West resulted in an unsuccessful attempt to go abroad and he ended up in Noyama Prison.

While in prison, Yoshida shifted his interests once again and he began to concentrate on domestic politics. The central aspects of Yoshida's political thought encompassed the true relationship between the sovereign and subjects, a political philosophy based on the Mito school. In a discussion with the Confucian scholar Yamagata Taika, Yoshida stated that his real aim in life was "to revere the Emperor, to repel the barbarians,

\textsuperscript{34}Naramoto, "Yoshida Shōin," pp. 63-64.
to respect the national polity, to encourage loyalty, and to support men of talent." Yoshida examined the political problems of the feudal system and he came to favor a governing body composed of both royalty and samurai. He did not attempt to subordinate or negate statements concerning early Japanese mythology as did the Neo-Confucianists. Yoshida declared that:

"It is not good to argue about Japanese mythology. To doubt it is not permissible. Every road in the Empire has continued on since the time of God. Thus all servants to the Emperor should believe in it."

Yoshida considered the sovereignty of the Imperial Court in Kyoto as divine authority and the political powers of the bakufu as absolute. In other words, Yoshida advocated a strong, centralized, authoritarian government with the Tokugawa bakufu as the nucleus.

Prior to Perry's arrival, Yoshida's nationalistic orientations consisted of two opposing thoughts, the political philosophy of the Tokugawa bakufu, and the religious philosophy of the Imperial Court. This occurred because Yoshida did not have the time to differentiate between the two ideas before the exertion of foreign pressures. When Yoshida met Utsunomiya Mokurin in 1855, Yoshida still supported a unified form of

37 It was Mokurin who eventually convinced Yoshida that loyalty to the Emperor was the supreme duty. Earl notes that Mokurin's "contribution to Shōin's thought went beyond mere
government and he violently criticized Mokurin's theory which advocated the overthrow of the shogunate. But by 1857, with the defeat of the Hitotsubashi Keiki faction in the issue concerning the shogun's successor, Yoshida's political philosophy changed and he became a strong supporter of the "overthrow the shogunate" faction. This sudden change occurred because Yoshida experienced shock and disappointment when the bakufu arbitrarily signed the commercial treaties with the United States. Yoshida wrote a letter to his close friend Gesshō, a Buddhist priest, as follows:

Recently, I have completely stopped my patriotic lamentation and have not commented on current affairs. Therefore, I have received your displeasure. Looking at recent happenings, however, I cannot remain silent any longer and now I do not care at all for either life or death, praise or censure, and I will dedicate myself to the Empire. Yoshida discarded the ideas which he held until this time and searched for new political concepts with his followers such as Takasugi Shinsaku, Kusaka Genzui, and Sayo Hachijūrō (Maebara Issei).

Shifts in political orientation and attitude have been demonstrated by the content data for Sakuma Shōzan, Yokoi Shōnan, support or encouragement, and effected a fundamental change in attitude toward the Emperor, which fixed Shōin's course for the remaining years of his life." See David Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan, pp. 128-29.

38 Naramoto, op. cit., p. 67.
and Yoshida Shōin. Similar shifts in political ideology were also manifested by Sakamoto Ryōma. Sakamoto's ideological stand can be viewed as follows. First, as definitely feudalistic, then a slight change which advocated the "Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians" theory, and finally the abandonment of the "Repel the Barbarian" slogan and the search for an ideology for a political reformation. Sakamoto's realization that Japan must communicate and trade with other nations occurred directly as a result of Katsu Kaishū's influence. For Sakamoto, "To be loyal to the Emperor" was no longer an abstract feudal theory of true relationship between sovereign and subject. Sakamoto advocated the transfer of political authority from the bakufu to the Imperial Court and the establishment of a new form of government. His new political concepts were known as the Senchū Hassaku (Eight Point Plan). The Senchū Hassaku did not advocate the restoration of the Imperial regime based on the taigi meibun (highest duty of all) slogan. It differed from the feudalistic bakuhan system and became the first step of a general plan which recommended the establishment of an unified nation under a centralized political authority.

At this time, the general opinion among the intellectual elites favored the restoration of the Imperial regime. Furthermore, the various forms of constitutional government in the Western countries had been known. It was not surprising, therefore, that the forerunners of the transformation made an attempt to establish a political system based on public opinion and to
institute some form of a deliberative organ. It was also emphasized that military preparations for the army and navy should be expanded. A few forerunners like Sakamoto even suggested that sea trade and commerce should be encouraged. For the first time, the various ideas and suggestions were drawn up to form a general plan for the actual realization of the transformation process and not as mere theories or recommendations.

Sakamoto's aim was to unify the nation in a way completely different from the existing bakufu and han system. If it became necessary to overthrow the bakufu through the use of force to achieve the main objective, Sakamoto did not mind in the least but he wanted to proceed as peacefully as possible. To institute a suitable plan for the restoration of Imperial power, Sakamoto worked with both Gotō Shōjirō and the buryoku tōbaku (overthrow the bakufu with arms) faction. In observing Gotō's support for the Kaientai and Sakamoto's cooperation with Gotō, the tōbaku faction of Tosa believed that Sakamoto was being deceived by the crafty Gotō and that Sakamoto himself had betrayed his friends. Even Sakamoto's own sister Tomeko believed so. In response to his sister's reproaches, Sakamoto stated:

It will be much better to serve the country with the power of 24000 koku rather than by merely leading five or seven hundred men commanded by myself only. Most humbly, I should think that you are unable to consider such matters in depth.\(^{39}\)

\(^{39}\) Inoue, "Sakamoto Ryōma," pp. 81-82.
This was Sakamoto's true philosophy, not to be an idealist who adhered to theory only, but to be the practical politician who adapted himself to circumstances.
3. Activities Supportive of Subject's Orientation

The content data categorization scheme produced statements of societal conditions and statements of attitudes and orientations which served as a link between the general societal conditions and the ideologue's activities. Activities in response to societal conditions affected not only the ideologue himself but the whole society. For this study, the content data statements which referred to activities were limited only to those acts as specified by the biographer. The sequence of action statements were analyzed with special reference to the statements of societal conditions.

From the inventory of activities undertaken by the forerunners of the transformation, the content data revealed that the ideologues were originally persuaders who advocated reform and change and not violators of the existing rule and order. With the gradual shift in orientation from the present situational orientation to an innovative orientation which occurred with the intensification in societal conditions, a concomitant shift in the sphere of activities occurred. Those activities which stemmed from the ideologue's orientation and shifts in orientation will now be described.

Takano Chōei's interest in academic matters covered a variety of subjects. His treatises included *Miyako Meisho Guruma*, *Kyoto no Shaji Annai no Honyaku* (A Review of Famous Places in the Capital; Translation of a Guide to Kyoto Shrines
and Temples), Nantō-shi (The Southern Islands), a description of the Ryukyu Island based on Arai Hakuseki's Nantō-shi, Hana ya Eda o Takumini Bin ni Sasu Hō (How to place flowers and branches in a vase), Kujira oyobi Hogei ni tsuite (Whales and Whaling), and Taisei Jishin Setsu (Western Theories concerning Earthquakes). With the intensification in societal conditions, Takano shifted his activities to deal with more relevant matters.

The financial burden placed on the daimyos during the mid nineteenth century by the sankin kōtai system forced them to go into deeper debt. At the same time the taxation scheme based on han rice production did not cope with the inflationary trend mainly because of the poor rice harvests of 1832-1833. The plight of the impoverished daimyos affected the samurai, artisans, merchants, and farmers. Takano Chōei was one of the few scholars of the time who directed his studies and research activities to solve some of the agricultural problems. He realized the urgent need to reinforce the agricultural sector of the economy and consequently, in his Kyūkō Nibutsu Kō, Takano explained in detail the cultivation, preservation, and cooking of potatoes and buckwheat.

It might be misleading to give the impression that Takano was interested only in agricultural problems. Because he was a Dutch scholar of various interests, it is extremely difficult

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40Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, p. 18.
to specifically indicate activities supportive of any one particular orientation. Takano's realization for the need to introduce modern Western philosophy was expressed in his *Kenbun Manroku* and his political views were disguised in his *Yume Monogatari* (A Dream). It was the *Yume Monogatari* which resulted in Takano's imprisonment for life at Demma-chō Prison. When appointed head of prisoners, Takano made an attempt to form a movement to seek his own release but it ended in failure. On June 30, 1844, a fire broke out in prison and during the evacuation, Takano escaped.

The content data did not indicate any large collectivity of people who assisted Takano while he was a fugitive. Takano travelled throughout the country but he eventually made his way back to Edo. Takano went into hiding at his friend doctor's home and often assisted in medical duties. At this time, Takano even managed to teach a little pharmacy. Later Takano moved to Uwajima and at Date Muneshiro's suggestion, Takano changed his name to Itō Zuikei. With a young attendant, two servants, and a maid at his disposal, Takano devoted his undivided attention to Dutch teaching and translation.

Takano's Dutch translations were mainly concerned with European military strategies and tactics. He designed and offered instructions in the construction of a military fortress at Fukaura, Goshokura Daiba, but regardless of the comparative success which Takano achieved at Uwajima, he was unable to find satisfaction in his work. Takano moved from place to place and
finally returned to Edo once again. Takano used acid to disfigure his forehead to disguise his facial features and he changed his name to Sawa Sanpaku. He lived in disguise for six years and continued his medical care and translation activities. In the end, Takano committed suicide when confronted by police officers and Takano killed one of them during the ensuing attack. Takano was forty-seven years old at the time.

As previously noted, the content data did not reveal that Takano Chōei promoted a specific political or economic concept. Consequently, the biography lacked data which referred to activities in the political and economic spheres. In Sakuma Shōzan's instance, there is supportive evidence that Sakuma did his best to absorb Western culture and technology. Sakuma studied Dutch, tried to reprint Harma's dictionary, conducted chemical experiments, experimented with firearms, and even encouraged one of his students to go abroad in direct violation of bakufu orders.

Sakuma's belief in the superiority of Western military technology led him to adopt Western science and to instruct all his students in Western gunnery techniques. In an memorial titled Kannō koni noborite Tenka Tōkon no Yōmu o chinzu (Petition to the Lord concerning important affairs of the day for our country), Sakuma expressed his concern for a national defence system. The content data did not give any indication of consequent activities associated with the memorial.

Sakuma Shōzan and Yokoi Shōnan both asserted that Japan should be opened to foreign intercourse but the difference in
in the formulation of their philosophical concept naturally resulted in an ideology of different content and consequently, diverse activities. In 1841, Yokoi Shōnan organized a study group called Jitsugaku (practical studies) which consisted of Nagaoka Kenmotsu, Shimotsu Kyūya, Hagi Masakuni, and Motoda Eifu. These scholars were critical of the existing educational system which was devoted to trivial matters. Two years later, Yokoi opened his own private school and named it the Shōnan-Dō. The first student to enrol was Tokutomi Sohō's father. Many of the students were sons of wealthy farmers such as Tokutomi, Yashima, and Takezaki.

After Yokoi became an advocate of the kaikoku-ron (Open the country theory) and firmly established his ideological standpoint, he parted company with Nagaoka Kenmotsu. Yokoi's emphasis on the functional and practical aspects of his kaikoku-ron and keizai-ron (economic theory) gained the attention of the han authorities and he was appointed to lecture at Meidokan, the Echizen (Fukui) han school. Yokoi participated in other important han duties between 1859 and 1860 which enabled him to make practical use of his economic theory concerning production and trade. This was carried out in co-operation with his disciple Mitsuoka Hachirō (later known as Yuri Kimimasa). When Matsudaira Shungaku took office in 1862 as the first president of political affairs in the shogunal government, Yokoi became his advisor and consequently, had some of his political and economic reform suggestions accepted. Yokoi was so highly appreciated by the
Shogun Yoshinobu and his administration that the shogunal authorities wanted to appoint Yokoi to a position of trust in the government, but he did not accept the offer.

In December 1862, Yokoi was attacked by an assassin. He managed to escape but the incident resulted in his recall back to Higo han which forced him to abandon his political plans. For Yokoi, the opportunity to realize his political ambition existed for a short time only. In 1863, Yokoi lost his stipend and samurai rank after he was charged with neglecting the samurai code. Confined to his home in Nuyamazu village from 1864 to 1867, Yokoi missed the most important period for the preparation of the Meiji Restoration. During this period Yokoi Shōnan the philosopher was born and he made an effort to compile his philosophical concepts in a book titled Tengen (Heavenly Words) but this never materialized.

Like the other intellectual elites examined in this study, Yoshida Shōin expressed his political and philosophical views in the form of treatises and memorials. In his Tōzoku Shimatsu (A Story of Revenge), Yoshida revealed his concern for the socially deprived. Later he influenced one of his disciples to form an organization called the Toyūtai (group of courageous people), an association composed of oppressed people. Yoshida's Kōmō Yowa demonstrated his interest in a variety of subjects related to national affairs. Other famous essays were the Noyama Goku Bunkō (Noyama Prison Manuscripts), Jigi Ryakuron (Brief Discussion of the Duty of the Times), and Jiseiron (On the conditions of the Times).
Vast political changes occurred throughout the world during the 1850's. To keep abreast of the times, Yoshida obtained the daimyō's permission to visit Hirado where he planned to study. In Hirado Yoshida met Hayama Sanai who made his collection of Western books available to Yoshida. Yoshida's interest in Western affairs dated from this time and he became absorbed in books such as Seiyōjin Nihon Kiji (Japan as seen by a foreigner), Oranda Kiryaku (Brief Report on Holland), Angeria-jin Seijo-shi (Character of the British people), and Taisei Rokuwa (Stories of the West).

Soon after his trip to Kyushu, Yoshida proceeded to Edo for further studies but dissatisfaction with his studies eventually forced Yoshida to seek relief from the traditional ways of study. With a friend Miyabe Teizō, Yoshida decided to make a trip to the Tōhoku area. As Yoshida did not have the daimyō's prior approval, he was charged with violating the han law and deprived of his stipend.

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41 Earl, op. cit., p. 114.

42 The content analyzed data extracted from Naramoto's biography indicates that Yoshida obtained the daimyō's permission to proceed to Edo to study and that he had enrolled as a student at Sakuma Shōzan's school. Earl's biography indicates that "it was decided (by the hanshu) that Shōin should spend some time in Edo" and Yoshida became a pupil of Yamaga Sosui first and then two months later, Sakuma's pupil as well. See Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan, pp. 115-16.

43 Naramoto's biography simply states that Yoshida and Miyabe made a trip to the Tōhoku area. A very detailed account of this same trip is given by Earl. Apparently the Tōhoku trip was under consideration for several months by Yoshida Shōin,
Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853 greatly stimulated Yoshida and he became completely absorbed in the study of English. Yoshida decided that he must make an attempt to go abroad to study. He proceeded to Nagasaki with the hope of boarding one of the Russian warships which had entered Nagasaki harbor, but by the time Yoshida arrived, the ships had departed. Yoshida returned to Edo and his second attempt to go abroad was made with Kaneko Shigenosuke. Their efforts to board Perry's ship anchored in Uraga Bay ended in failure and resulted in a short period of confinement in Demma-chō Prison in Edo. Yoshida was sentenced to house arrest and placed under the surveillance of his han government. The Chōshū han administration reversed the initial sentence and Yoshida was confined to Noyama Prison.

Although Yoshida's attempt to go abroad has not been adequately documented in the biography selected for this study, abundant detail concerning Yoshida's prison activities is available. Activities such as the Mencius reading circle, haiku associations, and calligraphy groups were all quite diverse in scope and did not appear to be supportive of activities associated with any particular orientation except that they did indi-

Miyabe Teizō, and Ebata Gorō. Yoshida and Miyabe were "interested primarily in broadening their knowledge of Japan" and a date was set for the trip. Yoshida's written permission to travel was not received in time but he decided to keep his promise to his friends, disregarding the existing law. Earl states that "Shōin for the first time took the bold step he was to repeat more than once and in more serious contexts: that of placing personal duty above law." See Earl, op. cit., pp. 116-17.
cata Yoshida's concern for his fellow prisoners. When Yoshida was released from prison, so were the other prisoners. Among them was Tominaga Yūrin who later became a substitute lecturer at Yoshida's Shōka Sonjuku. These activities illustrate the effectiveness of Yoshida's prison education and his humanitarian attitude to look for some virtue in all kinds of people.

Yoshida was held in Noyama Prison for approximately one year. After his release, Yoshida was confined to house arrest for a period of three years during which time he became increasingly aware of national problems. Yoshida's association with Mokurin and Umeda Umpin and the shogun's continued disregard for the Emperor finally aroused Yoshida's anti-bakufu sentiment. Yoshida did not mind resorting to violence when it became necessary. When he heard that the Mito samurai were planning to assassinate Ii Naosuke, Yoshida declared, "Then

44 The following account of the Shōka Sonjuku is given by Earl. Shōka Sonjuku was a small school established in 1856 by Yoshida's uncle Kubo Gorōzaemon. About a year later, Yoshida was given the entire teaching responsibility and the school operated under his supervision. The school curriculum consisted of Yamaga school courses including military drill and gunnery exercises. Yoshida's teaching method consisted of both formal and informal lectures. His graduates from Shōka Sonjuku consisted of many Meiji Restoration political elites including two prime ministers, Prince Itō Hirobumi and Prince Yamagata Aritomo; a councillor, Kido Kōin; and cabinet ministers and ambassadors, such as Count Yamada Akiyoshi, Viscount Shinagawa Yajirō, and Viscount Nomura Yasushi. See Earl, op. cit., pp. 130-32.
I myself will kill Manabe Akikatsu." Yoshida's views became so violent that even his most devoted disciples could not follow him.

Activities indicative of Sakamoto Ryōma's political orientations will now be described. Sakamoto's realization that Japan might be strengthened through the utilization of Western techniques moved him to become Katsu's disciple. Moreover, Sakamoto recruited many similarly oriented people from Tosa to Katsu's naval training school in Kobe. Former acquaintances whom Sakamoto had enlisted for Katsu's service were all poor but talented men of common status such as Nagaoka Kenkichi, a doctor trained in Western medicine, Shingū Umanosuke, a tinner, and Kondō Chōjirō, a baker. Sakamoto served under Katsu's guidance for about two years until October 1864, when the shogunate ordered Katsu's school closed.

When Katsu was dismissed from his post as Naval Commissioner in 1864, he made adequate provisions for his former

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45 Naramoto, op. cit., p. 68. Manabe was a member of the shogun's Council of Elders and he was sent to Kyoto to stop loyalist activities. His efforts resulted in the imprisonment of Yoshida's friend Umeda Umpin and other anti-bakufu supporters.

46 Earl's account differs from that given by Naramoto. Earl asserts that numerous plots to assassinate bakufu officials were discussed and when Yoshida learned that the Mito samurai were planning to assassinate the Tairō (chief minister of the shogun) Ii Naosuke, Yoshida decided that the Chōshū warriors should select as their victim Manabe Akikatsu. Earl concludes by noting that Yoshida's request for han assistance to carry out this plot resulted in his final imprisonment and execution. See Earl, op. cit., pp. 134-36.
employees to find employment elsewhere. Sakamoto's knowledge of sailing ships enabled him to head an organization called the Shachū ("the company") which was assisted financially by Satsuma han. The members of the Shachū included Nagaoka Kenkichi, Kondo Chōjirō, and Mutsu Munemitsu.

The Shachū which was later known as the Kaientai (Naval Auxiliary Force) rented ships from Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa hans for naval training purposes. It also functioned as a school for the study of international public law and general conditions abroad. The Kaientai operated similarly to a marine transportation organization and it acted as an intermediary in trade between the han and foreign merchants. The Kaientai also had plans to develop Hokkaido. One other Kaientai activity occurred in 1866. The steamship "Shachū" under Sakamoto's command went to the assistance of the Chōshū forces engaged in the sea battle against the bakufu forces in the Shimonoseki Straits.

Sakamoto managed the Kaientai and its associated activities all by himself but required Nakaoka Shintarō's assistance to establish the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance. Sakamoto also took an active role in guiding public opinion within Tosa han to overthrow the bakufu. Yet, without hesitation, Sakamoto allied himself with Gotō Shōjirō the bakufu undersecretary and tried to have the bakufu transfer its power of authority to the Imperial Court. At this time, Gotō was a target of great hatred by Sakamoto's rōnin companions and they named Gotō as the chief instigator who sup-
pressed the Loyalist Party in Tosa. Gotō was also blamed for condemning Takechi Zuizan to death.

In addition to all these activities, Sakamoto made arrangements to obtain printing-types in order to publish Bankoku Kōhō (International Law). Furthermore, Sakamoto participated in the difficult negotiations with the staff members of the British Ministry in Japan to clear up the suspicion that a member of the Kaientai had killed two English sailors in Nagasaki. When the Kaientai ship collided with a Kii han steamer, Sakamoto had to draw on every possible source of knowledge concerning modern sea traffic regulations to place the responsibility of the accident on the Kii vessel.

Sakamoto's plan to transfer the political authority from the bakufu to the Imperial Court and to form a new unified nation were incorporated in the Senchū Hassaku (Eight Point Plan). He discussed his plan with Gotō Shōjirō and others in June 1867 while on board a steamship between Nagasaki and Osaka. The Senchu Hassaku recommended that:

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47 Kiyoshi Inoue notes that the Senchū Hassaku resulted from discussions held by Sakamoto and others and was formally written up by Nagaoka the Kaientai secretary. This illustrates that Sakamoto's political ideology reached fruition through the wisdom of many people. Sakamoto could not read Western books in the original language but the members of the Kaientai interpreted them for Sakamoto. Thus Sakamoto came to understand the general principles of modern democratic politics. See Inoue, "Sakamoto Ryošma," p. 86.

1. Political power of the entire country should be returned to the Imperial Court, and all decrees should come from the Court.

2. Two legislative bodies, an Upper and a Lower house, should be established, and all government measures should be decided on the basis of general opinion.

3. Men of ability among the lords, nobles, and people at large should be employed as councillors, and traditional offices of the past which have lost their purpose should be abolished.

4. Foreign affairs should be carried on according to appropriate regulations worked out on the basis of general opinion.

5. The legislation and regulations of earlier times should be set aside and a new and adequate code should be selected.

6. The navy should be enlarged.

7. An Imperial Guard should be set up to defend the capital.

8. The value of goods and silver should be brought into line with that of foreign lands.

In view of the state of the nation in these days, it is vitally important to announce these eight points to the countries of the world. If these policies are carried out the fortunes of the Imperial Country will change for the better, national strength will increase, and it will not be difficult to achieve equality with other countries. It is our prayer that we may base ourselves on the path of enlightenment and virtue and that the land may be renewed with great resolution.

During the latter part of September 1867, Sakamoto made elaborate arrangements with Kido Kōin the leader of Chōshū han.

*49 In Chōshū, general public opinion called for the overthrow of the bakufu by use of force. See Inoue, "Sakamoto Ryōma," p. 80.*
to remove Gotō from the forefront of state affairs. Furthermore, Sakamoto maintained close liaison with Itagaki Taisuke the leader of the buryoku tōbaku faction of Tosa han and in preparation to overthrow the bakufu, Sakamoto purchased thirteen hundred rifles and had them delivered to Tosa by the Kaientai.

After the restoration of the administrative powers to the throne, at least in name only, Sakamoto immediately prepared various drafts for the new government organization with such people as Toda Uta (later known as Ozaki Sanryō).  For the new government, Sakamoto favored a regime composed of:

- **Kanpaku** (the chief adviser to the Emperor): to consist of one person to head the national administration.
- **Gisō** (the officers who served the Emperor and who relayed the Emperor's orders to the noblemen and others): to consist of several persons to head the various ministries of the government.
- **Sanyo** (Cabinet Consultants): to consist of several persons to occupy positions next to heads of the ministries.

Sakamoto's plan indicated that the kanpaku should be chosen from among the noblemen and it implied the selection of Sanjō Sanetomi. The gisō members were to be selected from among Imperial Princes, nobles, and barons, and the sanyo members from the talented nobles, daimyōs, and common people. To fill

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50 Toda Uta was a vassal to Sanjō Sanetomi the leader of the noblemen faction to overthrow the bakufu.
these posts, Sakamoto had a number of people in mind. For the *gisō* positions, Sakamoto thought of the feudal lords and nobles of Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa and for the *sanyo* positions, such well known figures as Saigō Takamori, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kido Kōin, Gotō Shōjirō, and Yokoi Shōnan. Members of the Tokugawa family and bakufu officials were not indicated.

The three system proposal consisting of the *kanpaku*, *gisō*, and *sanyo* took form as the *sōsai*, *gijō*, and *sanyo* of the first government after the successful coup d'etat which abolished the shogunate. The appointments were made almost according to Sakamoto's original plan.

With the realization of the new government in sight, Sakamoto visited Yuri Kimimasa in Echizen on November 26, 1867. Sakamoto wanted Yuri who was a well known expert on financial matters to formulate a financial policy for the new government. Before asking Yuri, Sakamoto had suggested to Gotō that if they move the *kinza* and *ginza* (Edo mint) to Kyoto and deprive the bakufu of the right to mint new coins, then the bakufu might be forced to surrender even without fighting.\(^{51}\) Sakamoto's pains-taking effort to formulate a financial policy for the new

\(^{51}\) A slightly different interpretation of this passage is rendered by Jansen which is as follows: "If," he suggested, "we move the Edo mint to Kyoto and control the currency, then even though the office of shogun remains the same in name it will actually be nothing we need to fear." See Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration*, p. 328.
government indicated how hard Sakamoto tried to enable the Imperial Court to become the central authority both in name and in reality.
CHAPTER V

EVALUATION: DATA ANALYSIS AND THE THEORETICAL SCHEMA

The method of content analysis aided us in the establishment of categories for the analysis of biographical material. The selection of various dimensions such as coding Category III (formative influences), Category IV (attitudes, orientations, and concepts), and Category V (structures of activities) suggested the model shown in Figure 4 to study the linkage between the causal forces and the observable variations.¹

\[\text{Causal Forces} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Linkage} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Observable Variations} \]

\[= \text{societal conditions} + \text{formative influences} \quad \rightarrow \quad = \text{attitudes, orientations, concepts} \quad \rightarrow \quad = \text{structure of activities} \]

Feedback

Phenomena (social, economic, political)

FIGURE 4
CAUSAL FORCES-OBSERVABLE VARIATIONS LINKAGE MODEL

In this model, the underlying assumption is that the link between the observable variations and the causal forces is the ideologue's attitudes, orientations, and concepts. This

¹I am indebted to Professor Earnest Landauer for pointing out the general significance of this type of analysis.
assumption is supported by the evidence obtained in this study. The method enabled us to study the degree of feedback\(^2\) from the structure of activities to societal conditions which to some degree changed those societal conditions. By feedback, we mean those activities which resulted in some change in either the causal forces or in the linkage mechanism. In terms of our data, feedback refers to the ideologue's activities which resulted in some change in either the societal conditions or in the ideologue's attitudes, orientations, or concepts.

The causal direction and feedback suggested by the model is illustrated by the geographic mobility patterns of the ideologues. Those patterns were characterized by the movement of individuals and not of collectivities through the social structure. In Takano Chōei's case, the establishment of new transportation routes between the capital and outlying fiefs gave Takano the opportunity to leave his home town of Mizusawa, Mutsu, to study Dutch in Edo. Because of his studies in Edo and later trip to Nagasaki, Takano became concerned for social and economic inequalities and commenced his writings on agricultural improvement.

Sakuma Shōzan presented a geographic mobility pattern similar to Takano's. Sakuma left his birthplace of Shinshū Matsushiro and studied Neo-Confucianism in Edo. As an eloquent

spokesman for Neo-Confucianism, he tried to account for the social and economic problems in terms of Neo-Confucian philosophy. Sakuma's reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism led to new concepts which combined the "Ethics of the East" and the "Science of the West." His academic interest was now conditioned by utility: whether given fields of endeavor held out any practical solutions.

The causal direction indicated by the data on societal conditions which resulted in Yokoi's political orientations and political philosophy also illustrates the utility of our method and subsequent model. Yokoi's concepts took form as a result of his own political consciousness. His attempt to accept Western ideology and culture through a better understanding of Confucianism eventually forced him to become a supporter of the "opening the country" theory. Yokoi's ideas influenced his followers who performed important functions in the course of the Meiji Restoration. One of the more positive examples of feedback is illustrated by the concepts advanced by Yokoi and later adopted by Katsu Kaishū at the Kobe Naval Training Center.

An example of causal direction and feedback in terms of the forward or inter-generational linkage is provided by the teacher-disciple pattern of Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin. Yoshida's movements from Hagi to Hirado, Nagasaki, and Amakusa reflect even stronger geographic mobility. His resultant shift in orientation led Yoshida to obtain the daimyō's permission to study in Edo where he enrolled in Sakuma Shōzan's school. As
evidenced by our data, Sakuma's dynamic way of thinking had a profound impact on his followers like Yoshida Shōin. Yoshida took greater interest in philosophy, and he questioned the military principles of the Yamaga school. This led him to the study of English and Western affairs and his unsuccessful attempt to go abroad.

A further example of forward linkage is provided by the teacher-disciple relationship of Yokoi Shōnan, Katsu Kaishū, and Sakamoto Ryōma. It has been indicated that the concepts advanced by Yokoi were adopted by Katsu at the Kobe Naval Training Center. Sakamoto became Katsu's disciple, and our data reveals both Katsu's and Yokoi's influences on Sakamoto. Yokoi was aware that domestic problems had to be solved first and national unity achieved prior to solving international problems. Sakamoto also held similar views as indicated in his plan for a unified nation (Zenkoku gōdō no keikaku). Yokoi suggested that the shogun should proceed to Kyoto and personally apologize to the Imperial household for the past discourtesies. This was the most logical first step to be taken to achieve national unity. In contrast, Sakamoto took a stronger stand. He advocated the transfer of political authority from the bakufu to the Imperial Court and he called for the establishment of a new form of government. This illustrates the important role played by the first generation ideologues who more or less paved the way for the second generation ideologues to advance much bolder concepts. The inter-generational link also supports the theory
advanced by Stinchcombe that "... insofar as institutions have effects, and insofar as they are social phenomena themselves, these processes give rise to infinite self-replicating causal loops."\(^3\)

The causal structure as evidenced by the data supporting the relationship between the causal forces (societal conditions, formative influences) and observable variations (structure of activities) gave rise to patterns which tended to be similar although the structural processes themselves varied from ideologue to ideologue. These patterns were characterized in each instance by the presence of supportive data which reflected the ideologue's concern with domestic conditions and by the emphasis placed on the need to know more about Western science and technology. The patterns were further characterized, with the exception of the Takano Chōei data, by data which indicated the importance of national unity. Yokoi Shōnan and Sakuma Shōzan both advocated a coalition form of government consisting of the members of the Imperial household and the shogunate. At one time, Yoshida Shōin also favored a coalition to provide a strong, centralized government centered around the Tokugawa bakufu; later he supported the overthrow of the shogunate. In his Senchū Hassaku Sakamoto Ryōma supported a plan which called for a unified nation under a centralized political authority. The

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resulting patterns all manifested shifts in political orientations and attitudes. The degree of shift became more pronounced with each new generation of ideologues as reflected by the much bolder concepts they advanced and implemented.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The data obtained from the content analysis of five biographies supported our proposition that the adaptive and transformation processes of modern Japan established their roots during the late Tokugawa period and that the impetus to social change was not concentrated solely in the post-Meiji Restoration period. The research design employed for this study turned out to be much better than the material available for the content analysis. Its methods revealed certain instances of the biographers' biases and also the lack of pertinent information to support statements made by the biographers. In such instances, I have made footnote references so that the reader may make the necessary comparative study with the references cited.

The method of content analysis allowed us to make substantive statements concerning the link between the causal forces and the ideologue's structures of activities. Our data revealed that geographic mobility gave rise to social mobility which in turn resulted in shifts in attitudes and orientations.

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1 Dore notes that "There is little basis for quantitative assessments of the pattern of mobility during the initial transition from the feudal to the new occupational hierarchy." See R. P. Dore, "Mobility Equality, and Individuation in Modern Japan," in R. P. Dore (ed.), Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 114. I am indebted to Professor Dore for making the manuscript of the book available to me before publication.
The method also suggested a model which illustrated both causal direction and feedback and supported Stinchcombe's theory of self-replicating loops. This was evidenced by the dynamic impact which the late Tokugawa ideologues had on their followers. Further proof can be obtained by examining supportive data available in later Meiji biographies. Examples of the link between the ideologues selected for this study and other ideologues responsible for the modernization processes of Japan are given in Appendix C.

This thesis was mainly concerned with only one component element, $l_2$, of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 1 of Chapter II. Although we were unable to examine which of the two opposing ideologies, $l_1$ or $l_2$, had the greatest impact on the formation of the modernization processes of Meiji Japan to which the characteristics of modern Japan are usually attributed, the data on hand suggested the following proposition: that it was $l_2$ more than $l_1$ which formed the basis for a rapid transformation of Japanese society. It remains for a future study to examine this proposition.
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### PRINCIPAL BAKUFU OFFICIALS

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APPENDIX B-1

Coding Rules for Category I

Societal Conditions affecting society as a whole

For purposes of our analysis, the recording unit will be the sentence. The following sentences will be recorded under Category I:

- all sentences referring to general societal conditions affecting Tokugawa society as a whole:
  - all sentences referring to class structures.
  - all sentences referring to authority structures.
  - all sentences referring to administrative structures.

- any statement of societal condition given as the cause for some present or future event.

- any statement, fact, or reason given as the cause (implicit or explicit) for a present or future societal condition or event.

- any statement which mentions scholars or other individuals who had some impact upon the general feelings of the people at large.
APPENDIX B-2

Coding Rules for Category II

Societal Conditions affecting subject in particular

For purposes of our analysis, the recording unit will be the sentence. The following sentences will be recorded under Category II:

- any sentence containing information related to our subject. This means that all sentences containing the subject will be recorded under Category II.

- any sentence with pronoun reference to our subject will also be recorded under Category II.

- any statement given by the biographer concerning the subject's actions, attitudes, or orientations, past, present or future.

- any sentence referring to those factors which may have had some influence on our subject's actions, attitudes, or orientations, past, present or future.

- In the event that a short sentence describing society as a whole precedes a sentence directly associated with our subject, that preceding sentence will be coded in both Category I and II. When coded in Category II, it will be immediately followed by the sentence containing our subject. Otherwise such short descriptive sentences will be meaningless if it is placed in Category I alone and the follow-up sentence in Category II.

- any information previously given in the biography will not be coded the second time.
APPENDIX B-3

Coding Rules for Category III

Formative Influences on subject

Data extracted for Category II will be subject to further content analysis. As before, the recording unit will be the sentence. Data from Category II will be allocated into either Category III or Category IV depending on the following selection criteria:

- any sentence containing information linked to or associated with the formative influences on our subject's actions, attitudes, or orientation, past, present or future.

- any sentence indicating the subject's past general frame of reference, for example, classical studies, Confucianism or Buddhism.

- any sentence indicating the subject's exposure to certain past experiences which may be related to the subject's present or future ideology or philosophy.
APPENDIX B-4

Coding Rules for Category IV

The following sentences will be coded under Category IV:

- any sentence concerning the subject's actions and orientations, present or future.

- any sentence outlining the subject's basic concepts, guiding principles, or philosophy.

- any sentence expressing the subject's attitude toward the nation, Emperor, present and future government, and the future course of action to be taken.

- any sentence indicating the subject's approach or plan of action in adopting western culture and technology.

- any sentence indicating the subject's priorities in the future course of action to be taken.

- any sentence giving the subject's students and disciples.

- any sentence indicating future course of action taken by the subject's students or disciples which may be linked to our subject.

- any sentence indicating the subject's influence on other persons or on future events.

- any sentence indicating our subject's interaction with other persons (verbal, non-verbal, conflict in interests).
Coding Rules for Category V

Action taken by subject and realized

Data extracted from Category IV will be subject to further content analysis. As before, the recording unit will be the sentence. Data from Category IV will be allocated into either Category V or Category VI depending on the following selection criteria:

- any sentence indicating the course of action taken by the subject and directly implemented or realized.

- any sentence indicating the subject's guiding principles or concepts immediately accepted without modification by the government.
APPENDIX B-6

Coding Rules for Category VI

**Action taken by subject and partially realized**

The following sentences will be coded under Category VI:

- any sentence indicating a course of action taken by the subject but not immediately realized.

- any sentence indicating a course of action proposed by the subject and realized later, either in modified or unmodified form.

- any sentence indicating the course of action proposed by the subject and realized later mainly through the efforts of the subject's students or disciples.

- any sentence indicating the guiding principles or concepts accepted later in modified form.

- any sentence indicating the subject's eminent followers who later contributed to the adaptive and transformation processes of Japan.
APPENDIX C

Link between Ideologues

Examples of the link between the ideologues selected for this study and other ideologues responsible for the modernization processes of Japan.

Takano Chōei
- Egawa Tarozaemon
- Sakuma Shōzan
- Takashima Shūhan
- Watanabe Kazan

Sakuma Shōzan
- Egawa Tarozaemon
- Katō Hiroyuki
- Katsu Kaishū
- Nishimura Shigeki
- Ōkuma Shigenobu
- Tsuda Masamichi
- Yoshida Shōin

Yokoi Shōnan
- Katsu Kaishū
- Motoda Eifu
- Sakamoto Ryōma
- Shimotsu Kyūya

Yoshida Shōin
- Inoue Kaoru
- Itō Hirobumi
- Kido Kōin (Katsura Kogorō)
- Kusaka Genzui
- Sayo Hachijūrō (Maebara Issei)
- Takasugi Shinsaku
- Yamagata Aritomo

Sakamoto Ryōma
- Gotō Shōjirō
- Itagaki Taisuke
- Itō Hirobumi
- Iwakura Tomomi
- Katsu Kaishū
- Kido Kōin
- Ōkubo Toshimichi
- Saigō Takamori
- Yokoi Shōnan
- Yuri Kimimas