ASPECTS OF MODERNIZATION IN JAPAN:

THE ADAPTIVE AND TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES OF

LATE TOKUGAWA SOCIETY

by

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ABSTRACT

The main task of this study was to examine the pro-
position 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 modern-
ization. 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 mate-
rial 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 western-
ization, 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 democrati-
> zation.[1]

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[1]Tadao Yanaihara, "A Short History of Modern Japan," in
Seiichi Tobata (ed.), The Modernization of Japan (Tokyo: The
Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 5.

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.[2] Westernization was not just limited to the im-
portation 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 under-
standing of modernization as westernization except that the
western scholars were better able to categorize the vast number
of characteristics identifying the "modern condition." Concep-
tual formulation based upon selected classification of trans-
formation processes will no doubt emphasize the elements of
the contemporary "modern condition." Such an approach may be
useful in presenting the static aspects[3] of what we wish to

[2] John W. Hall, "Changing Conceptions of the Moderniza-
tion of Japan," in Marius B. Jansen (ed.), Changing Japanese
Attitudes Toward Modernization (Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1965), p. 9.

[3] Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), Political
Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton: Princeton Univer-
sity Press, 1964), p. 10.

describe as "modern," but it has less relevance to the developmental dimension or to the dynamics[4] 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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[4]<u>Ibid.</u>, 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. Econo-
> mists 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 occuring within
> social structures as new occupations emerge, complex edu-
> cational 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]

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[5]Myron Weiner (ed.), Modernization: The Dynamics of
Growth (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 3.

Recent methodological development concerning the analysis of the transformation processes of society has focused on the socio-demographic and structural characteristics.[6] 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."[7] 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.[8]

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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[6]S. N. Eisenstadt, _Modernization: Growth and Diversity_ (The Carnegie Faculty Seminar on Political and Administrative Development Paper), p. 1.

[7]K. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," _American Political Science Review_, IV, September, 1961, p. 463.

[8]C. E. Black, _The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History_ (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966), p. 7.

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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[9] R. P. Dore, "On the Possibility and Desirability of a Theory of Modernization" (paper presented in Asian Studies 330 Seminar, University of British Columbia, August 16, 1967).

"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.[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.[11] Regardless of this differentiation, there will appear from either

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[10]M. J. Levy, The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 102.

[11]T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1966), p. 24.

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. Simi-
larly, 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 regard-
less 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 con-
tingent 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.[12]

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[12]S. N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change
(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 9.

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 rea-
sonably 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.[13]

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.[14] The latter

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[13]Harry D. Harootunian, "Jinsei, Jinzai, and Jitsugaku:
Social Values and Leadership in Late Tokugawa Thought," in B. S.
Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (eds.), Modern Japanese Leader-
ship (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1966), p. 85.

[14]Vilfredo Pareto, Sociological Writings (New York:
Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 51.

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 member-
ship 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]

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[15]Conrad D. Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 256.

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[16] 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[17] 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 char-
acteristics 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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[16] W. T. de Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition,
Vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 342.

[17] Ibid., p. 343.

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.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK[1]

The general framework within which we will examine the
adaptive and transformation processes of Japan is best illus-
trated 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 divi-
sion with the ideologies of the time on one side and the
existing system of government on the other. These are repre-
sented by the symbols l and s respectively. With reference to
these datum lines we shall direct our attention to the relation-
ship 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

[1]The 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.
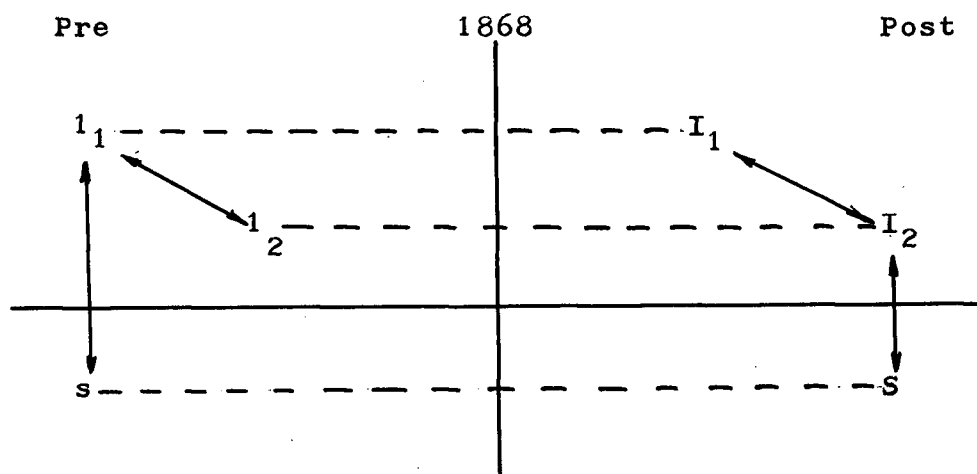
1_1 - Tokugawa Ideology

1_2 - Reform, Emperor Support, Nationalism

I_1 - Loyalty to Traditional Feudal Order

I_2 - New Nationalism

s - Tokugawa System of Government

S - Meiji System of Government

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)[2] 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 ide-

ologies 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_1, we have subsumed not only the Tokugawa ideology

but also those organizations or institutions specially insti-

tuted 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."[3] 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.

[3]Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry (New
York and Evanston: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1963), p. 199.

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."[4]

The guiding principles of the Tokugawa shogunate or

central government subsumed under 1_1 consisted of an accumu-

lation 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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[4]
Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (London: Routledge
and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), p. 36.

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 Relation-
ship 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 sover-
eign. It also demanded, as a prerequisite to this, rec-
ognition 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 obli-

gations, 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

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[5]David M. Earl, Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political
Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period (Seattle: University of Washington
Press, 1964), p. 6.

[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.[7] The strict ad-
herence 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.[8] 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 depend-
ing 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 inter-
spersed among the tozama han.

[8]Toshio G. Tsukahira, Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan:
The Sankin Kōtai System (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
1966), p. 1.

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.[9] The
daimyos were thus burdened by the expense of travelling between
their domain and capital, the expense of maintaining two resi-
dences, 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 obliga-
tions imposed upon the daimyo by the shogunate placed an ex-
tremely 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."[10]

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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[9]Ibid., p. 49.

[10]
R. P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley and
Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p. 9.

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[11] 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 out-

standing 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.[12] 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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[11]Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, East Asia:
The Great Tradition (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962),
p. 608.

[12]Tsukahira, Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan, p. 104.

complete revolutionizing of the current social and politi-
cal 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 segre-
gated in castle towns.[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 proce-

dure 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

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[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 implimentation 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 ful-
fill the requirements of society produced a group of intellec-
tuals 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 For-
eigners" faction consisted of the scholars of the Mito school
such as Fujita Yūkoku (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"[14] 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"[15] and his book _Shinron_

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[14] Earl, _Emperor and Nation in Japan_, p. 88.

[15] _Ibid._

(A New Proposal) became the text representing the Mito politi-
cal 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 hierachical 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 daimyo'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

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[16]Albert M. Craig, Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 152-53.

the later Mito school, as evidenced in the writings of Aizawa
Seishisai for example, left little doubt that loyalty and fil-
ial 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 su-
preme 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-examina-
tion 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 "loy-
alty 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 sub-
sumed under 1_2 consists of the supporters of the kōbu gattai,
a concept which called for the unification of the civil author-
ity represented by the Imperial Court and the military authority

_____

[17]Ibid., p. 148.

represented by the Tokugawa shogunate.[18] 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.[19]

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").[20]

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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[18]Herschel Webb, The Japanese Imperial Institution in
the Tokugawa Period (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968),
p. 259.

[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 sub-
sumed under 1_2 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 West-
ern studies. Their emphasis on research provided the stimulus
to establish a system of education based on rangaku or Dutch
studies.[21] 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-jōi movement. This development in nationalism was
challenged by the scholars of the kōbu gattai theory and fol-
lowers of Dutch studies. However, the final outcome was that
as foreign pressure increased, so did the feeling of national
consciousness.[22] Those intellectuals who tried to solve the
national problems through Western learning failed miserably,

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[21] Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, The Role of
Education in the Social and Economic Development of Japan
(Tokyo: Institute for Democratic Education, 1966), p. 328.

[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.[23]

3. The Tokugawa System of Government

The component elements constituting the Tokugawa system

of government have been represented by the symbol s in Figure 1.

Figure 2 on the following page portrays this feudal administra-

tion 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 consist-

ing 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 bureauc-

racy[24] and that these offices were mainly staffed by the vassal

daimyō and liege vassals. Membership to the two policy making

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[23] John Whitney Hall, _Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788): Fore-
runner of Modern Japan_ (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
1955), p. 12.

[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 |
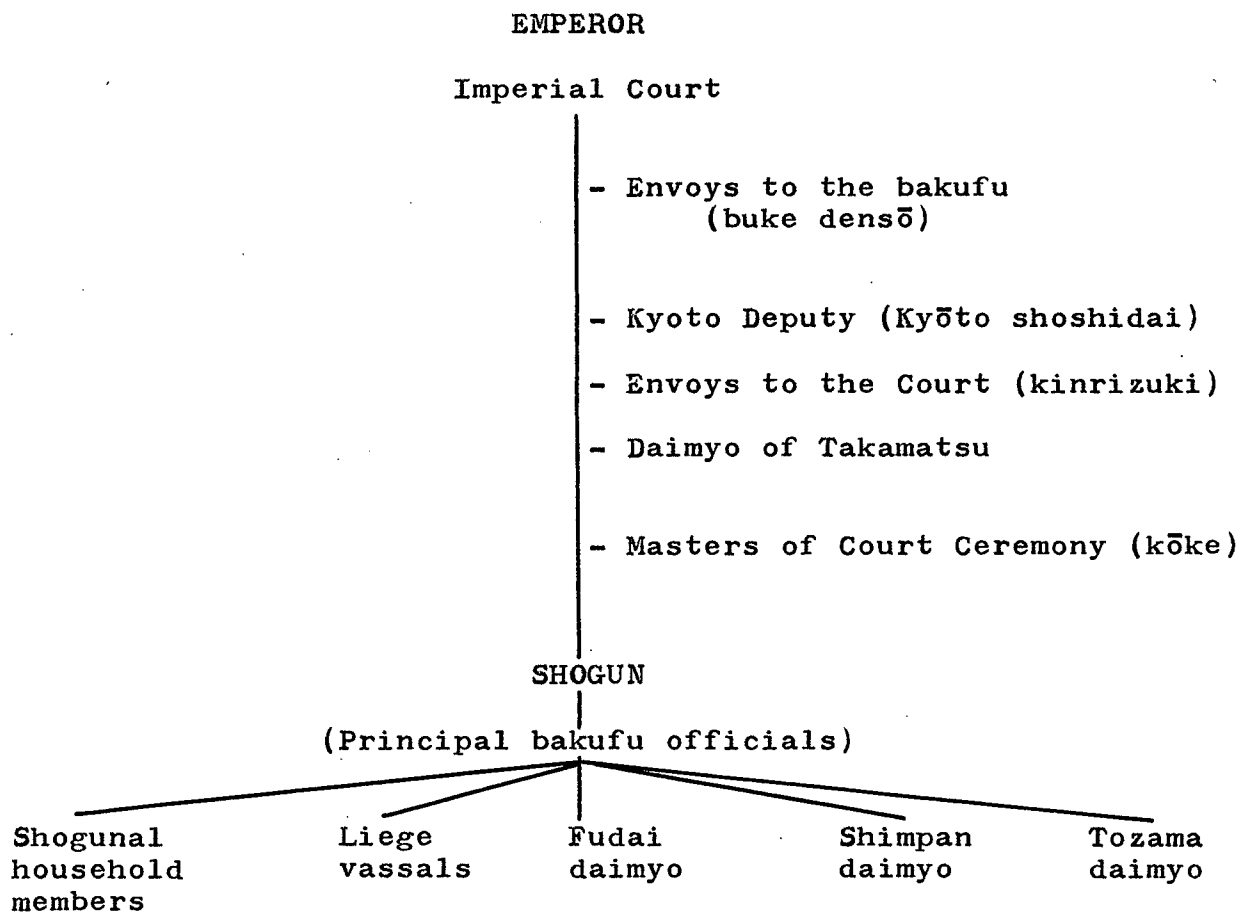
FIGURE 2

TOKUGAWA GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE[29]

[29]Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, pp. 34 & 38.

bodies consisting of the rōjū (Senior Councilors) and waka-doshiyori (Junior Councilors) was by appointment. Only the heads of the shimpan and fudai houses were eligible.[25] 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

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[25]Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan, p. 9.

[26]Totman, op. cit., p. 38.   [27]Ibid., p. 39.   [28]Ibid.

(Council of Elders), and the tōshoku or kokushō (Han Adminis-
trative Elder), all located at approximately the same level
of power.[30] 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 continu-
ously in residence in the han"[31] 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."[32]

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."[33] Very little information is avail-
able 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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[30]Craig, Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration, p. 109.

[31]Ibid.   [32]Ibid.

[33]Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, p. 131.

Usually liege vassals are identified as bannermen
(<u>hatamoto</u>) and housemen (<u>gokenin</u>), 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" (<u>omemie</u>) were bannermen, whereas others
were the inferior housemen. Another definition indicated
that bannermen were liege vassals with a right to enroll-
ment in the five elite guard units (<u>ban</u>), whereas housemen
were those without this right.[34]

Totman in another place very cautiously indicates that much of

his descriptive study is subject to modification as more infor-

mation 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."[35]

The remaining sub-component of the Tokugawa adminis-

trative 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.[36] The house-

hold 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)."[37]

The various offices constituting the bakufu and han

administrative structure as described briefly in the foregoing

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[34]<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 131-32.   [35]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 132.

[36]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 37.   [37]<u>Ibid</u>.

came to be known as the bakuhan system. These offices were

vertically linked through a system of highly ritualized prac-

tices 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 rep-

resents 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 enlighten-

ment 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 imme-

diately 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 spec-
ifying local administrative procedures to be adhered to by the
daimyō, the Seitaisho

> . . . obliged the daimyo 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 daimyo's local
> powers and authorities, and made provision for the cen-
> tral government to interfere in the affairs of the daimyo
> 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 estab-
lishment of prefectures"[40] was achieved. This achievement was
realized largely through the leadership provided by Ōkubo

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[38] John W. Hall, "From Tokugawa to Meiji in Japanese
Local Administration," in J. W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen (eds.),
Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 381.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Masakazu Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, The Bismarck of Japan
(Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964),
p. 143.

Toshimichi and Kido Kōin who were able to convince Saigō

Takamori and his brother, Tsugumichi, Ōyama Iwao, Yamagata

Aritomo, and Inoue Kaoru[41] that the <u>haihan</u> <u>chiken</u> 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 <u>haihan</u> <u>chiken</u>

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.[42]

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 I_2,

we have the elected members of the <u>Sanshoku</u> or the three offices

of government[43] composed of a nucleus of ten members. This

oligarchy which was conceived by Ōkubo in an effort to concen-

trate the powers of authority in a smaller more workable group

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[41]<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 144-45.   [42]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 154.   [43]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 130.

than the <u>Seitaisho</u> government consisted of the following:[44]

Sanjō Sanetomi, Iwakura Tomomi, Tokudaiji Sanenori, Nabeshima

Naomasa, Higashikuze Michitomi, Kido Kōin, Gotō 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 <u>Meirokusha</u>

or the "Sixth Year of Meiji Society,"[45] a literary association

which encouraged Western studies through lectures and publi-

cations such as the <u>Meiroku Zasshi</u> (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 Western-

ization . . . to study Western knowledge in all its forms in

order to see how applicable it was for Japan."[46]

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[44]<u>Ibid.</u>

[45]John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, Albert M. Craig, <u>East Asia: The Modern Transformation</u> (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1965), p. 273.

[46]Irwin Scheiner, "Christian Samurai and Samurai Values," in B. S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (eds.), <u>Modern Japanese Leadership</u>, p. 177.

5. Meiji System of Government

The Tokugawa system of government was officially abol-
ished on January 3, 1868 and in its place the Sanshoku or the
three offices of the central government[47] 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 posi-
tion of Sōsai and the Gijō positions were filled by the leading
daimyos of Aki, Echizen, Owari, Satsuma, and Tosa.[48] The Sanyo
was composed of the Restoration leaders Iwakura Tomomi, Ōkubo
Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori, and Gotō Shōjirō.[49] The afore-
mentioned members formed the first government.

On April 6, 1868, the leaders of the new Meiji govern-
ment 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.[50]

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[47]W. W. McLaren (ed.), "Japanese Government Documents,"
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLII, Part 1
(Tokyo: The Asiatic Society of Japan, 1914), p. xxxiii.

[48]Ibid., p. xxxiv.

[49]Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, p. 112.

[50]Joseph Pittau, Political Thought in Early Meiji Japan
1868-1889 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 12-13.

The political leaders were greatly influenced by the works

of the Meirokusha intellectuals, for example, Nishi Amane's

Bankoku Kōhō (International Law), Tsuda Masamichi's Taisei

Kokuhōron (Public Law in the West), and Fukuzawa Yukichi's

Seiyō Jijō (Conditions of the West).[51] 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. Leg-
> islation 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.[52]

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.[53] The Upper House of the Deliberative Assembly was

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[51] Ibid., p. 15.   [52] Ibid.

[53] McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," pp. 7-15.

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 excercise judicial authority.[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. Con-

sequently, 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.[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 prefec-

tural system.[56] It is not important to list the major reshuf-

fling which occurred in the government posts at this time though

it should be noted that other reforms did take place in the

government organization:

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[54]Ibid., p. xxxvi.

[55]Iwata, Ōkubo Toshimichi, p. 130.

[56]Ibid., p. 144.

On September 24, the <u>Dajōkan</u>, or Council of State
system, was modified for more effective administration.
It became the <u>Seiin</u>, or Central Board, composed of Sanjō
as the <u>Dajōdaijin</u>, or First Minister; the <u>Sadaijin</u>, or
Minister of the Left, left vacant at this time, Iwakura
as <u>Udaijin</u>, or Minister of the Right; Saigō, Kido, Itagaki,
and Ōkuma as <u>sangi</u>; all of whom formed the council of the
Emperor. This council and the chiefs of the various
departments met as the <u>Uin</u>, or the Board of the Right.
The <u>Sain</u>, or Board of the Left, was composed of members
nominated by the Emperor and served as a privy council.
Soejima replaced Iwakura in the <u>Gaimusho</u>, or the Foreign
Ministry.[57]

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]<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 146-47.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY[1]

The universe from which our sample of late Tokugawa

leaders has been selected is the Asahi Jānaru's <u>Nihon no</u>

<u>Shisōka</u> (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 Jānaru as the intel-

lectual elite of that era. The editors of the Asahi Jānaru

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 deci-

sion 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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[1]Following Kaplan's definition of "methodology," we are
concerned with "the description, the explanation, and the jus-
tification of methods, and not the methods themselves." See
Abraham Kaplan, <u>The Conduct of Inquiry, Methodology for Behav-
ioral Science</u> (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company,
1964), p. 18.

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_1, which represented those supporting the policies of the Tokugawa bakufu, or into sub-category 1_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 Gotō. 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 <u>Nihon</u> <u>no</u> <u>Shisōka</u> 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-
plicitly 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]

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

<u>Systematic</u>: 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.

<u>Generality</u>: 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.

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[2] Ole 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

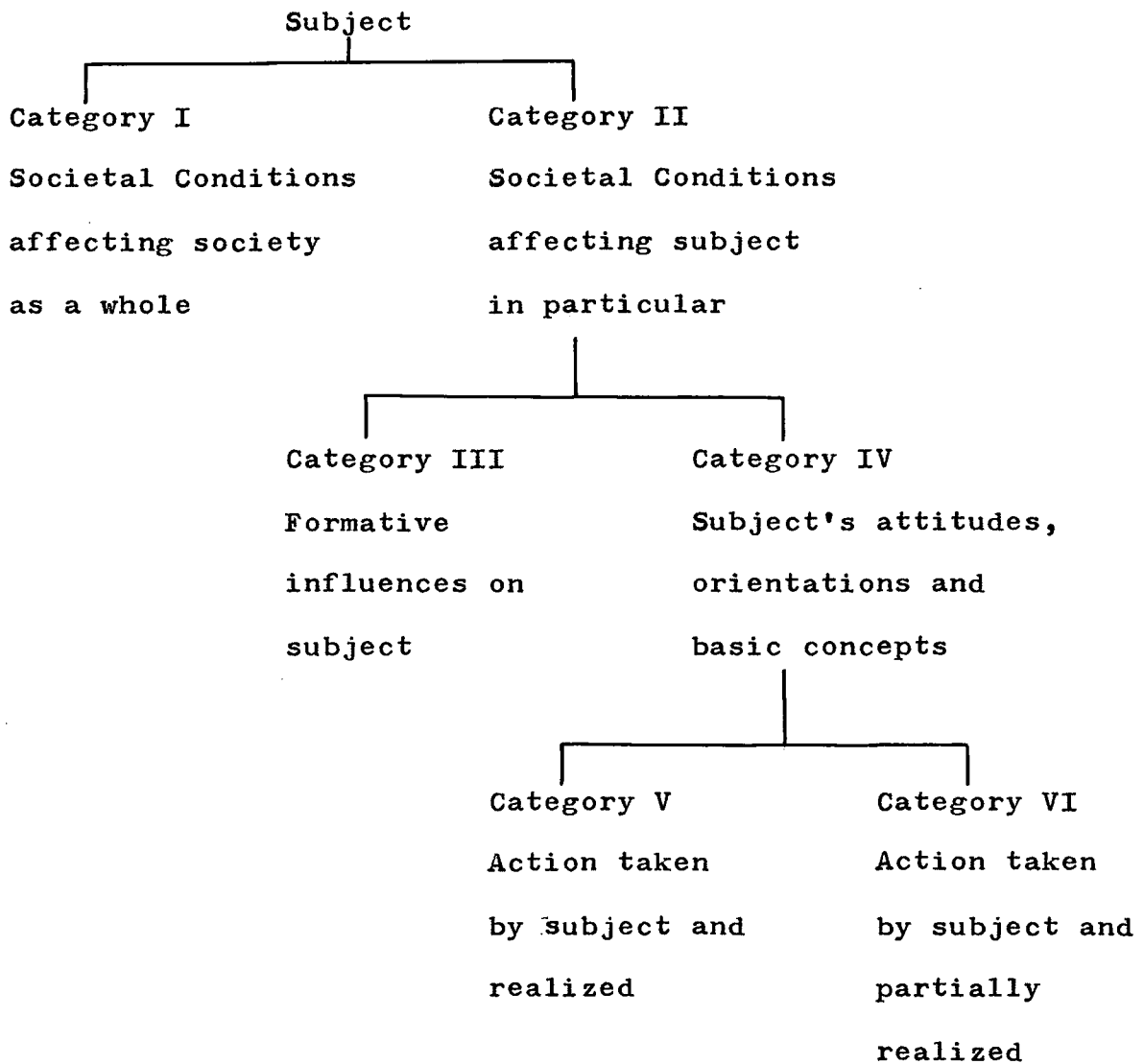by subject and

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 implimented 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 advan-

tages.[3] The first advantage is that it simplifies data cate-
gorization because it allows the coder to focus his attention
on a single decision before proceeding to the following cate-
gory. 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 inves-
tigator 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 cate-
gories or a modification of coding rules. This is a very im-
portant consideration especially if the study is to be rep-
licated.

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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[3]Ibid., p. 81.

not derived from a specified source and that the selection
criteria was not made explicit. For these reasons, the ex-
traction of raw data from biographical sources for this study
was carried out with the underlying assumption that the bio-
graphical 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 estab-
lished.

Instead of relying on a pre-selected biographical list-
ing 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. Bio-
graphical data can be derived from a variety of sources such
as those compiled by Silberman.[4] Institutional materials such
as the listing of government officials, political figures, and
offices held can also be obtained from the periodical tabula-
tion of government offices.[5]

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[4]Bernard S. Silberman, _Japan_ _and_ _Korea_: _A_ _Critical_
Bibliography (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1962),
Pp. 18-20.

[5]
_____, _Ministers_ _of_ _Modernization_ (Tucson:
The University of Arizona Press, 1964), pp. 127-135.

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 sakoku (isolation) and kokubō (national defence) poli-

cies. 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 Cate-

gory 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 ideol-

ogue's orientation. The purpose of this chapter is to present

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[1]
W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (London:
Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), pp. 39-47.

[2]Our study concerns the relation between orientation and
behavior. The Tokugawa shogunate asserts that orientation and
behavior are essentially the same. The 1_2 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 1_2 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 infor-

mation 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. Dis-
regarding 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 ex-
pressed interest in the arts and sciences of Europe. It was
from here that Western scientific knowledge radiated through-
out 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 intro-
duced to each other by Ozeki Sanei, a fellow student at Yoshida
Juku and Meiryū Juku.[3] 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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[3]Shinichi Takahashi, "Takano Chōei," in Asahi Jānaru (eds.),
Nihon no Shisōka, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing Co.,
1962), p. 11.

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 any-
> body in this world. I deplore this situation.[4]

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 Kyūkō 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[5] 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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[5]Earl 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 similarily 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."[6] 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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[6]Sannosuke Matsumoto, "Sakuma Shōzan," in Asahi Jānaru
(eds.), Nihon no Shisōka, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing
Co., 1962), p. 23.

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 circum-
stances, 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 im-

pending 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

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[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.[8]

It should be noted that Sakuma pursued the study of new gun-

nery 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 fea-

tures 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 under-
standing 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.[9]

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[10] 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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[9]Ryōen Minamoto, "Yokoi Shōnan," in Asahi Janaru (eds.), Nihon no Shisōka, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing Co., 1962), p. 45.

[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 formative 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 translated into Chinese under Lin Tse-hsu's order.[11] This translation 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

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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.[12] 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,

[12]Minamoto, "Yokoi Shōnan," p. 48.

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 con-
tinued throughout Yoshida's youth.[13]

Gradually Yoshida took note of the various world con-
ditions 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 under-
standing 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

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[13]Tatsuya Naramoto, "Yoshida Shōin" in Asahi Jānaru (eds.),
Nihon no Shisōka, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Publishing Co.,
1962), p. 61.

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 car-
riage. 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 au-
thentic knowledge of the Opium War.

From what Yoshida had observed and heard in Nagasaki,
the foreign countries must have appeared to be much more ad-
vanced 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 inter-
ested in Japanese history and politics. He read Aizawa Seishisai's
Shinron (A New Proposal)[14] 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 re-
turned to Tosa and had numerous discussions with fellow

countrymen like Zuizan. Gradually, Sakamoto became interested
in politics.

In March 1860, <u>Tairo</u> 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
<u>sonnō-jōi</u> (Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians) movement
along with many other townsmen such as Nakaoka Shintarō. After-
wards, 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 <u>jōi</u> (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'etat 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[15] to observe the various types of orientation was not used in this study

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[15] The categories employed by Marion Levy are Cognitive, Normative, Predominant, Goal, and Affective Orientations. See M. J. Levy, The Structure of Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 168-173, 175-77, 183-86, 193-97, and 338-40.

because of the difficulty in allocating the content analyzed
data into the appropriate categories due to the lack of speci-
ficity 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 orienta-
tions 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 pro-
mulgated the so-called Muninen Uchiharai Rei (Repel the Barba-
rians 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 friend-

ship. 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]

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[16]The reasons for breaking away from the han are not spec-
ified 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 com-
mitted 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 poli-
cies but Watanabe wrote in secrecy the Shinkiron which criti-
cized 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 inves-

tigation to determine the author of the book. Takano was ar-

rested 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

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[17]Takahashi, "Takano Chōei," p. 14.

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

Takano was not quite finished when he was angrily silenced and

condemned.

From the content data, there is no indication that

Takano was engaged in promoting a specific concept or philo-

sophical 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 diffi-

culties 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, sci-

ence of the West" was often quoted because it indicated the way

in which Sakuma and modern Japan acknowledged and absorbed

Western culture.

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[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 criti-
cized 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 cer-
tainly 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 li of Neo-Confucianism which
formed the general framework of his ideology can be linked to
the gōrisei (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 sci-
ence 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 con-
sideration in military tactics ever since ancient times."[19]
True to his own words, Sakuma studied Dutch, tried to reprint
Harma'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 unbear-
ably shocking event for those people who cherished traditional

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[19]Minamoto, "Yokoi Shōnan," p. 40.

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 (Sei-

gaku), 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

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[20]Matsumoto, "Sakuma Shōzan," p. 26.

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 re-
garded as the most essential element in politics. The existing
Tokugawa disciplinary order based on rigid class differentia-
tion 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 atten-
tion 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 exclu-
sionism 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

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[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

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[23]Ibid.

by training a navy, all based on Western technology. The construction of large Western style ships had always been prohibited 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 followers 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.

[25] Minamoto, "Yokoi Shōnan," p. 41.

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.[26]

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

> Japan should equally love and be generous to all coun-
> tries 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.[27]

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) origi-
nated in part from his thoughts concerning economics. He

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[26]Ibid., p. 42.   [27]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, re-
> form 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 sho-

gunal 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 prob-

lems. He believed that there was no other way to change the

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[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.[30] 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 con-
> servative 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 consider-

able 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 Ichiō, 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 sys-
tem. 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 him-
self. 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."[32] 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 con-
cerned the eta and hinin.[33] Both the eta and hinin were con-
sidered 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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[32]Naramoto, "Yoshida Shōin," p. 57.

[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 Invis-
ible 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 caligraphy groups. These prisoners who were knowledgeable in haiku or those who were skilled in caligraphy 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 pretention 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.[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 com-

pletely 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,

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[34]Naramoto, "Yoshida Shōin," pp. 63-64.

to respect the national polity, to encourage loyalty, and to support men of talent."[35] 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.[36]

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[37] in 1855, Yoshida still supported a unified form of

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[35]*Noyama* *Prison* *Manuscript*, quoted by Naramoto, op. cit., p. 66.

[36]*Kōmō* *Yowa* (Additional Remarks on Lectures on Mencius), Ibid.

[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.[38]

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,

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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 feudal-
istic, then a slight change which advocated the "Revere the
Emperor, Repel the Barbarians" theory, and finally the abandon-
ment 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 oc-
curred 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 differred
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. Further-
more, the various forms of constitutional government in the
Western countries had been known. It was not surprising, there-
fore, 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 recom-
mendations.

Sakamoto's aim was to unify the nation in a way com-
pletely 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 co-
operation 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]

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[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 state-
ments of societal conditions and statements of attitudes and
orientations which served as a link between the general so-
cietal conditions and the ideologue's activities. Activities
in response to societal conditions affected not only the ide-
ologue 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 fore-
runners 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 situa-
tional 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.[40]
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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[40]Iwata, 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 dis-
figure 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 activ-
ities. 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 activ-
ities 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 experi-
ments, 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 kōni noborite Tenka Tōkon no Yōmu o chinzu (Peti-
tion 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 con-
sequent 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 Shonan-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 impor-

tant 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 ob-

tained the daimyō's permission to visit Hirado where he plan-

ned to study.[41] 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[42] 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.[43]

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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 stim-
ulated 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 avail-
able. Activities such as the Mencius reading circle, haiku
associations, and caligraphy groups were all quite diverse in
scope and did not appear to be supportive of activities associ-
ated with any particular orientation except that they did indi-

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Miyabe Teizō, and Ebata Gorō. Yoshida and Miyabe were "inter-
ested 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 prom-
ise to his friends, disregarding the existing law. Earl states
that "Shōin for the first time took the bold step he was to re-
peat more than once and in more serious contexts: that of placing
personal duty above law." See Earl, op. cit., pp. 116-17.

cate 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.[44] 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 in-

creasingly aware of national problems. Yoshida's association

with Mokurin and Umeda Umpin and the shogun's continued dis-

regard for the Emperor firnally 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

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[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 con-
sisted 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."[45] Yoshida's views became

so violent that even his most devoted disciples could not fol-

low him.[46]

Activities indicative of Sakamoto Ryōma's political

orientations will now be described. Sakamoto's realization

that Japan might be strenghtened through the utilization of

Western techniques moved him to become Katsu's disciple. More-

over, Sakamoto recruited many similarly oriented people from

Tosa to Katsu's naval training school in Kobe. Former acquaint-

ances 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 guid-

ance for about two years until October 1864, when the shogunate

ordered Katsu's school closed.

When Katsu was dismissed from his post as Naval Commis-

sioner 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, Kondō
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).[47] 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:[48]

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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 Ryōma," p. 86.

[48]The Senchū Hassaku translation is taken from Marius B. Jansen's Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 295-96.

1. Political power of the entire country should be re-
turned 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]

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[49]In Chōshū, general public opinion called for the over-
throw of the bakufu by use of force. See Inoue, "Sakamoto
Ryōma," p. 80.

to remove Gotō from the forefront of state affairs. Further-
more, 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 pre-
pared various drafts for the new government organization with
such people as Toda Uta (later known as Ozaki Sanryō).[50] 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 adminis-
tration.

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 giso̅ positions, Sakamoto thought of the feudal lords and

nobles of Satsuma, Cho̅shu̅, and Tosa and for the sanyo posi-

tions, such well known figures as Saigo̅ Takamori, O̅kubo

Toshimichi, Kido Ko̅in, Goto̅ Sho̅jiro̅, and Yokoi Sho̅nan. Mem-

bers of the Tokugawa family and bakufu officials were not

indicated.

The three system proposal consisting of the kanpaku,

giso̅, and sanyo took form as the so̅sai, gijo̅, and sanyo of the

first government after the successful coup d'etat which abol-

ished the shogunate. The appointments were made almost ac-

cording 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 Goto̅ 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

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[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 estab-
lishment 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) sug-
gested the model shown in Figure 4 to study the linkage between
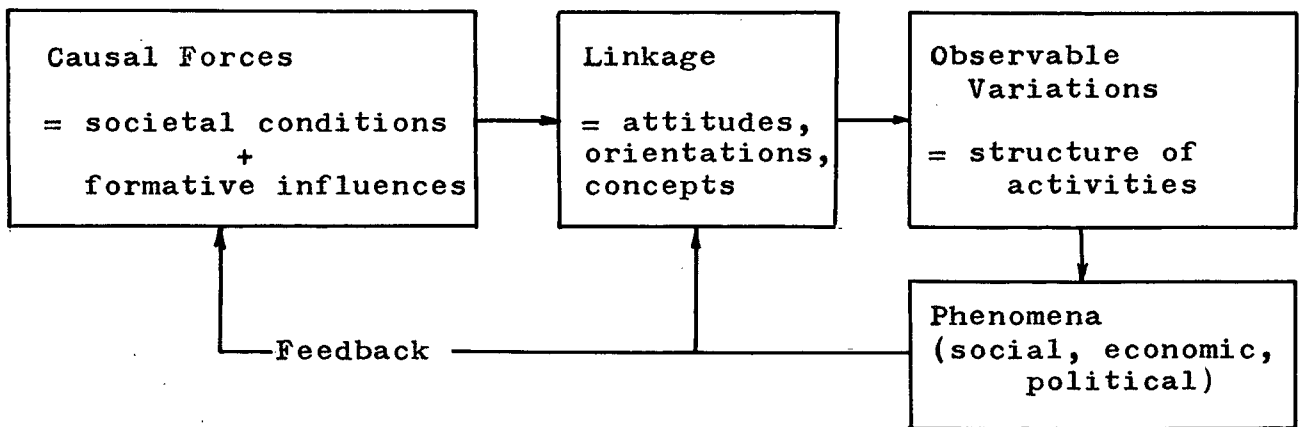the causal forces and the observable variations.[1]

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

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    [1]I 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 ideolo-

gue'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 agri-

cultural 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

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[2]For a detailed treatment of the concept of feedback,
see Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory
(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 52-58.

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 mil-

itary principles of the Yamaga school. This led him to the

study of English and Western affairs and his unsuccessful at-

tempt 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 Train-

ing 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 advo-

cated 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 con-

cepts. The inter-generational link also supports the theory

advanced by Stinchcombe that " . . . insofar as institutions
have effects, and insofar as they are social phenomena them-
selves, 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 ideo-
logue 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 em-
phasis 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 uni-
fied nation under a centralized political authority. The

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[3]Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Constructing Social Theories
(New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), p. 111.

resulting patterns all manifested shifts in political orien-

tations 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 implimented.

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 in-
stances of the biographers' biases and also the lack of perti-
nent 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 ref-
erences cited.

The method of content analysis allowed us to make sub-
stantive 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.[1]

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[1]Dore notes that "There is little basis for quantitative
assessments of the pattern of mobility during the initial tran-
sition 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 avail-
able 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, 1_2, of the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 1
of Chapter II. Although we were unable to examine which of the
two opposing ideologies, 1_1 or 1_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 1_2 more than 1_1 which formed the basis for a rapid trans-
formation of Japanese society. It remains for a future study
to examine this proposition.

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APPENDIX A

PRINCIPAL BAKUFU OFFICIALS[1]

Vassal daimyo officials	Liege vassal officials

-Shogun-

Regent (hosa)

- Great councillor (tairō) — - Edo city magistrates (Edo machi bugyō)

- Senior councillors (rōjū) —— - Superintendents of finance (kanjō bugyō)

- Finance personnel (kanjō shū)

- Intendants (daikan)

- Kyōto deputy (Kyōto shoshidai)

- Keeper of Osaka castle (Ōsaka jōdai)

- Superintendents of temples and shrines (jisha bugyō) — - Comptrollers (kanjō gimmiyaku)

- Inspectors general (ōmetsuke)

- Major officials in other cities (ongoku bugyō)

- Grand chamberlain (sobayōnin) — - Envoys to the court (kinrizuki)

- Masters of court ceremony (kōke)

- Chamberlains (sobashū)

- Junior councillors (wakadoshiyori) —— - Chiefs of the pages and attendants (koshō tōdori; konando tōdori)

- Masters of shogunal ceremony (sōshaban) — - Inspectors (metsuke)

- Captains of the Bodyguard, Inner Guard, New Guard (shoinban gashira; koshōgumi ban gashira; shimban gashira)

[1]Totman, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, p. 41.

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 contain-
  ing 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).

APPENDIX B-5

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 implimented 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 Kimimasa