

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

(This is the second of a series of three articles on the history of Japanese philosophy—Editor.)

PROHIBITION of foreign aid was not the only Tokugawa way of preventing local rebellion. Every feudal lord was required not only to leave a permanent hostage at Edo (江戸 present Tokyo), seat of the Tokugawa *Shogunate*, and visit the *Shogun* annually, but also to accept instructions and publications issued and distributed by the *Shogun*. For the last purpose, shrewd Ieyasu enlisted the support of scribes and scholars from all over the country. Thus, in 1593, he summoned Fujiwara Shoka (藤原保高), a Sino-logist of the realist school of Ch'eng Hao (程頤) and Chu Hsi (朱熹), and for over two centuries thereafter Chinese realism became the "government school" of thought in Japan. Cultural stagnation and ideological tyranny reached its peak in 1790, when the Tokugawa *Shogunate* officially patronized only Chu Hsi's trend of thought and proscribed all other channels as heresies.

Realism vs. Idealism

Meanwhile, in 1644, a younger contemporary of Fujiwara Shoka, by the name of Nakae Toju (中江藤樹), began to openly preach the idealist school of Lu Hsiang-shan (陸象山) and Wang Yang-ming (王陽明). Preferring the life of a private scholar, he taught and wrote and earned the epithet of the Sage of Omi (近江聖人), after his native state of Omi (present Shiga Prefecture 滋賀縣). Thereafter practically all of his followers remained in the opposition camp.

From the beginning of the Tokugawa *Shogunate* discontented warriors and liberal thinkers would in private denounce its policies of international isolation and academic discrimination, oppression of the feudal lords and exploitation of the masses of the people. Yet they could not but bide their time. Feudal lords of many frontier states would none the less gladly patronize them.

In 1853, when Commodore Perry arrived at Uraga (浦賀) with four American gun-boats to seek an amicable treaty-conclusion, the anti-foreign *Shogunate*, in view of the foreign superiority in arms, was at a loss what to do. It condescended to consult the feudal lords about the matter but could make no decision. At the beginning of the next year, Perry again came. The *Shogunate* instructed the feudal lords to consolidate all coastal defences, but arbitrarily promised the Americans to open two ports, Shimoda (下田) and Hakodate (箱館), and to supply them with water, fuel, and food-stuffs. Two months later, a young progressive patriot and adherent of the idealist school, Yoshida Shoin (吉田松陰) was caught trying to go abroad in an American boat. So was

his teacher, Satsuma Zosan (佐田象山). Both were implicated and imprisoned the following month. When released in 1856, Shoin opened a private village school, teaching Mencius in particular and agitating for revolution against the *Shogunate* and restoration of imperial rule.

To Shoin and his associates, who identified knowledge and conduct as taught by Wang Yang-ming and justified the overthrow of any tyranny as advocated by Mencius, the government's difficulty was always the opposition's opportunity. As expected, the Tokugawa *Shogunate*, which had so long isolated the Empire from the outside world, now found itself hardly able to solve the urgent diplomatic issues to the satisfaction of the displeased *Mikado*, the enraged feudal lords, and the impatient foreigners. In 1857, it referred the matter of treaty-conclusion to the feudal lords and early the next year memorialized it to the Throne. In March, 1858, the *Mikado* refused to authorize the *Shogunate* to conclude any foreign treaty, but in June the latter concluded one with America, and in July treaties with Russia, Holland, and England. This arbitrary action was denounced by the opposition leaders all over the country as usurpation of powers. To subdue the assaults, the *Shogunate* had recourse to terrorism, detecting and arresting all radicals. In consequence, Umeta Unhin (梅田雲濱) died in jail in 1859, and Yoshida Shoin Hashimoto Sanai (橋本左内) and several other comrades also were put to death.

Anti-Foreign Movement

While airing the wrongs of these young patriots, a number of feudal lords and local warriors assaulted the *Shogunate's* weak-kneed foreign policy and memorialized to the *Mikado* the policy of "expelling foreigners." In consequence of the anti-foreign movement, warriors of Nagato (長門 present Yamaguchi Prefecture 山口縣) bombarded American boats passing by in May, 1863; and in July there occurred friction between the inhabitants of Satsuma and English navigators, when the English shelled Kagoshima. In August, 1864, an allied fleet of English, American, French, and Dutch vessels shelled Shimonoseki (下関) in Nagato. Blaming Nagato for harboring fugitives and antagonizing foreigners, the *Shogunate* now decided to send a punitive expedition against it. Amidst diplomatic and domestic difficulties, the expedition failed to make progress except for provoking Nagato to ally with Satsuma in 1866 and Nagato, Satsuma, and Tosa (土佐 present Kochi Prefecture 高知縣) to agree to restore imperial rule in lieu of military dictatorship. A secret campaign

against the *Shogunate* was planned; a secret edict from the Throne to censure it was issued, too. The *Shogunate* at first thought of offering resistance but, on realizing its unpopularity and precarious position, stopped short and instead towards the end of 1867 offered to return the reins of government to the *Mikado*. In March, 1868, the last Tokugawa *Shogun* personally visited Kyoto to apologize to the Throne. This marked the beginning of the Meiji Restoration—the outcome of the two century struggle between government and opposition, between centralism and feudalism, and between realism and idealism.

In 1869, the feudal lords, too, returned the reins and domains of the local governments and were like hereditary Court ministers made nobles. At the end of the year all *Samurais* were grouped into the class of knights to be distinguished in name from the commoners but deprived of all previous bounties and privileges. Nevertheless, *Bushido* continued to influence Japanese life and thought the more, after being spurred by military conscription from the inside and fused with Prussian militarism from the Occident.

Liberalism And Utilitarianism

JUST as academic Chinese philosophy rose with the Tokugawa *Shogunate*, so was Occidental philosophy introduced and expanded after the Meiji Restoration. Such was the shock created by Commodore Perry's fleet that sensitive Japanese at once perceived the need for cultural reformation, political re-orientation, and social adjustment of the whole country to the world, and as soon as they found the *Shogunate* incompetent for such a task the same needs became the causes of its overthrow and the revival of imperial rule. These far-sighted Japanese knew they had to learn Occidental ideas in order to change domestic institutions, and these changes were carried out by both government and people hand in hand.

As early as 1860, Fukuzawa Satoyoshi (福澤諭吉) returned from abroad, founded the Keio Institute (慶應義塾) in 1865, which grew into Keio University later, and in 1866 published his Occidental Affairs (西洋事情). Similarly, Nishi Makoto (西周), sent abroad to study in 1862, came back in 1865 and the next year published his *Thorough Renovation* (百一新論), in which for the first time in Oriental History he coined and used the binominal term *tetsugaku* (哲學) for "philosophy," exactly one year before the Emperor Meiji's accession.

In 1868 the young *Mikado*, in accordance with Kido Takayoshi's (木

戸孝允) memorial, promulgated his five oaths promising the people basic human rights. In 1872, the solar calendar was adopted; the universal military conscription law was promulgated; and the new educational system was inaugurated with stress on scientific studies and nation-wide patriotism instead of feudalistic loyalty. The Army, dominated by the Nagato Clan, was modeled after that of the Germans; and the Navy, dominated by the Satsuma Clan, after the British. For, when Yamagata Aritomo (山縣有朋) from Nagato and Saigo Tsugumichi (西郷從道) from Satsuma returned from an inspection-tour in Europe in 1870, they organized a corps of imperial guards taken from the three clans of Nagato, Satsuma, and Tosa—the leading loyalists in restoring imperial rule. The new troops became the nucleus of subsequent fighting forces with German-educated generals like Nogi (乃木), from Nagato, Katsura (桂), and Kodama (兒玉) as commanders and the English-trained Admiral Togo (東郷) from Satsuma who came to be known as the Japanese Nelson. Thenceforth military leadership remained under warriors from the two progressive and aggressive frontier states, Nagato and Satsuma.

Western Thought

In 1877, the Government founded Tokyo Imperial University, which offered no course on philosophy in the beginning. Though an American Professor of Philosophy was offered a chair in 1878 and a Philosophical Association was organized in 1884, it was not until 1887 that Professor Inoue Enryō (井上圓了) founded the first Department of Philosophy and the same university began to publish the *Philosophical Magazine* (哲學雜誌).

Earlier than this, the introduction of Western thought had already begun, first through translations, then through exposition, and finally through development. In 1871 the Christian Bible was translated. In 1875 the most famous Protestant mission school, Doshisha (同志社), was founded by Joseph Hardy Niishima (新島襄), one of the greatest Christian leaders and educators of Japan. It was Nishi who devoted the remainder of his life to introducing and expanding Western philosophy until his death in 1894, bequeathing to posterity his *Theory of Knowledge* (知識論, 1874), a Japanese version of Mill's *Utilitarianism* (1876), *A New Theory of Logic* (論理新説, 1884), etc. Hattori Tokoku's (服部徳) Japanese translation of Rousseau's *Social Contract* appeared in 1877; its Chinese version by Nakae Chyomin (中井英民), in 1882. Likewise, Nagamine Hideki's (永峯秀樹) version of Guizot's *History of European Civilization* appeared in 1877; and Ohishi Masahe's, (大石正己) translation of *Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, in 1877; and Miyake Ojiro's (三宅雄二郎) translation of Ward's *Sociology*, in 1888.

By such scholastic works the liberal trends of current politics were

certainly revealed. In 1881 Iwakura Tomomi (岩倉具視), head of the goodwill mission sent to Europe and America in 1871, submitted to the Throne his memorial for the drawing up of a Constitution; whereupon the Emperor announced the inauguration of the Diet in 1890 and the promulgation of a Constitution even before that time.

Prior to the Government's move for constitutionalism, there had already appeared the first popular spokesman for liberalism and democracy in the person of Kato Hiroyuki (加藤弘之). As early as 1865 he compiled a table showing the rise and fall, strength and weakness, of Occidental nations. In the year 1867, when Meiji ascended the throne, he completed his *Discourse on Constitutionalism* (立憲論政體). In 1874, he published his *New Discourse on the Form of the State* (國體新論), *Freedom and Self-Government* (自由自治) in 1876, and *New Theory of Human Rights* (人權新説) in 1882. Deriving his utilitarianism and individualism from Darwin's doctrine of evolution but basing his whole system of thought



on Haeckel's materialism, he had difficulty coordinating the former's democratic ideas with the latter's totalitarian tendencies. By the horns of Kato's dilemma were augured the two incompatible forces which have struggled with each other throughout subsequent Japanese politics—liberalism and despotism, democracy and dictatorship.

Meanwhile, Fukuzawa published his *Division of Powers* (分權論) in 1887; Ozaki Yukio (尾崎行雄), his *Representative Government* (代議政體) in 1881; and Nakae, his *Discussion on Parliament* (國會論) in 1888.

The year following Iwakura's submission of his memorial on constitutionalism, Ito Hakubun (伊藤博文) was sent as the head of a delegation to Europe and America to study the constitutions of the various Occidental nations. In the same year (1882), Ōkuma Shigenobu (大隈重信) organized the Constitutional Reformatory Party and also founded Tokyo College, which later grew into Waseda University. Likewise, Fuchichi Genichiro (福地源一郎) organized the Constitutional Imperial Rule Party. So splendid was every preparation made for the adoption of Western ideas and institutions that the Occident suddenly found Japan its most promising pupil in the Orient.

On February 11, 1889 the Constitution of the Japanese Empire was promulgated. It had been drawn up not by the people's delegates to any national assembly but by the brain-trust of the *Mikado*, who later became the *Genro* (元老) or Elder Statesmen. Having found the Anglo-American systems too liberal and the Russian too conservative, these law-makers chose the German for a model. Because the Constitution had to be approved and issued by the Emperor, whom it revered as sacred and inviolable, it was drawn up so that it could be amended only on the Emperor's initiative. Moreover, because loyalist warriors had achieved merit in restoring imperial rule and eventually assumed military leadership, the Constitution not only placed the fighting forces under the Emperor's supreme command but also the Army and Navy Ministers, who were not to be selected by the Premier but suggested by the warriors and appointed directly by the Throne. Thus, while in name these ministers were subordinate to the Premier, in fact they were co-equal with him. Though co-equal, they caused no obstacle if they were cooperative; but if they were not cooperative, they could act at their own pleasure. So long as liberalism and parliamentarianism retained the upper hand, the Military behaved cooperatively. But as soon as Japanese philosophy and politics inclined to despotism and totalitarianism, the Military began to act independently. When Japanese policies of expansionism and militarism fused with German jingoism and Italian Fascism assumed the shape of Nipponism, the Military appeared to dominate every cabinet. In short, from the day their Constitution was published, their policies headed for Mukden and Pearl Harbor, and their surrender aboard the *Missouri* was sealed.

In February, 1889, the Election Law for Representatives and the Organization Law for the Peerage were promulgated. Next year, in July, the Representatives were elected. In December, the Diet was inaugurated, electing Ito Hakubun as Chairman of the Peerage and Nakajima Nobuyuki (中島信行) as Chairman of the House of Representatives. The English-educated Ozaki Yukio, author of the famous *Representative Government*, elected in 1890, has been re-elected every time since, having thus witnessed all the vicissitudes of Japanese liberalism, democracy, and representative government.

Interest In German Philosophy

As politics became more active, public opinion grew calm and philosophical activities became largely academic. However, mature thinkers like Nakae and Kato were still expounding the philosophy of materialism. The latter even advocated atheism and denounced every form of religion.

For a while after the introduction of democratic institutions, evolution-

ism and utilitarianism continued to hold sway. In no time, however, the *Philosophical Magazine* showed a turn in academic interest away from English and French toward German philosophy, with numerous articles on Kant, Hegel's dialectic, English neo-Kantianism, von Hartmann, Schopenhauer, Wundt, Nietzsche, Lotz, etc., as well as German-educated American philosophers like Ladd and James. Nakae translated Schopenhauer's ethical writing in 1894; Kiyono Tsutomu (清野勉) wrote his commentary on Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1896; Mori Ohgai (森鷗外) translated Goethe's *Faust* in 1913; Okamoto Haruhiko (岡本春彦) wrote on Schelling's *Symbolic Thought* in 1918; Amano Sadasuke (天野貞祐) translated Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1921; and Tanabe Hajimu (田邊元) published his *Hegelianism and the Dialectic Method* in 1932.

Occidental Influence

During this period an Occidental professor of philosophy who exercised a direct influence upon philosophical studies in Japan was Dr. Raphael Koeber. From 1893 to 1914, he taught in Tokyo Imperial University, and died in 1923. Meanwhile, Occidental-trained Japanese scholars began to apply historical methodology to their research and produced masterpieces in their own language on the History of Philosophy and Religion—for example, Ohnishi Iwau's (大西祝) *History of Occidental Philosophy* in 1895, Anezaki Seiji's (姉崎正治) *History of Indian Religion* in 1897, Ondo Takayoshi's (遠藤隆吉) *History of Chinese Philosophy* in 1900, Kubo Tenjui's (久保天随) *History of Japanese Confucianism* in 1904, Hatano Seiichi's (波多野精一) *History of Occidental Religion* in 1921, and U Hakuju's (宇井伯壽) *Studies in Indian Philosophy* in 1924. Likewise, there appeared in Japanese general expositions and textbooks such as *Logic* (1893) and *Ethics* (1896) by Ohnishi, *Introduction to Philosophy* (1900) and *Descartes* (1904) by Kuwaki Genyoku (桑木殿翼), *A Study of Spinoza* (1911) by Anezaki, of *Introduction to Science* (1918) by Tanabe.

The Government nonetheless moved nearer to England and France as indicated by the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, the victorious war against Russia with Anglo-American aid in 1904 and 1905, and the repeated formation of the cabinet from 1906 onwards by the French-educated Prince Saionji (西園寺公爵), whose public life remained the symbol of Japanese liberalism till his death in 1940.

Education, on the contrary, looked toward Germany. Berlin and Leipzig, Heidelberg and Freiburg all became the Meccas of Japanese students from the end of the 19th century. Earnest and diligent, they strove to learn as much as they could while abroad, and some of them even made scholarly contributions like Ehrlich-Hata's (秦) co-discovery in 1911.

The Week's Business

THE so-called Financial Reform Measures so far have failed to stabilize market conditions. On the contrary, they have stimulated speculation and pushed up financial quotations and commodity prices, as can be seen from the figures in the bottom of this page.

The UU or Utility Unit, which the utility companies introduced with the approval of the authorities for the collection of utility charges, is meeting strong opposition from ordinary consumers and industrial plants, and is on its way out. It remains, however, for the utility companies and the authorities to work out a satisfactory substitute plan for the collection of utility fees. The cost of living index figure may very likely be applied in this case as it is in the payment of wages and salaries.

Strong opposition was also voiced by manufacturers against the collection of commodity taxes in silver dollars or in commodities. The cigarette manufacturers declared that this change means an increase of the commodity taxes on cigarettes by virtually 120 percent. As a result, it was reported that the authorities are considering the collection of commodity taxes in Customs Yuan, the special currency designed for the collection of Customs duties.

Other activities taken by the authorities to enforce the new financial reform measures include the establishment of special finance bureaus in Shanghai and in Canton. The duty of these bureaus is to stabilize the financial market by the sale of gold through the Central Bank once again. The price is to be fixed by each bureau at 9 a.m. daily.

This practice was inaugurated in Shanghai on March 8, when 290 ounces of gold were sold to the gold and silversmiths shops at GY228,000 per ounce. On the next day, the Central Bank continued to sell gold at the price of GY250,000 per ounce, but the open market rate shot up immediately to GY310,000. It is hard to see how this system, which has failed repeatedly in the past, will succeed this time in stabilizing the market.

The plan of the Nanking Government to reopen the Gold Exchange in the near future will not be able to absorb the large sums of Shanghai's idle capital any more than the reopening of the Securities Exchange. The only effect it may have will be to legalize speculation and push up financial quotations which in turn will cause further increases in commodity prices.

With increasing idle funds re-mitted to Shanghai from all parts of the country, especially Taiwan, during the past week, the local market money remained on the easy side with interest rates quoted at around seven to eight percent per day. The easy trend was accentuated by the issuance of large

numbers of GY500 notes to meet political and military expenses, and the Central Trust's dumping of GY1,000,000,000 on the market on March 8 to pay for frozen eggs also contributed to the easy situation.

Fragmentary reports from the North indicate more and more clearly the conditions under Communist rule. With progress being made in the restoration and resumption of postal service and shipping, observers believe that the time is drawing near for the resumption of normal trade relationships between North and South China.

The Communists are reported to have agreed in principle to the resumption of postal service, and five delegates of the Postal administration are expected to leave for Peiping soon to discuss technical problems with the Communist authorities. Meanwhile, the post offices have started to receive ordinary mail, small parcels, and printed matters for transmission to Tientsin and Peiping.

The telephone and telegraph services have never been cut off during these months of confusion, and at present telegraphic service has been extended to Tongshan, Tangku, and Chinwangtao. Meanwhile, commercial banks in Shanghai have started to accept money for remittances to Peiping and Tientsin.

The most important progress made so far is the resumption of shipping service. Following the successful trip made by the s.s. Greater Shanghai, other ships have been commissioned to sail regularly between Shanghai and Tientsin, and 300,000 bags of wheat flour are expected to be sent to the northern port in exchange for 100,000 tons of coal, which Shanghai's Power Company and industrial plants need desperately as local stocks are diminishing rapidly.

The Shantung Provincial Government under Communist rule has promulgated the first set of import and export regulations, giving in detail the kinds of goods to be imported and the kinds of goods to be exported as well as the amount of customs to be paid. Meanwhile, industrial goods, including yarn and cloth, are being exchanged for coal along the Yangtze ports.

Judging from present developments, trade prospects are bright and if peace can be established, it will not be surprising to see the resumption of normal trade relationships in the near future.

The following table gives a comparison of quotations on March 2 and March 9:

	Mar. 2 GY	Mar. 9 GY
Gold	183,000	310,000
US Dollar	3,650	6,150
Clearance Certificate	2,890	4,710
Silver Dollar ..	2,000	4,250
20's Yarn	626,000	1,080,000
Rice	17,000	29,500
Wing On Textile ..	3.76	5.38

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LAPHAM'S AID PROPOSAL

AN EDITORIAL

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CAPITALIST CONFUSION

AN EDITORIAL