• CHAPTER 1 •

The Birth of Constitutional Government in Japan

In setting out these recollections of Japanese constitutional government, it is not my intention to write an academic study. There are enough scholars for that. This is to be a personal memoir. I shall tell the story of constitutional government in Japan through my own experience, how it germinated and evolved, where it is today, and where it should be going.

Ever since the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken undō*) was launched in the first years of the Meiji era, I never stopped working to promote the development of constitutional government in Japan. From the very first assembly of the newly founded national parliament, the Diet, in 1890, I have held a seat in the House of Representatives without a break. My entire life has been dedicated to the development of constitutional government. These memoirs, therefore, should be instructive in some degree for people today as well as for later historians. It was with the establishment of the Progressive Party (*Kaishintō*) under Ōkuma Shigenobu in 1882, that I first became directly involved in the mainstream of Japanese constitutional government. However, I would like to begin by briefly outlining the circumstances of my birth and the development of constitutional government in Japan prior to that date.

Son of a Samurai Loyalist

I was born in the Sagami hills, in a village by the name of Matano in the county of Tsukui.[1] Here, the pure streams that gushed and trickled from the green Musashino, Kai, and Sagami mountains gathered into the Sagami river, famous for its *ayu* trout fishing. This makes it sound rather idyllic, but in reality it was an unremarkable and remote place where one's dreams would be trapped in the skirts of the pressing hills. My family members were apparently long-term residents of Matano, and the Buddhist mortuary tablets and graves of successive generations of my ancestors are to be found in the Shōsenji temple in Ōsawa, about one *ri* [2.44 miles] away. We are descended from Ozaki Kamon-no-kami Yukinaga, an important official in the pre-Tokugawa government. In Matano one can still see what remains of Fuukumaden Castle, where he is believed to have lived, and below the castle ruins there is a field by the name of Ozaki. Nothing, however, is known about what he did or where he came from. The mortuary tablets at Shōsenji suggest that he died in 1622 and was followed by his wife in 1628, but apart from

[1] Matano village is today a hamlet within the boundaries of Tsukui town in the district of the same name in Kanagawa prefecture.

this there is not a single record pertaining to him. The year 1622 came toward the very end of the reign of the second Tokugawa shogun, and the third shogun, Iemitsu, acceded the following year. The shogunate was thus still only newly established, and it may have been the case that my ancestor retired to Matano to live a secluded life after having fallen into disfavor for rebelling against the Tokugawa. In any event, the wording on his mortuary tablet indicates that he was a man of considerable status, although "Fuukumaden Castle" can only have been a modest structure on the top of the hill, nothing like what would ordinarily be thought of as a "castle."[2] The area is on the border of the Kai and Sagami districts, where there had been frequent warfare between the Hōjō and Takeda families, and so it may have been that a watchtower of some sort was built there. Either way, it certainly is a tale shrouded in mystery.

When I was about three years old a fire destroyed our home and everything in it, including all the family records. Later I learned from books published in the Tokugawa era that the Ozakis were an "old family." Beyond that, however, I could discover nothing more about my ancestry. I hold no particular sentiment regarding the provenance of my family, and it matters little to me whether we are descended from apes or men. In this sense, I am not at all bothered by our lack of a family tree. I was aware, though, that my family was given special treatment in the village, and I do recall that my parents treated ordinary people in the village as if they were their retainers.

I was born in November 1859.[3] This was the year of the notorious Ansei Purge, which was followed the next year by the assassination of the Shogun's Chief Minister, Ii Naosuke, outside of the Sakurada-mon gates. Six years earlier Commodore Perry had sailed his "black ships" into Uraga Bay, and ten years more would bring the Meiji Restoration. It was thus a time in which the crises of the late Edo period were building to a climax.

My father, Yukimasa, had been adopted into a family from the Mineo family of Sanda village in Hachiōji. I was his first son. It was difficult for a small child to understand what was happening at the time, but riding the tide of history, my father seems to have become involved with loyalist activists from an early stage, and he travelled the country to promote their cause. He was hardly ever home when I was a child. I vaguely remember the day when we received news of his death. We were soon informed that the report had been incorrect, but it seems that at the time of the Restoration he led a troop of Kōshū *rōnin* [masterless samurai] called the "Dan-kin-tai," which had joined Itagaki Taisuke's expeditionary army when it set out to subdue the recalcitrant Aizu clan in the Restoration War of 1868. I never heard much about the details.

[2] In the original text, Ozaki specifically notes the use of the word "Inden" in the Buddhist mortuary tablet of his ancestor as an indicator of his high status. The full Buddhist names of Ozaki Kamon-no-kami Yukinaga and his wife are recorded on p. 4 of the original.

[3] Ozaki was born on November 20, 1858. For unknown reasons the entry on the family register records his birth as being in the following year, 1859. For most of his life Ozaki consistently used the date as officially recorded in the family register and did so in the dictation of his memoirs. His reasons

One of the interesting men with whom father was closely associated in those days was Ochiai Naosuke. He was both a very good friend and a relative of my father's. He came from a village called Komagino, across the river from Matano, in the Bushū country at the foot of the Takao mountains. From early childhood Ochiai had been trained in the Motoori and Hirata schools and was an ardent loyalist. He was the father by adoption of Ochiai Naobumi, a well-known literary figure in the Meiji period.

Ochiai Naosuke was a resourceful and determined man. On a number of occasions he conspired to bring down the Tokugawa shogunate, at one point with Kiyokawa Hachirō, and at another with Fujimoto Tesseki. In 1867 he had been plotting with the Satsuma forces to incite an insurrection in Edo, but before any of these plans could achieve their purpose he was found out by the shogunate, and forced to flee. Chased by a warship with orders to take his life, he managed to escape safely to Satsuma, where he linked up with Saigō Takamori and Iwakura Tomomi and went on to render meritorious service in the campaign to restore Imperial rule.

With my father away like this, our household was very poor, and we lived a truly lonely existence up in those mountains. Around us there were a number of families with the surname Wakō, who were all said to be descended from former retainers of my family. Yet, by this point, as a result of the mysterious fire, our home had been completely destroyed and only the godown was left standing. In this situation and with father absent, the Ozaki household teetered on the brink of extinction and came to know utter poverty. There was only my mother and myself, and although we had some relatives, they lived far away and were of no help to us.

To make matters worse, I did not have a strong constitution as a child. From infancy I was tormented every day by headaches. And, as if this were not enough, my entire body was plagued by itchy boils. My childhood was quite miserable. My mother apparently worried less about educating me than keeping me alive. Later I shared her attention with my brother and sister, but in my early childhood my health and well-being were her sole concern.

As for my education, there were no schools or teachers in the mountain areas in pre-modern Japan. I recall on those rare occasions when father was home that he taught me verses from an anthology of T'ang poems. Even now I can remember thinking to myself at the time how difficult and incomprehensible "scholarship" was! This is of course understandable, for imagine the shock it would cause today if first-year elementary school textbooks began with T'ang poetry. In any case, I received only the roughest of educations. I was taught Chinese characters by my parents but never had to practice writing very much. This was how I spent my childhood, without any proper education, in a mountain village forgotten by the world.

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may have been both of vanity and as an expedient to avoid complications in official documents. Much later, he gave his real age and often wrote it in the calligraphy he produced.

Eventually the Tokugawa shogunate fell and Imperial rule was restored. My father, like the other samurai loyalists who had been constantly on the move in their struggle to bring this about, now found himself in the employ of the Meiji government. In the first year of the new Meiji era he became a civil servant and was assigned to Tokyo. I was ten years old by the Japanese way of counting.

The Five Articles of the Charter Oath

In that same first year of Meiji that I accompanied my father to Tokyo, a solemn ceremony to proclaim the Charter Oath took place in Kyoto.[4] On April 6, in the Hall of State Ceremonies, Emperor Meiji read out the following covenant before the gods of heaven and earth:

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.[5]

These five articles of the Charter Oath laid the foundation for constitutional government. Following the wishes of his forefathers, Emperor Meiji had graciously enunciated the basic principles of the nation and in so doing had clearly defined the noble objective of building a constitutional government in a most unprecedented manner. On that same day, Saigō Takamori and Katsu Kaishū had been in Edo (present-day Tokyo) to negotiate the surrender and evacuation of Edo Castle. My young heart filled with emotion to think that on that historic day the course of national policy had been given to posterity by the emperor himself.

Needless to say, the ten-year-old boy that I was then hardly appreciated the historical significance of the Charter Oath. Later, when I became involved in the movement for constitutional government, words could not express the strength we were able to draw from the covenant. It meant more to us than having a million allies. A clear national policy had been set. Devoting our energies to the cause of constitutional government was to obey the Imperial will and serve the empire. The belief that anyone who obstructed the realization of a constitutional govern-

[4] The Charter Oath was designed to reassure the old elite that the new regime would take their opinions into consideration. It was read for the emperor, who was a boy of sixteen, by Sanjō Sanetomi to an assemblage of nobles and feudal lords.

[5] This translation of the articles of the Charter Oath is from Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 137.

ment was a traitor to the people and an enemy of the throne gave us courage to stake our lives on the cause.

With the oath the emperor also released a letter declaring his intention to promote the welfare and honor of the nation. In it he stated: "At this time of national renewal, if any person shall be unable to realize his full potential it shall be deemed Our own failure. Therefore, we are conscious of Our duty to fulfill our mission and be worthy of Our people, as we hold ourselves accountable for the achievement of Our objectives, being the first to face adversity, following faithfully the wisdom of the sages, and promoting good administration throughout the land." He further encouraged the people: "You shall enjoy happiness in life by fulfilling our wishes, elevating each other and setting aside personal interest for the public good. Assist us in Our enterprise, defend the integrity of Our divine land, and thus console the spirits of Our Imperial ancestors." Who would not be moved in his heart and stirred to great deeds by these words? As loyal subjects we had no choice but to follow the Imperial will and dedicate ourselves body and soul to achieving true constitutional government.

Its fundamental principle, as surely as the sun is in the sky, was established by the first article of the Charter Oath: "Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion." The other four articles also concerned themselves with constitutional government.

Article 2 states: "All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state." Communicating the minds of the leaders to the people and theirs to those who lead them is the essence of constitutional government. A true debate can only be had if there is effective communication.

Article 3 states: "The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent." In the despotic feudal age the bureaucracy and military did not live up to their mandate and citizens were unable to fulfill their aspirations so that in the end they no longer supported the government of the shogun. The rest can be easily imagined.

Article 4 states: "Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature." Of all the transgressions of the autocratic government that had but lately been overthrown, the worst was that the lives of the common people were at the mercy of the samurai. People were treated like animals and their rights to life and property ignored. To treat humans as they ought to be treated was the foundation of constitutional government as well as the path of justice.

Article 5 states: "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of Imperial rule." The political history of civilized countries teaches us that constitutional government is the supreme form of political institution. With such a government in place, love of one's country and loyalty to the emperor would join to promote the highest good for our land.

The Five Articles of the Charter Oath laid the foundations of Japan's constitutional government. The challenge lay in building a fitting edifice on this sure foundation. This was a grand venture that the people of Japan should undertake

together in compliance with the Imperial will. My own life was totally given to this momentous purpose. I felt immense pride in the fact that the first page of the history of constitutional government in Japan was graced with the emperor's inexpressibly grand oath.

The New Meiji Government

After coming to Tokyo with my father in the first year of Meiji we lived for some time with the Yasuokas at their Surugadai residence. A loyalist, Yasuoka Yoshitaka was a country samurai from Nakamura village in the county of Hata in Tosa domain (today's Kōchi Prefecture). He was trained in the Hioki school of archery and the Otsubo school of horsemanship. He had also practiced the martial arts with sword and spear under Hijikata Kenkichi and studied artillery with Tadokoro Sayoji. In addition to these skills, he was well versed in literature as a distinguished student of Kamei Tetsutarō of Chikuzen (northern Kyushu). He was, in short, a man of both martial and literary excellence. His outstanding background stood him in good stead when he joined the Restoration forces in the campaign to subdue the eastern clans. After the Restoration he was chosen to occupy important government positions, first as an official in the judiciary (*danjō-dai daichū*) and then the Deliberative Assembly (*shūgi'in hankan*) and the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*minbu shōkyoku*). My father served as a government official under Yasuoka for about ten years.

Until I came to Tokyo I had hardly received any education to speak of. Now I studied the Confucian Analects and the teachings of Mencius and sat in on Mr. Yasuoka's lectures on the Seven Books of Classical Chinese. Among my classmates were Kōno Toshikama, Obata Mine, and Ōtsuka Narumi, who were as old as my parents. After two years or so we moved to Bancho (Chiyoda-ku) and I continued my study of the classics at Hirata Academy. My teacher there, Mr. Hirata, was the son of the famous *kokugaku* scholar Hirata Atsutane, and I seem to recall that he had also presented lectures to Emperor Meiji. Among my memories of the Hirata Academy were three or four occasions in which I blacked out while playing with my friends, turned deathly pale, and fell senseless to the ground. Perhaps because of this unusual tendency I came to develop certain views, if not firm convictions, about the soul.

The most disagreeable part of my journey to school each day was the harassment I received from boys who threw stones and shouted insults at me. This experience gave me an unfortunate sense that all strangers were my born enemies. I could not understand why I should be the target of abuse and stone-throwing when other boys seemed perfectly able to escape such ordeals. Perhaps there was something about me that encouraged them to pick on me. Had I been physically strong I would certainly have taken them on, but since I was timid anyway I knew better than to fight. I did not flinch from this wretched treatment but simply endured it in silence as I made my way with a heavy heart each day. This tendency to be disliked by others continued for a long time after this. In my mid-teens I

was called a snob and accused of being affected, and this persisted even when I was thirty. I cannot exaggerate how much I suffered because of whatever it was in me that made me so disliked. I suspect that I am not free from it even today, but after forty it has bothered me less.

In the meantime, the new Meiji government gradually strengthened its foundations. At first it seemed to me that the government took the will of the people seriously, respecting the intention of the Five Articles of the Charter Oath and attempting to develop a system of governing based on public debate. One of the reasons for the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate was that it had lost the support of the people. The obstinate feudal system presented an obstacle to the recruitment of bright young men into the service of the central government. The government of the shogun and the life of the people had become disconnected. Government officials had no way of fathoming the desires of the ordinary people, who in turn had no way of channeling their yearning for political reform. Officials were blind to the forces stirring beneath them. As rulers and ruled became increasingly alienated, the fall of the shogunate became inevitable. The new government of Meiji was painfully aware of this. This was what inspired the rediscovery of the ancient device of appointing a *Dajōkan*, or Council of State, and filling it with princes, aristocrats, loyalist clan chiefs, and samurai.[6] The government also established a new system to recruit able people from the rank and file. Men known as *chōshi* were recruited from among the best of the clansmen and the public, and assigned as councilors or directors in the government departments. They were normally to serve a term of four years. It was decided, however, that the most meritorious of them might serve for an extended period to be decided by public discussion.

There was no particular limit to the number of those who would be recruited as *chōshi*. Naturally, however, there was a limit to the number of posts to be filled at councilor and other senior levels. To ensure that a greater number of capable men could be recruited, a second, parallel system was instituted. This second type of recruit, known as *kōshi*, was equivalent to the present-day elected representatives. The head of a clan was invited to pick the brightest of his clansmen, and they then served in a "Lower Assembly" (*kagijisho*). It was decided that major clans would appoint three such men, middle-sized clans two, and small clans one. When it was established, it was stated that this Lower Assembly was to be an "office for public debate and for gauging public opinion in the realm." This was the first time that the terms "public debate" and "public opinion" (*kōgi yoron*) had found their way into official documents. In addition to the Lower Assembly, the *kōshi* also had their own "Policy Office" (*kōshi taisakusho*), through which they could make policy recommendations to the government and be asked by the government for their views on specific proposals.

In some respects then, this Lower Assembly where representatives of the clans debated could be compared to the later House of Representatives. Naturally, the

[6] Ozaki here and later refers to the feudal lords who ruled the 260-odd domains into which Japan was divided in Tokugawa times as "clans."

organization was underdeveloped and its authority extremely limited. Nonetheless it was a sure step toward constitutional government insofar as it recruited from among the people wise men who would devote themselves to national business, allowing them to engage in public debate and play an effective, if qualified, role in government. This is impressive evidence of the expeditious manner in which the Meiji government promoted public debate and opened its ears to public opinion.

The institutions of *chōshi* and *kōshi* were established in February of the first year of Meiji, on the eve of the promulgation of the Five Articles of the Charter Oath. In April of that year, the government reintroduced the ancient *Dajōkan* system, while also instituting a separation of legislative, administrative, and judicial functions for the first time. Within the *Dajōkan*, departments were established for legislative and administrative matters, and for religious, accounting, military, foreign affairs, and the judicial system. Legislative officials represented the legislature, criminal judges oversaw judicial affairs, and the remaining five offices constituted the administrative branch.

Members of the legislature were divided into two tiers. The upper tier was composed of persons holding the positions of senior councilor (*gijō*) and councilor (*sanyo*), while the lower tier accommodated the *kōshi*.[7] Thus, what was now created was a bicameral system in which the upper tier was analogous to a House of Lords while the lower served as a House of Commons. This was not, however, a bicameral system in the evolved sense because the authority of the two houses was unequal, with the lower house expected merely to deliberate if and when it was required by the upper house.

It can be seen then that through the appointment of recruits from each domain, the Meiji government sought to encourage broad public debate and deliberation. In fact, however, often times the recruits would aimlessly pursue useless debates, and they were criticized as being incapable of dealing with the practical business of government. At this point, the Meiji government decided that there was a pressing need to first unify the debates going on in each of the domains, and to promote mutual understanding between upper and lower elements of society. A new system of domanial administration was thus settled upon, with executive, administrative, and deliberative officials appointed to serve as a link between the various regions and the central government. In other words, within each domain the deliberative officials were to make sure the policies of the central government were thoroughly understood, while at the same time, within the central government, they served as members of a Deliberative Assembly (*kōgisho*), presenting the issues that were of particular concern in their domain. This Deliberative Assembly was the lower chamber of the government's legislature, the *Gijōkan*, and the structure described here was more or less in place by the early months of 1869.

[7] Robert A. Wilson suggests that while the *gijō* were more senior than the *sanyo*, "The functional distinction between the two groups is not readily apparent. Both titles may be translated as 'council-

In the spring of the same year, an Ombudsman's Office (*taishō-kyoku*) was set up in Tokyo to collect petitions from all across the realm. Since there was inevitably a limit to the number of *chōshi*, *kōshi*, and members of the Deliberative Assembly, this marked yet another attempt to gain access to public opinion.

Towards the middle of 1869, canvassing (*tōhyō kōsen*) for various important public offices took place. As a result, Sanjō Sanetomi was selected as chief minister (*hoshō*), and Iwakura Tomomi, Tokudaiji Sanenori, and Nabeshima Naomasa were selected as the three senior councilors. Higashikuze Michinobu, Kido Takayoshi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Gotō Shōjirō, Soejima Taneomi, and Itagaki Taisuke were elected councilors. The successful candidates were all predictable winners. What was remarkable was that an attempt had actually been made by the Meiji government to appoint government officials through public elections. However, public participation in the election of government officials was discontinued after this first attempt.

A few months later, another major reform of the *Dajōkan* was undertaken, and the legislative and executive functions that had been clearly separated earlier were united once more. The upper and lower tiers of the legislative organ were also abolished. The government, however, still recognized the need for an organ in which public opinion could be aired, and in their place a National Assembly (*shūgi-in*) was established. It provided for debate by officials appointed from among senior figures representing the various regions of the country.

This development was still a variation of the constitutional system, and one could say that it marked yet another step toward the establishment of proper constitutional government. This much is clear from the official duties assigned to the National Assembly in its rules: "The Assembly shall be for the wide ranging consultation of public opinion and, respecting the Imperial will which laid the foundations of national government, it will be a place where the energies of the multitude are harnessed. Thus, it is necessary that proceedings will show respect for the Imperial rescript, be united in purpose with the *Dajōkan*, take the fundamentals of government to heart, judiciously address matters which arise, and act to ensure that unity within the country is not compromised."

In the latter part of 1869, the Emperor Meiji paid a visit to the National Assembly and observed a session attended by the chief minister, Sanjō Sanetomi, the three senior councilors, Iwakura, Tokudaiji, and Nabeshima, and other lords and councilors. Originally, the plan had been for the emperor to receive all of the members of the assembly in a single audience, but this was not possible due to the lack of adequate space, and each member was presented with a gift from the emperor in compensation.

One can see then how zealous the emperor Meiji was in his efforts to "conduct the government of the people with the people."[8] We can also see that at this point the new Meiji government was striving sincerely for the development of

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lor.' " See his "Genesis of the Meiji Government in Japan, 1868–1871," *University of California Publications in History*, 56 (1957):12.

[8] Imperial Message, September 27, 1869.

government based on public debate, and thus remained faithful to the first article of the Charter Oath: "Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion." The attitude of the Meiji government changed abruptly, however, with the introduction of the *haihan-chiken* (abolishing clans and establishing prefectures) policy in 1871.

I Witness Torture and Executions

With the inception of *haihan-chiken* and the setting up of new administrative districts in place of the former feudal fiefdoms, Yasuoka Yoshitaka was appointed Governor (*daisanji*) of Takasaki Prefecture. My father accompanied him.

The abolition of the clans was the most sweeping of all the changes that had occurred since the Restoration of Imperial rule. For all practical purposes it dealt a death blow to the feudal system in Japan. It is understandable then that there was an atmosphere of trepidation throughout Japan at this time. The Jōshū region (where Takasaki Prefecture was located) was, however, a particularly rough place, and even though I was only a child I remember constantly hearing of rowdy local samurai making trouble by attacking the prefectural office that the Meiji government had established, or killing government officials. I expect that it was because Yasuoka was such an accomplished man, with both literary and military training, that he had been dispatched to this area to quell the disturbances.

My own recollections of this period include witnessing torture, beheadings, and ritual suicides (*seppuku*). Since administrative and judicial powers were no longer separate, my father was often required to serve as a judge in addition to carrying out his responsibilities for school affairs. When he conducted torture himself, he would call me to watch secretly from behind a sliding screen. When criminals were to be executed he would take me, together with the students from school, to the scene of the beheading. In Tokyo too the bodies of people who had been executed or who had disemboweled themselves were sometimes to be seen lying out in the streets, and I remember my father urging me to look at them. Why should my father have wanted me to see such things? I suspect he was trying to cure my timidity by shocking me with these gruesome scenes, but the result was quite the opposite. It not only failed to cure me of the cowardice I was born with, but every time I was taken to a beheading I felt terribly sick. I barely glanced at the disemboweled bodies I was told to look at. My classmates, however, proved more stout-hearted, some even stirring the spilled bowels with a stick. Such boys were praised later while I was harshly scolded. At times when we saw many heads roll and I smelled the stench of blood I could hardly eat my lunch. I was reproved for being a coward. What would boys living under a democratic government today feel to see such horrors? Disregard for human life and property was a vice inherited from the despotic feudal age. It is at the very core of the principles that inspire constitutional government to destroy such appalling customs and treat people as human beings. I did not, of course, understand such things as a boy, but I hated the bloodcurdling experience of having to watch torture and beheadings.

In Takasaki I was enrolled for the first time in a school and learned English. The head English teacher was Koizumi Atsushi, who enjoyed a high reputation for his command of the language.

I have since lost contact with most of my schoolmates, but one of them was Arai Ryoichirō, who was later to become active in US-Japan relations as an exporter of silk yarn.[9] Arai was a handsome boy, while I was as ugly as sin. My teeth protruded and my nostrils opened to the sky. People made fun of me and told me to hold my head down so the rain would not go up my nose. My mother was much pained by this. I resolved to try hard to do something about my unsightly features, and with Arai as my model, I was able to improve greatly the way I looked.

With the disturbances in Takasaki successfully suppressed, Yasuoka was transferred to Ise, another area racked by disorder. Since father was again transferred with him, we all moved to Doai Prefecture (part of today's Mie Prefecture). This was the beginning of my lifelong relationship with Ise.

At the time of the transfer, my father, mainly in consideration of my weak constitution, requested a month's leave to take his family to the Kusatsu hot springs. Some time during the thirty days we spent there I was completely freed of my persistent headaches. My skin improved too. I recall with horror the famous thermal bath. It has since become much more respectable, but in those days it was extremely filthy, and consisted only of a roof over the crowded bathers, among whom were many with advanced cases of syphilis and lepers with deformed limbs and no noses. Told that only cowards shied away from taking these renowned waters, I gritted my teeth and shared the bath with them a couple of times, fervently hoping that I would escape infection.

The Doai prefectural office was in Yamada city in Ise district. Mie Prefecture with which Doai was later merged had its office, as I recall, in Tsu. In Yamada there was a library called Miyazaki Bunko near the Outer Shrine of Ise. Attached to the library was an English school, and Mr. Koizumi from the school in Takasaki was invited to join the teaching staff. Some of my friends from this school, such as Motoba Chū and Ōi Saitarō, went on to earn doctoral degrees at Kogakuryō (now Tokyo University) and make important contributions to the country in their own fields.

Father took me to see beheadings in Ise as well. Young as I was, I soon discovered that there was a considerable difference between criminals here and those in Takasaki. On the way to the execution ground in Takasaki the condemned men often hummed a tune. Some even dared to taunt their executioners, admonishing them to take extra care with their sword, and warning them that their necks had muscles of iron so that no half-hearted cut would do the job. The ultimate pride of an executioner was to sever the head but leave it dangling by a single piece of skin. This was no easy task, and even a veteran might miss after being harassed in this way. In contrast to those in Takasaki, most of the victims I saw at Ise were

[9] Arai's rise as a silk merchant and exporter is chronicled by a granddaughter, Haru Matsukata Reischauer, in *Saumrai and Silk: A Japanese and American Heritage* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp.170 ff.

so paralyzed with fear that they could barely walk, let alone hum a tune. Indeed, they already appeared half-dead before they even reached the execution ground. I do not know whether their abject appearance was to be accounted for by the treatment they had suffered in prison, or whether the people themselves were of a different grade: Ise men were submissive and weak, while those from Jōshū were inheritors of the area's proud tradition of popular rebelliousness. In any case, whatever the cause, there seemed to me a great deal of difference between the two groups of men in their last hour.

After we had been at Ise for a year or so, I began to yearn to study in Tokyo. There were two reasons for this. Accompanying my father in the course of his peripatetic career as a teacher and low-ranking local government official, I had become infatuated with the widespread fame of a school in Tokyo called Keiō Gijuku. Keiō Gijuku was considered to be the best in Japan, enjoying a far higher reputation than any government school. I thought that if I was to pursue my education then I should have the best the country could offer. The other reason I wished to go to Tokyo was that as much as I enjoyed being with my parents I also longed to be independent. I very much resented their well-intentioned interference and I heartily wished to escape from it. I begged my father to let me go, and at last received his permission in the summer of 1874. With my ten-year-old brother I left for Tokyo to enroll at Keiō Gijuku. I was sixteen.

So it was that I came to attend Keiō Gijuku, which was considered to be in the forefront of liberal democratic ideas in the early Meiji years. It was an event that had a large impact on my life. At this point it will be appropriate to resume the story of the nation's political development following the abolition of the domains and the impact it had on the evolution of constitutional government in Japan.

The Genesis of Clan Clique Government

While the Tokugawa shogunate itself fell with the Meiji Restoration, the three hundred or so regional clans at first continued to rule their own areas of the country as they had always done. This meant that the Restoration of Imperial Rule was a reform in name only, with the mechanisms of feudal government essentially unaffected. Consequently, a second convulsion, to which I have already alluded, soon took place. Called *haihan chiken*, it would involve the abolition of feudal fiefs and the establishment of new administrative districts known as *ken* or prefectures. The abolition of the clans proved to be a formidable undertaking.

When the Tokugawa family returned their power to the throne, it was argued that they should also return its land and people. By the same argument it was held that other clans should do the same, return their fiefdoms and privileges as local rulers, so that all the lands and peoples of Japan might be unified under their emperor. There could be no question that this was the right thing to do. Nonetheless it was not done, since the main forces responsible for the Meiji Restoration were the major clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen. Only when the *haihan*

chiken was carried out in the latter months of 1871 did the foundations of the feudal system finally collapse.

The *haihan chiken* was a bold decision on the part of the Meiji government, and it resulted in two major changes affecting the work of laying foundations for constitutional government in Japan. One was the blatant backsliding on the government's part regarding its commitment to constitutional rule. The other was that the ambitions of the Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa and Hizen clans to usurp the powers of government were no longer covert.

With the introduction of *haihan chiken*, a major reform took place in the structure of the central government involving the establishment of three new "boards" (center, left, and right). Ministries were administratively distinct from the three boards as branches of the Dajōkan. The "Central Board" with the prime minister and other ministers advising the emperor and conducting all the affairs of state, looked very much like today's cabinet. Ministers of the right and the left were directly responsible to the prime minister. There was no restriction on the number of councilors of state (*sangi*) appointed to serve the administration and assist the three ministers. Thus the prime minister, the ministers of the left and the right, and the councilors were the principal officials advising the emperor and wielding the actual power of the government. The "Left Board" was where members of parliament enacted law, with a speaker assisted by a councilor. The "Right Board" was where heads of ministries and their deputies discussed administrative business. For the sake of appearances, the establishment and abolition of rules and regulations was officially to be done within the Left Board after public deliberation. On the surface, therefore, it seemed that the Left Board had the right to legislate; however, in reality the authority of the so-called legislature to participate in the process of legislation was limited to the ability to seek the judgment of the Central Board. Actual authority to adopt or disregard legislation thus resided solely in the Central Board. In short, legislative powers were all but absorbed by an omnipotent Central Board, relegating the "legislature" to the position of a mere bureau taking orders from above. As a matter of fact, when the rules for the Central Board were revised in 1873 it was clearly stated that "legislative affairs (were) the prerogative of the Central Board. Its officials (should) deliberate on their merits and priority, reach consensus, and submit them to lower officials for implementation." Soon after this, the National Assembly, which had continued to maintain some semblance of its role as a bureau for consulting public opinion, was also abolished and merged into the Left Board. With this, the constitutional system that had been developing since the first year of Meiji disappeared completely.[10]

At the beginning, the new Meiji government had been disposed to respect public opinion and debate, but as its foundations firmed, especially when the transition from the old clan system to the new prefectural system went smoothly and

[10] These developments are analyzed in Albert M. Craig, "The Central Government," in *Japan in Transition from Tokugawa to Meiji*, ed. Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 36–67.

it felt more assured of its own base, the government began to show less and less respect for public opinion. Even when institutions such as the National Assembly and the Ombudsman's Office (where petitions were received) had existed, the government had done no more than make a symbolic effort to listen to opinions emanating from the people and in practice left it up to the arbitrary discretion of the administrator to decide whether action would be taken. In this sense, these institutions had never been able to fulfill the promise of their names, and now that the Assembly had been formally abolished as a concomitant of the *haihan chiken*, the Japanese constitutional system had clearly begun to retrogress.

It is a truism of *realpolitik* that for those in power there is nothing more convenient than arbitrary despotism. Therefore, in countries where a constitutional system has but lately been established, it is tempting for the government to revert to autocratic rule and neglect public opinion as soon as it is confident of its foundations. As noted above, the second of the changes that followed the abolition of the feudal fiefdoms was the emergence of clan cliques as a dominant force on the surface of the political scene. The smooth implementation of the abolition of the fiefs itself was a result of the united support of the four most powerful clans; and, to go further, it was common knowledge that they were the main forces behind the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate and the successful Restoration of Imperial Rule.

At this time, Ōkubo Toshimichi wrote that "in judging the current balance of power, we see that Satsuma and Chōshū have greater power than the court. The two, however, do not use their power to assist the court but rather each one stores up what they have for their own selves. Rather than advance, they retreat. This is why the court is feeble." At the time of the abolition of the fiefdoms the four major domains lent their weight to the cause of national integration, which boosted the strength of the central government. A not unintended corollary of this was that the influence of the clan cliques within the central government became unshakable.

As I have intimated, it was an unchallenged fact that already Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen had wielded real power within the Meiji government from the first days of the Restoration. In the beginning, however, they did not allow this to be too conspicuous, at least not at an official level. Thus, for example, all of the important offices at the Court, such as the *fuku sōsai*, *hoshō*, and *hohitsu*, were filled by court nobles and feudal lords, as were the important positions of minister of state (*dajō daijin*), minister of the left, minister of the right, *nagon*, and all of the headships of the various government departments. At the same time, samurai from the four clans were restricted to such posts as "advisor" to a ministry (*sōsai-kyoku komon*), "councilor" to an administrative official (*gyōseikan sanji*), the deputy headships of various departments, or else prefectural governorships. In fact, the clansmen were hesitant even to take up the deputy headships of departments, and were content to hold the position of secretary (*hanji*), or lower. Following the reform of mid-1867, these samurai became eligible for appointment to the new position of councilor of state (*sangi*), but the nobility and feudal lords continued to head the ministries and agencies, and clansmen could not aspire to any post in government above that of their deputy.

Following the institutional reform that was carried out at the same time as the *haihan chiken*, members of the four major clans began to infiltrate the political system and were even appointed as heads of ministries. At the same time, the court nobles and feudal lords were gradually eased out of the main offices of the central government, and thereafter did not hold important posts other than those of minister of state, ministers of the left and right, *Nagon*, and one or two others.

In the cabinet reshuffle that accompanied the *haihan chiken*, four councilors of state were appointed: Saigō Takamori (Satsuma), Kido Takayoshi (Chōshū), Itagaki Taisuke (Tosa), and Ōkuma Shigenobu (Hizen).[11] Thus, each of the four big clans now had a representative through whom to consolidate their influence in the cabinet. After this, the number of councilors of state was gradually increased so that in the end all of the heads of ministries and agencies held this position. Moreover, they were all selected from Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen. Thus, the councilors of state came to include men such as Gotō Shōjirō of Tosa who was also the president of the left board (*sain gichō*); Ōki Takatō, the education minister; Etō Shinpei, the justice minister; and Soejima Taneomi, the foreign minister, all of whom were from Hizen, and Ōkubo Toshimichi, the finance minister, who was from Satsuma. In this way the core of the government came to be occupied solely by representatives of the four clans, and their ambitions to conduct autocratic government with the aid of their cliques were now becoming obvious.

Petition for a Popularly Elected Parliament

The rupture that occurred within the cabinet over the proposed Korean expedition shook the basis of the Meiji government.[12] The government was thrown into a panic. Opinion within the cabinet swung from one day to the next. It was impossible to know what its decision would be. When Saigō Takamori realized that his recommendations were not going to be acted upon, he thrust a letter of resignation at his colleagues and stormed back to his native town in Satsuma. Four of his sympathizers—Itagaki Taisuke, Gotō Shōjiro, Soejima Taneomi, and Etō Shinpei—followed his example and quit their posts. Imperial Guard officers from Satsuma also resigned their commissions. The whole country, sensing imminent conflict, fell into a state of confusion.

With the resignation of the five councilors of state, the government was left without teeth. The cabinet was hastily reformed around Iwakura Tomomi and Ōkubo Toshimichi. Ōki Takatō added the ministry of justice to his responsibilities, Itō Hirobumi was made a councilor and minister of industry, the former vassal of the Tokugawa shogunate, Katsu Kaishū, was asked back as councilor and minister

[11] Although Japan is not usually said to have had a British style cabinet until 1885, Ozaki does specifically use the term "cabinet" (*taikaku, naikaku*) here.

[12] In 1873, while a mission led by Iwakura Tomomi was touring the Western world, Saigō, the leading member of the government left behind, urged a "punitive expedition" against Korea to avenge the Korean government's blunt refusal to institute modern diplomatic relations with Japan. When the Iwakura group returned the decision was overturned, leading to a split in the Restoration coalition.

of the navy, and Terajima Munenori was also recalled as councilor and minister of foreign affairs. Shimazu Hisamitsu, the erstwhile lord of Satsuma, was appointed government advisor (*naikaku komon*), a new post that was created in an attempt to mend the damage which had been done in the crisis. Yet, the restlessness that resulted from the split over the ill-conceived Korean enterprise could not be pacified by these half-hearted, makeshift measures.

Soon, insurrections broke out in various places in the Southwestern part of the country, first in Saga, then in Kumamoto, Akizuki, and Hagi, and finally in Kagoshima, where a major uprising took place in 1877.[13] All these convulsions were rooted in the deep controversy that surrounded the proposed expedition to Korea, fomented by people discontented with the clan clique (*hanbatsu*) government and conspiring its overthrow.

Yet, the movement to do something about the evils of the Meiji government did not consist solely of persons who sought to do so with military force. There were also those who saw that at a fundamental level the problem with the government was that it was controlled exclusively by the clan cliques, and thus a movement now emerged that sought to eradicate the evils of clique government through the establishment of a genuine constitutional system and an approach to politics that was truly based upon the nation's people. This was the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights (*jiyū minken undō*). Thus, the upheavals created by the planned invasion of Korea unexpectedly provided a major opportunity to promote constitutional government in Japan.

It happened that just at this time Komuro Nobuo, Furusawa Tsujirō, and others had newly returned from abroad, where they had been much inspired by the development of democracy in western countries. They forcefully presented the advantages of the parliamentary system to their fellow intellectuals. Itagaki Taisuke, who was indignant over developments within the autocratic Meiji government, was deeply stirred by the report. On January 18, 1874, he submitted a recommendation to the Board of the Left requesting the establishment of a popularly elected parliament. The recommendation was co-signed by eight men—four councilors who had resigned earlier: Itagaki, Gotō, Soejima, and Etō, together with Komuro Nobuo, Furusawa Urō, Yuri Kimimasa, and Okamoto Kenzaburō.[14] It began:

> When we humbly reflect upon the quarter in which the governing power lies, we find that it is not in the Imperial House above, nor the people below, but in the officials alone. We do not deny that the officials revere the Imperial House, nor that they protect the people. Yet, the manifold decrees of the government appear in the morning

[13] The uprising in Kagoshima in 1877, generally known in English as the Satsuma Rebellion, was led by Saigō Takamori himself.

[14] The translation given here is taken from W. W. McLaren, ed., *Japanese Government Documents, 1867–1889* (Tokyo: Asiatic Society of Japan, 1914), pp. 426–32. Some changes were made to the original translation in keeping with the abridged version, which appears in Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), Vol. 2, pp.176–78.

> and are changed in the evening, the administration is influenced by private considerations, rewards and punishments depend on personal favor or disfavor, the channel by which the people should communicate with the government is blocked, and they cannot state their grievances.

After enumerating the inequities of the bureaucracy, the petition went on to declare:

> Unable to resist the promptings of our patriotic feelings, we have sought to devise a means of rescuing [the country] from danger. We find this means to consist in developing public discussion in the empire. The means of developing public discussion is the establishment of a council-chamber chosen by the people.

It continued:

> The people whose duty it is to pay taxes to the government have the right of sharing in their government's affairs and of approving or condemning. Since this is a universally acknowledged principle, it is not necessary to waste words in discussing it. . . .

Declaring the right of the people to vote refuted every argument put forth by those who were of the opinion that it was too early for a parliament. The petition thus provided the following rejoinder to those who said "Our people are wanting in culture and intelligence, and have not yet advanced into the region of enlightenment. It is too early yet to establish a council-chamber elected by the people":

> If things really are as they say, then the way to give to the people culture and intelligence and to cause them to advance swiftly into the region of enlightenment is to establish a council-chamber chosen by the people. For in order to give our people culture and intelligence and to cause them to advance into the region of enlightenment, they must in the first place be induced to protect their rights, to respect and value themselves, and be inspired by a spirit of sympathy with the griefs and joys of the empire, which can only be done by giving them a voice in its concerns. It has never happened that under such circumstances the people have been content to remain in a backward condition or have been satisfied with their own want of culture and intelligence.

To those who argued that "to establish a council-chamber at once would be simply to assemble all the blockheads in the empire," the petition dealt a crushing blow:

> What shocking self-conceit and arrogant contempt for the people this indicates! No doubt there are among the officials men who surpass others in intelligence and ingenuity, but how do they know that society does not contain men who surpass them in intelligence and knowledge? Whence it may be inferred that the people of the empire are not to be treated with such arrogant contempt. If again they deserve to be treated with arrogant contempt, are the officials themselves not a part of the nation, in which case they also are wanting in intelligence and culture?

It went on, sharpening its attack:

> Between the arbitrary decisions of a few officials and the general opinion of the people, as ascertained by public discussion, where is the balance of wisdom or stupidity? We believe that the intelligence of the officials must have made progress as compared with what it was previous to the Restoration, for the intelligence and knowledge of human beings increase in proportion as they are exercised. Therefore to establish a council-chamber chosen by the people would promote the culture and intelligence of the people and cause them to advance rapidly into the region of enlightenment.

It was a well-reasoned line of argument. Finally, it urged the establishment of a strong and above all legitimate government:

> How is the government to be made strong? By the people's being of one mind. . . . The establishment of a council-chamber chosen by the people will create community of feeling between the government and the people, and they will unite into one body. Then and only then will the country become strong.

When the petition was published in the daily news journal *Nisshin shinjishi*,[15] public opinion was inflamed, and the pros and cons were debated throughout the nation. When I too read the petition while attending class at the English school in Yamada, I was jolted as if I had received an electric shock, and I felt that my course in life had been set. It was then that I resolved to become a politician.

The rupture over the Korean invasion fracas brought about two major changes in the political scene in Japan. First, one of the four pillars of the alliance that had supported the Meiji government collapsed, and with the complete disappearance of Tosa from the central government it in effect became a Satsuma-Chōshū operation. True, Ōkuma Shigenobu of Hizen and also Ōki Takatō remained in the cabinet to defend their ground, but they gradually succumbed to pressure from the clan cliques of Satsuma and Chōshū. As I shall discuss further below, Ōkuma was eventually to resign during the political crisis of 1881, leaving the government both in name and in practice under the unchallenged control of Satsuma and Chōshū.

Second, the controversy over Korea ironically provided the impetus for the eventual establishment of a constitutional government. Prior to this, voices had been heard among the people calling for democracy, but it was only after the petition for a popularly elected parliament that these isolated voices were converted into a mass movement throughout the nation.

It was a portentous coincidence for me that it was at this very time that I moved to Tokyo to take up my studies at Keiō Gijuku , which was one of the centers of the movement for democracy. What sort of a place was Keiō Gijuku ? Permit me to turn now to some personal reminiscences.

[15] The *Nisshin shinjishi*, one of Japan's first newspapers, was founded in 1872 by the Englishman John Reddie Black.

Keiō Gijuku and Fukuzawa Yukichi

Although it is called Keiō, the school was in fact established in the fifth year of Ansei (1858), seven years before the beginning of the Keiō era. It is, of course, the oldest existing institution of higher learning in Japan. In the social field it stood for the eradication of all the evils of the old system, while in the political arena it advocated the establishment of constitutional government.

There were two principal schools of political thought that inspired democratic ideals in Japan. One was the French school of liberty and equality, and the other was the English school of people's rights.

It was the members of the French school who first rose against the autocracy of the Meiji government, proclaiming human rights and equality. Some compared the Japanese situation to that of pre-revolutionary France and argued that the means to redress the abuses of the government must be learned from the French revolutionary leaders. Among this group was Nakae Chōmin, who opened a French school and taught political philosophy. He lectured on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's idea of the "social contract", and taught basic political principles through publications such as his *Seiri sōdan*. Excited by its theories of liberty and civil rights, hot-headed young people embraced the notion of a social contract, sang revolutionary songs, and turned increasingly to radical tactics. The later Liberal Party (*Jiyūtō*) belonged ideologically to the French school.

By contrast, those who were affiliated with the English school had a more realistic agenda. Rather than indulging uselessly in theory, they argued that the most effective way of extending freedom and people's rights was to establish a pragmatic English-style parliamentary government. Among the educational institutions advocating this line of thinking were Seki Shinpachi's "Kyōritsu Gakusha" and Nakamura Masanao's "Dōjinsha;" but Keiō Gijuku was indisputably the leader among them. The later Progressive Party (*Kaishintō*) drew its ideology mainly from this school of English thought.

Fukuzawa Yukichi, the founder and headmaster of Keiō, had been a brilliant student at Ogata Kōan's Tekijuku school in Osaka.[16] When the shogunate dispatched a warship to the United States in 1860, he was sent as an assistant to Kimura, Lord of Setsu, the government's naval magistrate (*gunkan bugyō*). And when the shogunate sent a mission to Europe in 1862, he again went as a member of the delegation. His observations and experiences on these missions were compiled in his book, *Conditions in the West* (*Seiyō jijō*) published in 1867. It was this book that for the first time made knowledge of western civilization and the situation in the outside world widely available in Japan. The whole nation, including men in government and opposition alike, all read the book.

At the time of the Restoration, the number of students at Keiō, which had previously been around one hundred, dropped for a time to as few as eighteen.

[16] Fukuzawa's autobiography, which he dictated toward the end of his long life, has been translated as *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, which is available in several editions. See also Carmen

The headmaster was not the least daunted by this, however, and indeed, it is said that on the day that the battle of Ueno was being fought he continued to instruct his eighteen students from a recently acquired economics text by an American named Wayland, as if nothing unusual was happening.[17]

Fukuzawa, as I have mentioned, had been abroad twice during the old régime and was painfully aware that the waves of civilization were washing at the shores of Japan. It was not enough for the shogunate to return the government to the imperial court. The lives and values of the people had to be totally reconstructed if they were to be able to compete on equal terms with the Western countries. He believed that the evil traditions of the feudal era must be completely abolished. Without such sweeping reforms, he reasoned, a new civilization could not be built. He set himself to this task by means that were considered radical and eccentric by the standards of his day. He threw away his two swords, which were considered the soul of the samurai, wore his hair in a knot like a common man, wore an apron (as do merchants), and went about proudly calling himself "commoner Yukichi of Edo (Tokyo)." It was the custom then for married women to have their eyebrows shaved and their teeth blackened. To put an end to this barbaric practice, Fukuzawa published a story book called *Deformed Girl* (*Katawa musume*). It was a time when few people were willing to give their lives for the emperor, but samurai were expected to die for their lords. In public, Fukuzawa dared to call his lord, the Daimyo of Nakatsu, a dullard. At a time when the movement to restore imperial rule was flourishing and the name of Kusunoki was associated with heroism, he also likened the death of Lord Kusunoki at the battle of Minatogawa to the beheading of a servant.[18] There was no end to these daring acts of the master. What does not seem exceptional today could well have cost him his life then. On one occasion, in fact, Asabuki Eiji, a junior man from Fukuzawa's home town, came to Edo on a secret mission to assassinate him. He lived every day with this ever-present threat.

Fukuzawa was perpetually misunderstood by his contemporaries. He not only failed to explain or apologize for his deed, for some reason he also had a strange inclination to downplay his achievements and flaunt behavior that was sure to be criticized. I once had the temerity to call him a "false villain." I suspect that he was so disgusted by the many "false heroes" around him that out of disdain for them he played a reverse role. Some of his contemporaries considered him to be too interested in money, but the charge was completely unfounded. Some time around 1897 one of the clever young men at Keiō Gijuku published a small book

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Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1964).

[17] In 1868, when the Meiji armies advanced to take control of Tokyo (then known as Edo), one group of Tokugawa retainers disobeyed the shogun's orders to surrender peacefully and set up camp at Ueno, in the middle of the city. Eventually a fierce battle was fought and the Tokugawa forces were routed. This was the battle of Ueno referred to in the text. The American book on economics referred to is Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy.*

[18] Kusonoki Masashige (? –1336) was held up as a paragon of loyalty for his valor in fourteenth-century warfare by nationalists, but there is little evidence to support that legend.

titled *Money Worship* (*Haikin shū*). It was simply a translation of an American booklet with a similar title, but without ever reading the book some people concluded that it somehow reflected the master's thought.

Fukuzawa was exceptionally versatile and resourceful, and he certainly had great ability in business matters. It would have been easy for him to make a fortune for himself had he wished to do so, but the fact was that he was almost totally indifferent to his own financial situation. He gave others ideas as to how they might make money, but for himself he was never interested. He exhorted his pupils to "save well and spend well" and he lived by the same maxim. He was also fond of saying that it was foolish to spend money without good reason. Yet, at the same time, I am sure that the amounts he gave to students, friends, and acquaintances, and to Koreans and Chinese seeking asylum in Japan must have been very large.

His contribution towards building a new civilization in Japan was enormous. He took the lead in advocating the promotion of sericulture, the construction of a national railway system, support for people's rights legislation, the opening of parliament, the assertion of national power, the expansion of the navy, the improvement of the status of women, revision of the tax system, and the development of commerce and industry. He was the first to organize public speaking events and parliamentary-style debates, and enterprises such as the Maruzen foreign book store, the Meiji Life Insurance Company, various private banks, and the *Jiji Shinpō* newspaper were all projects of his, which he gave to former students to manage. The greatest of all his projects was, however, Keiō Gijuku. A great builder must also be a great destroyer. Fukuzawa was a man of extraordinary accomplishments who had the greatness to destroy and to build at the same time. His prodigious contribution to the nation outshone that of all others who lived at the time of the Meiji Restoration. In my eyes he had no peer.

Having had the immense good fortune to study under this great man, I was nonetheless unable to fully comprehend his greatness until after his death, and constantly defied him while he lived. It is too late to regret my shameless behavior, which I can now see was like a small insect attacking the Imperial carriage. It was of course terribly thoughtless on my part, but it was due in part to the special circumstances of my first days at school in Tokyo. Let me explain.

I Pretend to Be Dumb

It was the summer of 1874 when I sailed with my little brother from Ise to Yokohama by steamship (for there were no railways in those days) and arrived at last in Tokyo, where we both enrolled at Keiō Gijuku. I was sixteen by the Japanese way of counting (though no more than fourteen the western way). My long-held dream of studying in Tokyo had come true, and I was happy, but at the same time extremely anxious. I supposed that a school as famous as Keiō would have many excellent students. Believing with a heavy heart that it was my fate to be disliked, I dreaded the thought of being treated with disdain and rejected. From childhood

I must have been extremely proud for I could not bear to be scorned. Worrying over how I could avoid being reproached or treated as a fool, I tossed sleeplessly in my bunk each night during our voyage from Ise. After mulling it over, I came up with a solution—I would play dumb. At the time I thought it was an extremely fine idea. My lack of education and ability would be exposed as soon as I opened my mouth. It followed that if I avoided saying anything then I would never betray my intellectual shortcomings, and no one could ever reproach me for them. I believe my classical Chinese education had something to do with this decision to live the life of a mute. It had taught me to despise speech and men of many words, and to revere the ancient art of writing. Since I was brought up in this Chinese way of thinking, it was not surprising that I looked down on speech and spoke very little. At the same time, however, even though I worked very hard at my writing and was bent upon becoming a good writer, I could never manage to be any better than second rate. In any event I grimly resolved not to say a word unless I had to.

When I entered the school I was enrolled in the lowest possible class, just as I had expected. I was sixteen years old, and yet the class I was in was only one small step up from my ten-year-old brother's. This greatly increased my misgivings about being ill-treated, and I resolved more firmly than ever to remain silent. On arriving for the first day of school among my noisy classmates, whose ages ranged from thirteen down to ten, I kept my mouth closed tight as a clam. Once in the classroom, however, I quickly found that the other children were asking trivial questions that even I could answer. My apprehensions were somewhat eased when I realized that I actually knew more about some things than they. Of course, this was to be expected since I had been put in a class with much younger children. The teacher must have realized it too, and in less than a month I was promoted to a higher class. In those days the school held tests every month, and promotions and demotions were made on the basis of the results. In this way I was able to move up every month, and sometimes even twice in a single month. Before long I was in the highest grade but one. Nevertheless, I continued all this time to avoid speaking more than I could possibly help; in fact, if anything, I was more determined to keep it up than ever.

A child's psychology is strange. At first I stayed silent because I was afraid of the other students, but as soon as I realized I was better than they were arrogance took over, so that now I would not speak to them because they were not worthy of my attention. Inevitably they called me smug and snobbish, and I made few friends during my schooldays. Some of my classmates at Keiō whom I remember fondly were Hatano Shōgoro, Inukai Tsuyoshi, Katō Seinosuke, Yoshida Karoku, Morita Bunzō, Miyake Yonekichi, Minoura Katsuto, and Fujita Mokichi. Yano Fumio is another, but he was in a senior class. Most of these in fact became my close friends after we left school, and while I was there it was really only Hatano, Miyake and Yoshida that I had relations with. Miyake was a boy of few words too, and he would spend the whole day sitting opposite me in my room without

saying much. Strange as it may seem, this was what he enjoyed and why he came to visit me.

I had never been a talkative boy at the best of times, and with my resolve to remain silent I became a total mute. While I was attending the school, which was located in Tokyo's Mita district, I suffered from chronic beriberi and had to go to Hakone every year for treatment at a hot spa. The Fukuzumi Inn had long been frequented by Master Fukuzawa, and as a favor it gave special treatment to his pupils from Mita. Public hot springs were usually a good place to make friends, but even there I did not make any. I used to stay in Hakone for thirty or forty days at a time, but apart from asking the maid to make my bed or bring my meal I kept to myself and just read books in my room. Later I learned from a friend that the people at the inn were quite concerned about their eccentric guest. In those days I played dumb not just to my schoolmates but to everyone. I was a poor communicator anyway, but I only made myself worse.

In spite of my obsession, however, when it suited me to torment my teachers I could speak well enough. My behavior was so terrible that I burn with shame today and feel the need to confess to it in order to absolve my guilt. I remember thinking that if the teachers were promoting me when I behaved well, they would be all the more anxious to move me into the next class if I behaved badly! My strategy was to buy books that were more advanced than those that were being used in the class. Armed with superior knowledge, I would then deliberately ask questions in order to harass the teachers. To my great satisfaction, they were usually unable to answer. So they took it in turns to advance me to higher grades, partly to avoid embarrassment and partly because they overestimated my academic abilities. Not surprisingly, though I was not aware of the fact then, I was soon put on the blacklist.

Among the teachers at the school there were two who had answers to all my questions and took no nonsense from me. As I recall, they were Kadono Ikunoshin, and Gotō Makita. They were among the youngest of the teachers and I admired them greatly. In the end, I decided that being impressed was not enough, and I strove to emulate their intelligence and scholarship. It gave me quite a shock later when Mr. Kadono turned up as my rival for a seat in the House of Representatives. Kadono Ikunoshin was the elder brother of Kadono Jūkurō, who became a prominent businessman.

Keiō Gijuku had three dormitories to which one was allocated according to age. There was one for adults, another for teenagers, and the third for children. I was put in the one for teenagers, but all my classmates lived in the adult dormitory. Perhaps for this reason when an additional dormitory for young adults was created later, I was hastily moved there.

Those who were transferred with me to the new dormitory, including one or two who were younger than I, were all notorious troublemakers, if not delinquents. I was extremely displeased and took it as an insult to be lumped together with this disreputable group. Until then my sins were limited to such improprieties as harassing teachers, but otherwise I apparently enjoyed a fair enough reputation

and was accorded good treatment. Now, however, I was feeling quite discontented and I began to make trouble not just for the teaching staff but also for the administrators. There was another motive for my consistent rebelliousness at this time, but I shall leave my discussion of it for later.

I Decide to Leave School

In 1875, the year after I entered Keiō, I turned seventeen (by Japanese counting) and made up my mind that the time had come for me to travel the world to broaden my knowledge. I decided I had better start by going all over Japan, but first I should learn as much as I could about the country's geography, fauna and flora and so on. Before I was ready to start out, my father was transferred to Kumamoto with Mr. Yasuoka and, deciding to make the most of this, I planned to use my summer holidays to tour Kyushu. So I set off for Kumamoto with my brother.

In the end I did not make the planned tour due to a couple of disheartening accidents that befell me en route. They were nothing much really, but they seemed major events to me at that age.

The best way to reach Kyushu in those days was by boat, and the fare was very reasonable as an American steamship company and Mitsubishi were in keen competition for passengers. In fact, the fares were so low that even an impecunious student could afford a first-class ticket. The group my brother and I were traveling with boarded an American steamer as first-class passengers. One of the boys in the group lost his ticket, so when a purser came to check our tickets he could not produce one. It was a serious matter. We tried hard to explain, but we were not successful in communicating with the American and did not know what to do next. Somehow I managed with a combination of body language and writing to satisfy the purser. I reasoned that if inquiries were made in Yokohama it would quickly be proved that the ticket had been purchased, in which case there would be no reason to impose a penalty. If not, then I was prepared to pay for the other boy. The truth of the matter was that I did not have enough money. Fortunately, the purser agreed to wait until we got in touch with Yokohama, and our friend was allowed to disembark. This was a relief, but for a while the incident had caused us great anxiety.

Our friend left the boat at Shimonoseki, and my brother Yukitaka and I sailed on to Nagasaki, where we spent the night at an inn. It was here that the second of my misadventures occurred.

The inn was undergoing renovations while we were there, and a large number of carpenters were thus staying there. Somehow, from the moment we arrived I had a premonition that there might be dubious characters among them. Sure enough, suddenly waking in the middle of the night I found the bag that I had placed by my pillow was missing. Then I heard someone cry out "Stop thief!" and a great deal of commotion downstairs. I guessed that one of the carpenters had taken my bag and was now pretending to chase the thief. Eventually I found the bag on the roof, forcibly opened and with its contents missing. Fortunately, I

had taken the precaution of dividing what little money I had, leaving part of it in the bag and keeping the rest on me. We were therefore able to make it to Kumamoto even with that portion in the bag lost. It had given me quite a fright though.

Unlike today, the trip from Nagasaki to Kumamoto was not an easy one at that time. We boarded a small Japanese boat at Nagasaki and made calls at Amakusa and many other ports on the way. Thinking back on things now, it was a daring trip for a boy of my age to make with a small brother. I must admit that I was a little daunted by my recent experiences and I had begun to realize that traveling required more than I had bargained for. So, with half my money lost, I gave up my bold plan to tour Kyushu and instead spent the next month with my parents.

In Kumamoto there was an English school that had been established at the time of the Restoration by the former daimyo Hosokawa, where a dedicated and religious retired American soldier by the name of Janes was now teaching.[19] There was also a medical school, which included a German on its staff. Both were small schools but had brilliant instructors. Yokoi Tokio, Ebina Danjō, Kozaki Hiromichi, and Tokutomi Iichirō all studied at the English school. Doctors such as Ogata Masaki and Kitazato Shibasaburō received their instruction at the medical school. My father passed on to me some papers written by the best students at the English school. I found many were impressively written. Some were so excellent, in fact, that I felt I would never be able to match them.

My return trip passed without untoward event and I reached Yokohama on the same boat as Yokoi Tokio. This was the beginning of my association with him.[20]

After my return from Kumamoto I still continued to play dumb. The only difference was that I was now more rebellious than ever because of my resentment at the circumstances in which I had been moved to the young adults' dormitory. I had always been a timid boy and never dared to quarrel. Worse than that, as I have told, I was often tormented by those who were more aggressive than I. Even as a child I was conscious of the need to change myself if I were one day to be a leader. In an effort to conquer my timidity, I pretended to be brave by rebelling at every opportunity. Over the years this habit became part of me, but my bravery has always been a sham.

At Keiō I found that most of the teachers were convenient butts for my newfound rebelliousness, but after being transferred to the young adults' dormitory I was even defying the school directors.

Apart from lecturing us occasionally on good learning habits when we were assembled together, Mr. Fukuzawa did not do very much teaching. Instead he picked out those of us who showed promise with the pen and made us write papers for him. I once turned in a paper titled something like "The Independence of Scholars." At that time, most educated men went to work for the government as

[19] There is a biography of Janes by F. G. Notehelfer, *American Samurai: Captain L. L. Janes and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[20] Yokoi (1857–1927), eldest son of the Restoration figure Yokoi Shonan, became a leading intellectual as pastor, president of Dōshisha, and member of the House of Representatives in the Imperial Parliament.

bureaucrats. Young as I was, I thought this was wrong, and criticized their office-hunting. I thought that scholars should be independent, and this was what I wrote about. My paper was returned with a comment written either by Fukuzawa or his deputy, I forget which. It said something to the effect that my idea was laudable, but it was too bad that so few carried it out. Most probably the comment was not meant to be sardonic, but I took it to be a way of chiding me that I was all words and no action. I took my pen and promptly wrote another pompous paper saying that I intended to do exactly as I had written. Though I had written the piece on impulse, I felt by then that I had no choice but to go through with my declared intention. For some reason I felt that I had put myself in a position where I now owed it to my teacher, Fukuzawa, to study a subject that would give me independence and a livelihood. Law, economics, and political science, the kind of subject taught at Keiō Gijuku, gave one no chance but to work in government or some other equally stultifying bureaucracy. Racking my brains, I decided to become a dyer.

Looking back now, it seems to me that this was a thoroughly irrational urge, but I did have a motive. I had learned from a book I read around that time that British and French soldiers fighting in the Crimean War fell ill because of the bad dye used in their stockings. I had read somewhere else that Japan was importing low-quality dyes from the West, and that not only did cloth dyed with them fade easily but that they were rumored to be toxic. Improving dyes, I concluded, was a major enterprise that would be a service to the country and a means for my own independence. The best course, it seemed to me, was to quit Keiō and enroll in the national Technological Institute (*kanritsu no kōgaku ryō*). At about this same time, I had mounted another challenge to the school directors and student supervisory board over the question of morality and discipline. I claimed that the bad manners of our students were a disgrace to Fukuzawa and destructive of the fine reputation of the Mita school. By this point the directors had decided that I was too much of a nuisance, and they secretly contacted my guarantor. The school authorities felt sorry for me and did not want to expel me, but it was hoped that I would quietly leave. They were prepared to expel me if I did not do so. Thus, I withdrew from Keiō Gijuku and entered the Technological Institute. I believe this was early in 1876.

Around the Osaka Conference

While I was absorbed with finding my way, the world around me was shifting with great speed. At the heart of it all was the movement demanding the establishment of a parliament. In January 1874, when Itagaki, Soejima, Gotō, and Etō submitted their petition for the establishment of a popularly elected parliament, public opinion in favor of the proposal spread to the farthest ends of the country like ripples from a stone hurled into a pond. Among those who opposed the petition were Katō Hiroyuki, Mori Arinori, and Nishi Amane; outstanding among the supporters were Tsuda Mamichi, Nishimura Shigeki, and Nakamura Masanao.

Since Katō Hiroyuki had published important works on constitutional government even before the fall of the shogunate, people were truly astonished that he should now stand at the forefront of the movement opposing the proposal.

Itagaki, Soejima, and Gotō, of course, busied themselves fighting against such opposition, while Ōi Kentarō and others used pseudonyms to engage in heated debates, which soon flooded the newspapers. To support the petition Itagaki formed a political organization that he named the Aikoku kōtō or Patriotic Public Party. He gave it this name because he believed that the new party's goals of establishing a constitutional government and destroying the clan cliques represented a true expression of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor. Its pledge began, "Heaven, in creating our people, has endowed them with certain inalienable and universal rights." After proclaiming the rights of the people, the document addressed the urgent need for removing the remaining evils of the feudal system that regarded people as slaves: "If the ways of the government are not reformed, our longing for the enhancement of our nation's honor and the increase of the people's wealth will be to no avail. Roused by our sense of loyalty and love of our country, we pledge with like minded colleagues that we will proclaim the universal rights of our people and thus preserve heaven's blessings. This is the correct way to demonstrate our love of our ruler and our country."

Charging that the national government had become the private fief of one or two clan cliques, it asserted: "Government must be for the people. . . . The monarch and his subjects should be as one in sharing prosperity and adversity and whatever befalls our nation. It is only in this way that our Japanese empire can be maintained and prosper."

Unlike today's political parties, the Aikoku kōtō did not publicize its guiding principles or policy platform and it did not recruit members. Nevertheless it could be regarded as a kind of embryonic political party. Only a few days before its formation was announced, however, Iwakura Tomomi, the minister of the right, was ambushed by Takeichi Kumakichi and nine other men from Tosa who had had an argument with him earlier in the Akasaka area of Tokyo. As a result of this, the government considered the very existence of the Aikoku kōtō to be extremely dangerous.[21] So many different steps were taken to suppress it that before long it simply dissolved itself.

Once lit, however, the fire of the freedom and people's rights movement could not be put out merely by the dissolution of one Aikoku kōtō. When the former councilors (*sangi*) filed their petition for a popular parliament, men of like mind rose throughout the land, organized political societies, and demanded the establishment of a popularly elected assembly. The momentum increased by the day to the point where the reluctant government could no longer resist its force. At this time, Ōkubo Toshimichi had come to be the single most prominent figure in the government. Although it is usual to speak of the dominance of the four clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen, I have already discussed how, after the split that occurred over the Korea issue, the influence of Tosa and Hizen in the

[21] Itagaki, like the men who attacked Iwakura, was from Tosa.

higher echelons of government had been completely destroyed. Chōshū's power also suffered a blow when Kido Takayoshi resigned from the government in April of 1874 because his views about a proposed expedition to attack Taiwan did not fit with the dominant opinion. Popular demand for a genuine parliament was thus gaining momentum just as the ruling clique was going through a phase of self-destruction. The petrified clan government tried to bolster its position by inviting back the various elder statesmen of the Restoration who had resigned since the split over the Korea issue. This took place at the historic Osaka conference, which was convened in January, 1875.

The conference was organized by Inoue Kaoru, who was then in Osaka. From the government side there were Ōkubo Toshimichi and Itō Hirobumi, while those that had left the government were represented by Kido Takayoshi and Itagaki Taisuke. Inoue served as moderator. Saigō Takamori, whose presence had been most desired, rebuffed the invitation, saying that if Kido and Itagaki were to be in the government there was no need for him. Soejima Taneomi too voiced exception and declined to attend.

As soon as the conference got under way, Itagaki put forward his long-cherished dream of a representative parliament, insisting that it was the only way to fulfill the grand purpose of the Restoration. Kido had already submitted a statement of his position to the government in September of 1873, and was in agreement with the principles of constitutionalism. He felt, however, that given the circumstances and the level of the people's political sophistication, the sudden introduction of a representative parliament would have adverse effects on government. He thus preferred an evolutionary approach, and argued that for the time being regional administrative officials could be expected to represent the popular will. Then, as a first step, local assemblies (*chōsonkai*) could be established to enable people to learn about democracy. Next, prefectural assemblies would be formed, and this would eventually lead to the creation of a national assembly. Ōkubo was the most conservative of all, but not even he was completely against reform, admitting that a popular parliament would have to be set up eventually, while maintaining that now was not the time.

Soon, the ice was broken and a start was made towards compromise. None of the participants opposed constitutionalism in principal. The only differences were to do with questions of method and timing. With a good deal of give and take on both sides a compromise was reached on a general plan to establish a *Genrō-in*, or senate of senior statesmen, a *Daishin-in*, or supreme court, and to organize a conference of regional administrative officials. Kido and Itagaki agreed to return to the government as councilors and to cooperate in the completion of the new political system. In April of 1875 an Imperial rescript was issued confirming the separation of powers and endorsing the idea of constitutional government: "Building now upon Our wishes as proclaimed in the Charter Oath, We hereby establish the Genrō-in to enact laws for the Empire, and the Daishin-in to consolidate the judicial authority of the Courts. By also assembling representatives from the various provinces of the Empire, the public mind will be best known and the

public interest best consulted, and in this manner the wisest system of administration will be determined."[22]

The first conference of regional administrative heads was held in June of 1875. Regional heads (*chihō chōkan*) had already been called to the Ministry of Finance (*Ōkurashō*) as early as April of 1873 to submit their recommendations on government and finance, and this had proved extremely productive. Thus, taking heed of the strength of public opinion, the government decided to use a conference of these same regional heads in place of a popularly elected assembly. Members would then come to develop an understanding of parliamentary government, and eventually this would lead to the establishment of a full fledged constitutional system. On May 2, 1874, the government promulgated rules and regulations concerning the parliamentary constitution (*gi'in kempō*). One part of the assembly rules that were included in this document stated, "While the main business of the governors who have been appointed to each region of the country lies in their role as governors, when in the assembly they must nevertheless strive to serve as representatives of the ordinary people." In other words, these government-appointed officials were expected to represent the will of the people but only when they were in the assembly. This was unabashed sophistry, but such was the original design for the conference of governors. This abnormal agency, which pretended to represent the people, could not be expected to function properly. Before long, it simply followed the will of the central government and, at best, served as a forum in which the views of individual governors could be questioned. It was respected by neither officials nor the people.

Considering the domestic situation at this time, we should note that Etō Shinpei's Saga Rebellion had taken place in February of 1874, and that by October of 1876 the Shinpūren rebellion had broken out in Kumamoto. It was during this latter rebellion that Governor Yasuoka, my father's superior, was killed, together with the commander of the Kumamoto garrison, Major Taneda. A geisha from Tokyo, who had become Major Taneda's mistress and was in Kumamoto at the time, sent a brief telegram to her mother in Tokyo informing her of the tragedy: "Patron dead. I am wounded." It went the rounds in the capital causing a great deal of hilarity, and inspiring the line: "What will you do now?"

The rebellion in Kumamoto left a large number of people dead or wounded and, left alone in Tokyo, I was quite concerned abut the fate of my family. As it turned out, my father had been attacked, but miraculously escaped injury, and my mother Sadako, I learned to my immense relief, had escaped with the three children, Yukitaka, Yukitake, and Masa. After this incident my father resigned his position and left Kumamoto to retire in the vicinity of Yamada in Ise, where he had earlier acquired a piece of land.

At about the same time yet another rebellion broke out, this time led by Maebara Issei in Hagi (Chōshū). With uprisings like this occurring one after the other, a mood of alarm had begun to spread in the country, but when they were all suppressed without difficulty people realized that radical means were not the way

[22] Adapted from the translation in McLaren, ed. *Japanese Government Documents*, p. 42.

to achieve their goals for the nation. Political societies that had sprung up spontaneously throughout the nation now converged to mount a single offensive against the government to demand direct representation in a parliament.

The most powerful of these political societies was the Risshisha of Tosa, which had a membership of more than one thousand. The Risshisha had opened a private school, like the one run by Saigō in Satsuma, to teach the public about government, and it used an old manor house located in Obiya-machi in Kōchi as a public hall and organized for speeches to be given there. When Itagaki resigned from the government for the second time, his reputation was widely respected throughout the Inland Sea area, and since many of the advocates of popular parliament were inspired by him, the Risshisha of Tosa was at the center of the national parliamentary movement.

In Awa, there was another political group called the Jijosha or Self-Help Society. Nakamura Masanao's translation of Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help* was then sweeping the country under the Japanese title *Stories of Self-Made Men in the West, or a Treatise on Self-Help* (*Saikoku risshi hen-Jijoron*), and anyone with ambition to be part of the new civilization competed to read it. It was for this reason that Itagaki named his Tosa group the "Risshisha," or the Society of Self-Made Men, and why the group in Awa was called the "Jijosha," or Self-Help Society.

It was during this time that I entered the Technological Institute. I was already eighteen and I could not help but be affected by the developments in the country.

Writing to Newspapers Instead of Studying

The Technological Institute became the foundation of the engineering sciences in Japan. Later it was renamed the Engineering University (*Kōbu daigakkō*) and today it is the Engineering Department of the University of Tokyo. The college was founded when Itō Hirobumi was the minister for industry, for the purpose of encouraging practical learning from the West. The management of the college and even the academic direction were left entirely up to foreigners. The teaching faculty were all Westerners, and lectures as well as all other activities were conducted exclusively in English. I had learned a little English previously, but since my lessons at Keiō Gijuku consisted entirely of written translation, I could not speak or understand a word of the spoken language. My shortcomings were not only in English. Up until this point I had studied almost no mathematics, which was of course necessary at the engineering college. Given all of this I was hardly qualified for admission to the engineering college, so I first enrolled myself in something along the lines of a preparatory school[23] to study English and mathematics. Even this proved to be a formidable challenge for me.

[23] Ozaki's recollections here are inexact. The Kōgakuryō was established within the Ministry of Industry (or Engineering) in 1871 and renamed the Kōbu daigakkō several years later. Dyer, who had

At that time an English missionary by the name of Shaw lived within the grounds of Fukuzawa Yukichi's estate. This was the man who later developed the small hill town of Karuizawa as a summer resort. It was from him that I learned English and advanced mathematics. Mr. Shaw happened to be a friend of Mr. Dyer, who was the de facto president of the engineering college, and through his introduction, undeserved though it was, I was soon enrolled in the college. The college was then located in Tokyo's Toranomon district. Later, the building came to be used by one of the Imperial offices (*goryōkyoku*) and then the Toranomon Women's School. The official president of the college at the time of my enrolment was, I believe, Ōshima Keisuke but, as I have mentioned, the teaching staff were all Westerners. Henry Dyer, who held the real power, was a Scotsman, so everything from food and dress to housing were all done in the Scottish manner. The college doctor was a foreigner and the toilets were imported from the West. Come to think of it, it was quite a radical arrangement. On returning home, Mr. Dyer became president of Glasgow University and stood as a candidate for parliament.

The teachers were all up-and-coming figures fresh out of British universities. Apart from Mr. Dyer, there were many others who went on to become world-renowned scholars, including the seismologist, Milne, and the architect, Josiah Conder.

My intention was to study chemistry there, and after graduation to become a dyer in the Nishijin quarter in Kyoto. Had things worked out according to plan my life would have been entirely different from what it is today. But that was not to be.

From the very moment I first entered a chemistry laboratory at the college I began to suffer headaches, and the smell of the malodorous chemicals every time an experiment was conducted soon became unbearable. I tried different classes but did not like anything that was taught.

I did not have a strong constitution, and although the spa in Kusatsu had helped a little I was far from enjoying normal health. The college would have turned me down for health reasons had Mr. Dyer not intervened. On top of being such a weakling, having to study subjects I did not like was not helpful. In the end I became quite ill. Of the approximately one year I was at the college, I probably spent half that time in the infirmary.

I regretted my decision to go there. I had never liked chemistry anyway, and now I was trapped by this odious curriculum. I reproached myself bitterly. I hardly studied during class. Mr. Dyer personally oversaw the study period every evening when all the students were gathered in the big dining room. Whenever I was not in the infirmary I had to be there. The study period was usually two to three hours, and one could not just sit and do nothing, so to kill time I thought I would write to the newspapers. Mr. Dyer did not understand what I was doing. He would come around and commend me for studying so hard. Was I doing some translation, he

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headed a technological school in Glasgow, was recruited as its head. A lower school (Shōgakkō) was developed as part of the college and lasted from 1874 to 1877.

would ask. I could not continue for very long like this. It was impossible for me to keep up with such disagreeable subjects, so before the year was out I left the college.

One of the pieces I wrote during these study periods was entitled "Conquer Satsuma!" (*Tō Satsu ron*). At that time, Satsuma was practically an independent country and it openly defied the power of the central government. Saigō Takamori built a private school, kept a private army, and did as he pleased. Satsuma was a special case and was treated accordingly; the government could not do anything about it. With the Restoration, the class system was formally abolished and on the surface the former samurai warriors, farmers, artisans, and merchants were considered to enjoy equality. In fact, however, the leaders of Satsuma and Chōshū continued to act in the old autocratic manner and ruled their governments as they always had. Even as a youth I felt indignant at their insolence and it was thus that I wrote an article calling for the conquest of Satsuma. I was secretly proud of my thesis, and as a mark of my gratitude and respect for my old master I presented it to Fukuzawa. All he said, however, was that I could be arrested for writing such things. I did not welcome the thought of going to prison, but I felt I could not ignore my convictions and just do nothing. Although Fukuzawa did not approve, I mailed the piece to the *Akebono Shinbun* which, together with the *Nichi-nichi*, the *Hōchi*, and the *Chōya*, was one of the big four newspaper of the day. This was my first association with the newspapers. Before long, Saigō Takamori raised the standard of revolt, provoking the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. This made me feel that my own call for the "conquest of Satsuma" had been heeded, and I was very pleased.[24]

Politics in Workers' Jackets

My formal education ended when I left the engineering college. I had attended classes at the Hirata school, at English schools in Takasaki and Yamada, at Keiō Gijuku, and finally at the college, but my year and a half at Keiō was about the longest I spent at any of these institutions, and thus, my time as a student in fact totaled no more than five or six years.

At this point I decided not to try and enter any other institution, and so now with free time on my hands, I spent my days reading or writing to newspapers and doing translations. It was during this period that some friends and I decided to revive a magazine called the *Minkan zasshi*, which had been started by Fukuzawa, but had been out of print for some time. Our first issue was published in April, 1877. At first it was a monthly, but from March, 1878, we began to publish daily.

The financial side of the magazine was the responsibility mainly of Asabuki Eiji, and with Kowatari Norihide, Katō Seinosuke, Hatano Shōgorō, Honda Ma-

[24] Saigō was a complex figure; his career and image are the subject of Charles L. Yates, *Saigō Takamori: The Man Behind the Myth* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995).

goshirō, and Motoyama Hikoichi on the writing staff it did remarkably well. It was Asabuki who suggested that since we were publishing a magazine for the people we should wear workers' jackets instead of the formal Japanese *haori* and *hakama* or the Western suits that men of politics seemed to favor. I agreed it was an excellent idea. But the jacket did not suit me at all. I was too stiff in my speech and posture, and the others had a good laugh at my expense.

Eventually, my friends were taken away from Tokyo by their work and we all went our separate ways. On top of this, when Home Minister Ōkubo was assassinated in Tokyo's Kioizaka quarter in May 1878, the magazine carried an editorial headed "Bad Luck for the Home Minister!" and urged the government to remain calm. This displeased the authorities, who demanded that the magazine publish an acknowledgment that it would not write the same sort of thing in the future. Fukuzawa was greatly offended and again discontinued the magazine.

While I was searching for ways to pass my time after leaving the engineering college, I accepted an invitation by the Kyōkan Gijuku at Yushima in Hongō to give a series of lectures on English history. The school was considered to be one of the three most reputable at the time, along with Fukuzawa's Keiō and Nakamura Masanao's Dōjin-sha. I was asked because the son of the president was a classmate of mine at both Keiō and the engineering college. My lectures, I believed, were easy to understand, but the students obviously did not think so. Many of them were older than me and they ridiculed me for my "ghostly" lectures. Japanese ghosts have no legs, so what they meant by this was that the ends of my sentences were unclear. They showed their disapproval by boycotting my lectures, so after half a dozen I quit. Later, I was often criticized in parliament for my affected speech, in particular because of the way I overemphasized the ends of sentences. This must have been due to an unconscious effort on my part to correct my "ghostly" diction.

I lived the life of a poor student for some time after my failed lecture series, and my translations of works such as "Western Fault-Finding" (*Seiyō anasagashi*) and "Speaking in Public" (*Kōkai enzetsu hō*) were products of this period. It was also around this time that I visited Fukuzawa to ask his opinion about my writing. He glanced at me sideways while picking at his nose hair, and asked me who exactly it was that I expected would read what I wrote. I was offended by his manners and the way he posed the question. Attempting to control my feelings, I solemnly replied that I was writing for the educated reader. With this, he erupted in anger. "You fool!" he shouted. "You have to write for monkeys! That's what I do." And then he smiled at me the way he always did when he was charming people. I was confused and did not know whether to take his words as scorn or praise. Nevertheless, his attitude was so galling that I did my best to avoid visiting him from then on. I was wrong. He had shown me the secret of practical writing.

For a while I went to Katō Ōrō, a teacher of Chinese learning (*kangaku*) in Surugadai (Tokyo) to study Chinese poetry and prose. He was a master of ancient Chinese music, and maintained that those who studied poetry should study music as well. This meant learning to play such instruments as the Chinese flute, the *koto*, the *hichi*, the *ritsu*, and the *shō*. I never mastered any of these, but I did

learn the basics of how to play the koto. Certain of my friends found this quite amusing and insisted that my hands were better suited to plows and spades than delicate musical instruments. The pen-name I used during this period of my life was "Kinsen," the characters for which suggested a combination of the sound of the koto and the water from a spring.

It was, I think, towards the end of 1877 that Hatano Shōgorō, Kirino Sutezō, Katō Seinosuke, and I founded a group called the *Kyōgi-sha* to organize public debates and speeches and to write letters to the newspapers. In competition with our group was an organization called the *Yūkō-sha*, which had formed because we were too conceited! The leader of the *Yūkō-sha* was Inukai Tsuyoshi, but at this stage I was yet to get to know him.[25]

It was to Fukuzawa that I, who had hardly spoken at all during my time at Keiō, owed my ability to speak before the public. Fukuzawa had set up a hall for public speaking in Mita, where he taught by example. It was not enough to lead people by the pen, he said; one must be able to teach by word of mouth. He therefore sought to encourage public speaking. At first I took the rostrum with great reluctance, but soon I was invited to speak in many places. I accepted these invitations, but I had no ambition to be an orator. In my heart I still despised speaking, so I never became very good at it. I spoke not to perform, but to communicate my thoughts.

Of all the speeches I gave in those days the only one I still remember was titled "Shōbu-ron" or "Militarism." This speech was given, if I remember rightly, in the spring of 1879 in the corner of a temple in Shiba that housed something along the lines of a naval officers' club. This club, which I believe was probably the predecessor of today's *Suikō-sha*, would, from time to time, invite various people to address them. Through an intermediary, Hasegawa Sadao, a naval officer and later member of the House of Peers, had asked me, despite my young age, if I would speak, and it was thus that I came to give my speech on the virtues of militarism. In it, I used examples from history to argue that the rise and fall of nations depended on whether or not the spirit of militarism had been developed. When this speech came to be published it was warmly received and provided opportunities that changed the course of my life.

Editor-in-Chief at Twenty-one

One day in the winter of 1879 I received word that Fukuzawa wished to see me. I hurried over to see him, and he told me that Kowatari Norihide, who had recently been appointed as editor-in-chief of the regional newspaper, *Niigata Shinbun*, had taken ill and died. He explained that he had been asked to find a replacement, and

[25] As the reader will see in the following chapters, the two men later became closely linked in parliamentary causes. Even their pen names were similar, with Inukai's Bokudō corresponding to Ozaki's Gakudō.

asked if I would be interested. Kowatari had been at Keiō after I left, but he was older than me in years and an exceptionally talented writer. Niigata itself is, of course, a long way from anywhere, but at that time the *Niigata Shinbun* was one of the leading regional papers of the day, rivaling the big newspapers in Osaka, and so I promptly accepted the offer.

There was, of course, no train to Niigata then. It was still only recently that rickshaws had been introduced, and the trip was a very long one. I stopped overnight at Kumagaya, Honjō, Takasaki, and Karuizawa, and on the sixth day I reached Nagaoka, where I embarked by river boat for Niigata.

In Niigata, people had turned out on the docks to welcome their new editor-in-chief. When I disembarked from the boat they quickly sized me up and asked me if Mr. Ozaki had arrived. When I told them they were looking at him, they inspected me dubiously and welcomed me with obvious misgivings. Later when they had gotten used to me they told me that at first they were shocked by the realization that the man they had thought was a secretary was actually Ozaki himself. They had felt cheated by Fukuzawa for sending such a youngster, and they were deeply apprehensive about my ability to head their newspaper. Given that I was only twenty-one, small, and physically unimpressive, I could scarcely blame them for having these doubts.

Fukuzawa Yukichi's Letter of Recommendation

(Addressed to Mr. Suzuki Chōzō, owner of the *Niigata Shinbun*, dated September 18, 1879)

Dear Mr. Suzuki,

On that matter of someone to help you with your newspaper, I am very pleased to recommend Mr. Ozaki Yukio, who is a former student from Keiō Gijuku.

Mr. Ozaki was at Keiō Gijuku for some years and is a gifted writer. It is possible that Mr. Nishiwaki would also know him. I am confident that he will be able to carry out the duties required of him. Recently he has been invited to speak by the army. He has also been in contact with the Osaka Shinbun and up until this morning had not yet made up his mind as to what he should do. However, I have just now succeeded in prevailing on him to go to Niigata. After I hear from you by telegram that you have agreed among yourselves to accept this recommendation, I will see to it that he leaves for Niigata as soon as he is ready.

As to what you might give Mr. Ozaki by way of remuneration, I would judge, since in my opinion he is certainly no less capable than Mr. Kowatari, that a salary of fifty yen per month would be in order. With regard to travel expenses, whatever you offer will of course be acceptable.

Please forgive me that being rather pressed at this moment I have referred only to the matter in hand.

Yours sincerely,

Fukuzawa Yukichi

At that time, the *Niigata Shinbun*'s main office was in Igaku-cho, where today's printing shop is. It was there that I wrote the paper's editorials. From the beginning, my editorials were quite popular. Subscriptions increased, the employees were happy, and my reputation within the company was good. In fact, my efforts had little to do with the paper's success, since subscriptions to newspapers everywhere were increasing greatly due to a surge in people's sense of civic responsibility and general enlightenment on the part of their readers.

For me, writing was one thing, but speaking with people was another matter altogether. As editor-in-chief of the newspaper I was visited by all sorts of country folks and was often invited to be their guest. I was not a good socializer, though, and the best I could usually manage by way of conversation were the short ambiguous syllables so beloved of inarticulate Japanese. I found it difficult to make even the usual mundane remarks about the weather. Anyway, I considered it the height of silliness to say what everybody knew already: "Warm today, isn't it!" "Yes, isn't it!" "Turned a little cold, hasn't it!" "Yes, it has, hasn't it!"

Some time after I arrived in Niigata I was invited in my capacity as a journalist to a dinner co-sponsored by the government and private business. Governor Nagayama of Niigata was the main guest. When I arrived I found I had been seated at the end of the table. I was young and unimportant, so I suppose it was not out of order for me to be given this inferior place. But I had heard that in America journalists were held in high regard and were treated as uncrowned kings wherever they went, so I took the organizer aside and complained that this was not the way to treat a journalist, and asked for a better seat. The organizer was unsympathetic, but I would not give up, spurred by the conviction that the custom of always putting government officials above private citizens had to be changed. Governor Nagayama overheard us. "That's interesting," he told the organizer. "Put him next to me." As a result of this my request was finally answered and I found myself sitting next to the governor. I was not pleased by the tone in which the governor had spoken, however, and later in the meal, after I had begun to feel the effects of the *sake* I made my feelings known. Grabbing the carefully arranged flowers from a vase behind the governor, I then proceeded to shower him with petals and said, "Accept these with my compliments!", before storming off home.

In those days a governor was a very powerful figure and the petty officials present were enraged. They swore not to let Ozaki get away with this outrageous performance, and they meant it. Governor Nagayama must have been an extremely tolerant person, however, because he remained completely unruffled throughout and showed no sign of anger at all. I was ashamed of my behavior, which was inexcusable even for an excitable youth. Governor Nagayama, I thought, must be a really exceptional person.

Newspapers then, unlike their successors today, considered the editorial to be their most important feature, and consequently, editorial writers wielded considerable power. The head of the editorial committee was called editor-in-chief and it was his responsibility to oversee the editing of the entire newspaper. The title of "editor-in-chief" was not enough for me, however, and from the start I referred to myself as "premier" (*sōri*) of the *Niigata Shinbun*. I even had the presumption

to assert my authority over the financial side of operations and went so far as to have the company president, who is, after all, the representative of the shareholders, replaced. Most young men do tend to be arrogant, but even so, it is a wonder that there were no complaints at the time. Several decades later, the son of the owner of the *Niigata Shinbun* showed me a letter that helped to explain why this had been the case.

The letter had been written by Fukuzawa to the owner of the newspaper at the time that I took up my new appointment. It seems that Fukuzawa was more than a little concerned about the possible behavior of the stubborn, egotistical young man he had recommended for the job, and he thus felt it necessary to describe my character in some detail to my new employer and to offer pertinent advice on how I should be handled. Fukuzawa certainly knew me well! Little did I know or appreciate this when I was at Keiō and even afterwards, and to this day I regret the fact that I kept my distance and sometimes rebelled, thus failing to fully avail myself of the opportunity to learn more from my teacher while he was alive.

In fact, just before leaving Tokyo for Niigata, it dawned on me that I had only just left school and completely lacked the experience necessary to take on the job of editor-in-chief of a newspaper, and so I visited Fukuzawa to ask him how I could best contribute to society in my new profession. He told me that I should devote myself to fostering the knowledge and experience of the local people, and that I should not just write in the newspaper, but also organize public speeches and lead the world around me by appealing to both their eyes and their ears. He also wrote a few directions on a scroll of paper to remind me, for example, of the importance of educating people in the ways of commerce and of the need to assist in the establishment of a prefectural assembly.

Following Fukuzawa's instructions I forced myself to speak in public a great deal in the Niigata region, and as a result of this I found that though I was not good in group discussion I did possess a certain gift for reasoned argument. Compared to some of my contemporaries who had also graduated from Keiō Gijuku I was a very poor speaker, but it seems I was able to hold an audience because what I said made sense.

With regard to the development of commerce, I gained the cooperation of powerful businessmen in Niigata to help organize the Northern Japan Society for the Promotion of Commerce (*Hokuetsu kōshōkai*), whose general purpose was to provide opportunities for commercial education and eventually to build a school. I was not able to see to the establishment of the school since I was to leave Niigata as suddenly as I came. However, plans were drawn up with the help of a group of volunteers, and in December of the year I left the school opened. This was the predecessor of today's Niigata Prefectural School of Commerce (*Kenristu Niigata shōgyō gakkō*).

I also started a poetry society called the *Issui-ichigin-sha* (Have-a-drink, Read-a-poem Society) in which we practiced writing and reading poetry under our teacher Sakaguchi Gōhō. In actual fact, we spent more time drinking than writing poetry. Nonetheless, most of the poems later included in my *Poems by Gakudō* were written at this time.

Sakaguchi had been an outstanding student of Mori Shuntō, who was well known in Tokyo, and his *Short History* was read all over the country. Despite his achievements and fame, at the time he still was a handsome young man of only twenty-two or so years. He worked for an important local businessman at the rice exchange, yet still found time to produce poems and calligraphy that were of the same quality as the work of veterans and masters. He really was an amazing person. Sakaguchi did not talk politics in those days, but as time went by he became leader of the Progressive Party (*Shinpotō*) in the Niigata region. Later he served for some time as a member of parliament and was a most helpful colleague.

I Lead the Niigata Prefectural Assembly

With the issuing of prefectural assembly regulations in July 1878, it was announced that assemblies were to be convened stage by stage beginning in March of the following year. This was in accordance with the decision taken by the Osaka conference to pursue a gradual approach to popular participation in government according to which prefectural assemblies would first be convened before proceeding to the creation of a national parliament. The opening of an assembly in Niigata Prefecture had been delayed and there was none in existence when I arrived. Since this was the first time that such assemblies had been created in Japan, no one was conversant with the rules of parliamentary procedure. I therefore helped with the opening of the assembly as it was one of the things Fukuzawa had wanted me to do.

With the assembly at last about to open, it was ruled that since my official title was secretary (*shoki*) my seat should be placed below that of the speaker. I was not pleased at this since I had assigned myself the role of "teacher." I insisted that if I was to be able to lead the assembly then I should be seated beside the speaker. Finally, I did get a table and chair at his side.

The speaker, Matsumura Bunjirō, was an affable gentleman with high moral standards, but he was completely unaccustomed to the responsibilities of his office. He was too easy-going to manage the assembly, and it was often the case that in my self-appointed role of advisor I had to help him carry out his duties. There were times when debate got out of hand and I would advise the speaker to stop the proceedings and dismiss the assembly. On occasion, it actually adjourned. At other times, when the speaker did not listen to me, I myself declared the assembly adjourned, stopped taking notes, and simply left. Minutes of those meetings that I kept as a curiosity contain comments in my hand, such as "Stupid argument not worth listening to!" or "This proposal unfit for adoption!" The following year I had every intention of continuing as the assembly's so-called secretary, but the affable Mr. Matsumura resigned from office and was replaced by Yamaguchi Kenzaburō. Yamaguchi was much sterner than his predecessor, so knowing that my presumptions of authority in the assembly would no longer be indulged as before, I strategically resigned my post as soon as he was appointed speaker.

The years 1880 and 1881 witnessed a great surge in the movement for freedom and people's rights in Japan. For me, though, buried in the tall grasses of Echigo, far from the center of politics and with no adversary at hand, life was rather dull. This changed with the appearance of a powerful foe in Nagaoka. This was Ōhashi Sahei, founder of the Hakubunkan publishing house and father of Ōhashi Shintarō. He was a man of great ability, and had decided to found a newspaper company in Nagaoka. Niigata was, however, the center of the region, and the *Niigata Shinbun* had a history with which its young rival could not normally hope to compete. Ōhashi therefore set about looking for someone who would be able to generate more popular interest than I was able to. He was prepared to spend however much was needed to attract such a person, and in the end he chose Kusama Tokifuku.

In terms of both his age and his academic background, Kusama was my junior, but he had become quite famous in Tokyo as a result of his having given speeches and worked with men such as Numa Morikazu.[26] Ōhashi thus invited him to challenge me and my more established newspaper. The going salary for a newsman of that rank in those days ranged from fifty to eighty yen, but it was rumored that Kusama had been offered as much as one hundred and fifty or even two hundred yen. This can be taken as an indication of just how much enthusiasm Ōhashi had for his new project. Kusama arrived confident that he could easily humble the paper that I was writing for. He had also been to Keiō Gijuku, but though I knew him by sight I had never made his acquaintance. I knew of his reputation, however, so I welcomed the challenge presented by his arrival and wrote editorials that I hoped would keep him in his place. Despite my enthusiasm, however, I eventually ran out of issues to write about in my editorials. Then I remembered my speech on "Militarism" and published it in fifteen daily installments under the same title. It was received so warmly in this form that I decided to publish it as a book in 1880. It sold very well and I received quite a few orders from Tokyo.

As the cry for freedom and people's rights rang ever louder throughout the country, the mood even caught on in Niigata. My own ambitions burned inside me as I felt the pull of the changing times and watched the situation evolving in the capital. After a year and a half in the country I yearned to return to Tokyo. Just then, out of the blue, I received a letter from Yano Fumio, telling me that parliament would soon meet and that it had been decided to bring capable people into government to investigate related matters. Prominent young men from Keiō would be assigned to the task and I had been nominated to join the group. Would I come to Tokyo? I was looking for an opportunity to return to Tokyo anyway, so I gladly accepted.

Yano had been my senior at Keiō and I might even have studied under him at some point, but I remembered him only vaguely. After he left Keiō I heard only that he had become a correspondent for the *Hōchi Shinbun*. There had been no

[26] Numa Morikazu (1843–1890) was an important figure in the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights in the early Meiji period. He later became a member of the Progressive Party and managed the Tokyo-Yokohama *Mainichi Shinbun*.

communication between us and I supposed that he had heard as little of me as I had of him. It was entirely as a consequence of my essay on militarism that he now wrote to me. I learned later that another Keiō graduate of his acquaintance had been impressed by the essay and recommended me to Yano, who decided on the strength of it to include me among the new recruits for government.

When I resigned from the *Niigata Shinbun*, I recommended that Tsuda Kōji be appointed as editor-in-chief in my place. He had been a classmate of mine, and later in life attained a high position in Mitsui. Tsuda was succeeded by Minoura Katsundo, and he in turn by Yoshida Karoku. All three were recommended by me at the request of the paper. At one point, the *Niigata Shinbun* was discontinued temporarily as a result of unfortunate trouble with the political parties, and since resuming business it seems never to have regained its former reputation.

At any event, here I was at twenty-two, a former editor-in-chief and ecstatic at the prospect of venturing into real politics. Around the time of the Restoration in Japan, men were considered to have come of age at fifteen and women at thirteen. Everyone was precocious and I was no exception. I had been discussing politics from childhood, and by the time I went to Niigata, as it was with anyone who had ambitions to be in politics, I wanted to be part of the struggle to destroy the system of autocratic clan government. This, I thought to myself, would require me to have a loyal following of my own. One's own children would surely be the most loyal of followers, and if mine were to be politicians they would have to be boys. I dreamt therefore of having as many boys as possible before I became old and impotent. This ambitious plan had its origins in a story that I had believed to be true as a child in which a grand old lord from Mito had sired some fifty sons and had them installed as feudal lords all over the country, thereby greatly increasing his power and influence. Taking my inspiration from this story, I wasted no time getting married and rejoiced at the prompt arrival of a son in Niigata. I felt that I was well on my way to emulating the old lord, but I had not understood the economics of fatherhood, which in no time spoiled my plan. My salary was barely enough for my own modest needs, but now with a wife and child (nowhere near fifty!) my fantasy of fathering large numbers of sons was shattered overnight.

In those days public-spirited men were like monks. We were poor but we had great dreams and never thought about our own welfare. Faced with reality, though, I quickly came to understand the inconveniences of poverty. Among my other useful discoveries during this period was the unprofitability of having relations with other women and all the problems that that invites. Despite these things, I still cherished the dream of committing my life to a great cause together with those I trusted. It was on account of this that I ended up wronging my brother. I shall speak more of this later.