Kyuhanjo

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Kyûhanjô

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Introduction

Kyûhanjô 藩情—’Conditions in an Old Feudal Clan’—is a first-hand account of the differences which existed between the upper and lower samurai at the end of the Tokugawa period. The author—Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉—is widely known as a prominent educator, a pioneer in the introduction of western learning and culture, the founder of Keiô University and of the daily paper Jiji Shimpô, and the author of a large and varied number of literary works with a circulation at that time unparalleled.

Nearly all Fukuzawa’s works were written with the purpose of ‘educating’ the Japanese people— instructing them in western learning, enlightening them as to western ways, prescribing remedies, both moral and expedient, for the spiritual and psychological defects implanted in them by 250 years of feudal discipline. Kyûhanjô is no exception. Written in 1877—nine years after the Restoration and during the Satsuma Rebellion—the work was doubtless intended to have the didactic purpose of helping to stamp out such embers of feudal prejudice and resentment as still existed between the two classes of samurai. Fukuzawa realised, however, that his objective, first-hand description of the conditions in his clan was likely to provide interesting material for future historians. In his preface to Kyûhanjô he says:

It may seem superfluous to describe the conditions which existed in the clans between the time of the Restoration and today, since people today have actually observed these conditions. Yet time flies as fast as an arrow, and should people fifty years hence wish to research into the conditions of the clans at the time of the Restoration, they may find considerable difficulty in dealing with a subject so far back in the past. Therefore though this essay may seem trite and commonplace today, fifty years hence it may seem strange and novel enough to provide helpful material for historians.

Today, indeed, the didactic aspect of the work has ceased to be applicable and its value has come to lie almost solely in the fact that it contains an objective description of a little-treated aspect of Tokugawa feudal society: the virtually unbridgeable gap which existed between the upper and lower samurai, and the material impoverishment and psychological frustration of the lower samurai—circumstances which had the momentous historical consequences of spurring the lower samurai to take a leading part in the overthrow of the Tokugawa regime.
and the restoration of the Emperor.
Fukuzawa Yukichi himself was born in 1835 into a family of lower samurai of the Okudaira clan of Nakatsu in Kyōshū. His father had the rank of nakakoshō (備少) with a stipend of 13 koku plus rations for two, and the duties of overseer of the clan treasury. Hence he had to spend much of his time in Osaka supervising the clan storehouse. Fukuzawa's own dislike of the rigid and fettering nature of the feudal system is very evident from his writings, but it seems that his father also harboured such resentment. He tells us in his Autobiography that his father's original intention had been to make him into a priest, not because he was in any way fitted or predisposed to such a career, but solely in order that he should escape from the groove to which the strict feudal law of inheritance condemned him.

For a man in my father's position there had been no hope whatever of rising in society, however much he might strive. Throughout the whole of society there seemed only one hope of advancement—the priesthood. He had heard stories of the son of an insignificant fishmonger rising to be Buddhist abbot. I think I am probably right in thinking that this was why he wanted to make me into a priest. It seems tragic to me that my father, throughout the forty-five years of his life, should have been so helplessly found and fettered by the feudal system, and should have died without ever being able to express his dissatisfaction. He had determined to make me into a priest that I might be able to rise in the world in a way in which he could never have done. Whenever I think of this, and realise the extent of his suffering and the depth of his love for me, I feel enraged at the feudal system and sometimes am even moved to tears. To me, the feudal system was as hateful as though it were my father's enemy.

It is possible that, had he been born into the family of an upper samurai, Fukuzawa might never have risen to the eminence that he did. As it was, discontent with the prevailing system, which, if we may judge by Kyūhanjō, restricted the education of a lower samurai to arithmetic, writing and the bare elements of the Chinese classics, and his occupation to the pedestrian duties of a clerk or bodyguard, caused Fukuzawa to regard life in the clan as "struggling in the corner of a tinder-box", and to look beyond its confines for a means of livelihood. It is hardly surprising indeed that those of the lower samurai with ability, initiative and ambition should have furiously resented the discipline of the clan, which prevented them from deviating in the smallest degree from the path prescribed for them by their inherited feudal status. It was the lower samurai who were the most avid students of the trickle of western learning which had found its way into Japan through the medium of the Dutch. Such studies were naturally frowned on by the feudal authorities. Indeed, almost every conceivable obstacle was placed in the way of the aspiring student of western learning. There were no grammars and few dictionaries; the weight of feudal and Confucian disapproval and even the assassin's sword was directed against him; material indigence among the students was the rule rather than the exception. Some intrepid samurai—such as Sakuma Shōzan, Watanabe Kazan and Yoshida Shōin—paid with their lives for their desire for wider horizons of knowledge. Fukuzawa describes in his Autobiography the tribula-

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1) See below note 6.
tions which he himself underwent in his studies of Dutch. He was confronted by the hostility and disapproval of “everyone in the town including his relatives”, with the sole exception of his mother. In the school in Osaka run by Ogata Kōan where he studied, there was one Dutch dictionary, from which the students would queue up to look up words, and the scarcity of text-books was such that a student would have to copy laboriously any book or passage which he wished to possess for his own use.

That so many of the lower samurai should have undergone such tribulations for the sake of learning is surely an indication of the extent of their discontent with the prevailing system, and to which the traditional ties of loyalty between lord and vassal had been weakened. The lower samurai of Nakatsu, to judge by Kyūhanjō, seem to have been less enterprising than other clans. As Fukuzawa remarks, “They had plenty to complain about but... simply did not know how to express their discontent. It was almost as though they had forgotten how to do so.” From Kyūhanjō it is evident, however that the lower samurai strongly resented their inferiority in education, and one of the first things they did on becoming reasonably prosperous was to make efforts to educate themselves and their children. Nakatsu being a small and comparatively isolated clan, however, with little or no contact with other clans, it is hardly surprising that the majority of them should have looked no further afield for their model than the traditional education of the upper samurai. Those who ventured beyond the accustomed frame of ambition were men of unusual enterprise and initiative, such as Fukuzawa himself.

In addition to spiritual frustration, the fact of material impoverishment contributed to the discontent of the lower samurai. The samurai class had as a whole tended towards impoverishment and decay during the latter years of the Tokugawa period. As has been stressed by Japanese historians, their very existence as a class embodied a contradiction in Tokugawa policy—which on the one hand insisted on the preservation of peace within the land, and on the other supported a class of people essentially military and essentially unproductive. By the end of the Tokugawa period many daimyō had accumulated huge debts, which constrained them to cut down the stipends of their samurai—reductions which were nominally mere loans, but which in fact were permanent and irredeemable. Moreover the development of a money economy, the increasing luxury of the life in Edo, and the growing consciousness of the samurai that they were leading useless and unprofitable lives, had all contributed to a general decline in the samurai class.

In many clans, however, including Nakatsu, the upper samurai were still in comparatively comfortable circumstances. It was the lower samurai who had suffered the most severe changes of livelihood. Their income, as Fukuzawa describes, was so low as to make ‘sidework’ an imperative necessity. Such work, or in fact any productive work calculated to make a living, was a direct contradiction to the traditional training of the samurai—a training which had been directed towards the refined but essentially unproductive accomplishments, literary and military, which Fukuzawa describes as the pastimes of the upper samurai. Hence, as Fukuzawa remarks, the lower samurai “could scarcely be
called true samurai; it would be more correct to say that they were a kind of workmen.” Their sidework, it appears, was humble enough. They made umbrellas and wooden clogs, paper lanterns and paper cords for binding hair. Fukuzawa’s mother used to eke out the family stipend by spinning. The more ambitious samurai embarked on small-scale commercial enterprises—building their own boats and shipping their goods themselves to Osaka.

It is obvious therefore that they were in far closer touch with the common people—particularly the chōnin—than were their superiors. Intermarriage between the lower samurai and the chōnin was not infrequent—far more frequent, in fact, than intermarriage between the lower and the upper samurai, which Fukuzawa describes as entirely non-existent in Nakatsu. Samurai would be adopted into the families of wealthy chōnin for the sake of the material comforts there to be found. Chōnin could, through the practice of adoption, in effect purchase the status of samurai. This fusion of lower samurai and chōnin—a social development originating many years before 1868—provided one of the greatest motive forces of the Restoration and at the same time one of its most distinctive characteristics. It could well be said that the Restoration was accomplished by the initiative and enterprise of the lower samurai combined with the wealth of the chōnin.

We may gather from Kyūhanjō that the samurais’ traditional contempt of money and money-making had to a large extent broken down. Fukuzawa describes the willingness of the upper samurai, despite their relatively comfortable circumstances, to accept bribes and perquisites, while the poverty of the lower samurai virtually forbade them to embark on any undertaking which did not promise economic returns. Fukuzawa gives an interesting account of the various methods, legitimate and otherwise, by which the samurai supplemented their income over and above their fixed stipend. These methods included the legitimate permission to borrow the daimyō’s books, horses and guns free of charge, the openly condemned but tacitly allowed practice of kudasaregiri, and shady financial dealings with the local chōnin. The chief cause of the distress of the samurai after the Restoration, Fukuzawa interestingly remarks, was not the reduction of their fixed stipends but the disappearance of these various ‘extra emoluments.’ Material considerations had in any case come to weigh far more heavily with the samurai than was permitted by their traditional ethical code—a tendency which was regarded by many as one of the blatent manifestations of the decay of their class.

Thus it was the lower samurai, impoverished by constant reductions in their stipend, their traditional loyalty to their daimyō undermined by resentment at such reductions, with any talents or ambitions they might possess frustrated and constrained within a prescribed groove, who formed the spearhead of the movement which overthrew the Tokugawa regime and the feudal system. Kyūhanjō in describing the conditions of the lower samurai which induced their discontent is a document with a historical value greater perhaps than its author suspected.

2) Chōnin 伴人, the merchant class, lowest on the social scale of the four feudal classes.
3) See below note 27.
By and large it is an account, surprisingly objective and unresentful, of the barriers which divided the upper samurai from the lower. Broad differences in rights, lineage, income, education, household economy and innumerable minute differences in customs all went to form a barrier between the two classes which, as Fukuzawa says, "was accepted unquestioningly, almost as though it were a law of nature rather than an invention of man."

The latter part of the work was written obviously with an eye to solving a current problem rather than recording facts of perennial interest to the historian. Fukuzawa is concerned with finding the best way of stamping out such of the old feudal prejudice as still remained between the two classes, and with building up a new society, unstratified and unembittered, where there were legitimate ladders towards the fulfilment of talent and ambition, and where the useful productive work of the former common people could be inspired and rendered meaningful by the dynamic quality of the old samurai spirit. As the immediate, expedient steps towards such a society Fukuzawa wisely advocates the extension of knowledge and education, so that people may come to appreciate the essential smallness of Nakatsu and the insignificance of petty feudal prejudice, and the practice of intermarriage between the former two classes, so that former prejudice will be lost in the affection of kinship.

The chief interest of the work today, however, will surely lie in the plain historical description. It is to be regretted that Fukuzawa wrote so few works in this vein. Virtually the only other work about the feudal period is the "Letter to a Friend in Satsuma" in which Fukuzawa argues that the Satsuma samurai should direct their energies to promoting a National Diet since they possessed qualities peculiarly suited to this purpose. Among these qualities were a comparatively lax distinction between the upper and lower samurai. Today such works are of much greater interest than his text-books of elementary western learning which fulfilled, with extraordinary precision, a temporary need, but a temporary need only. That the first part of Kyūkanjō had no such immediate appeal, and contained no new and startling revelations of the west, was something which Fukuzawa felt he must 'explain away' in his preface:

A man goes through life as if sailing on the sea in a boat. The men in the boat naturally move with the boat, but they may well be unaware of how fast and in what direction the boat is moving. Only those who watch from the shore can know these things with any accuracy. The samurai of the old Nakatsu clan moved with the clan, but they may have been unaware of how they were moving, and may not realise just how they came to arrive at their present state. I alone have stood, as it were, on the shore of the clan, and, as a spectator, may have had a more accurate view of the samurai within the clan. Hence I have committed my spectator's view to writing.

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Text

Conditions in an Old Feudal Clan

The samurai of the old Okudaira clan of Nakatsu, from the Chief Minister down to the very lowest of those who were permitted to wear a sword, numbered about 1500 persons. They were divided broadly into two classes, though in all there were as many as a hundred different minute distinctions between their social positions and official duties. The upper of the two broad classes comprised all samurai from the Chief Minister down to the Confucian scholars, physicians and the members of the the koshōgumi, while the lower class included all those from the calligraphers, nakakoshō, tomokoshō and koyakunin, down to the ashigaru. The upper class was about one third the size of the lower.

There were, of course, considerable differences in social standing between the various ranks of samurai within the same class—between the Chief Minister and the members of the koshōgumi in the upper class, for instance, and between the calligraphers and the ashigaru in the lower. Between the two classes themselves, however, there were also a number of distinguishing factors. These were as follows:

Differences in Rights.

A lower samurai, whatever his merit or talents, could never rise above an upper samurai. There were a few examples of men rising from the position of calligrapher, for instance, to that of a member of the koshōgumi, but not more than four or five during the whole period.

5) Koshōgumi 小姓組. A body of attendants on the daimyō, consisting especially of boys who had not yet come of age. In the Edo Bakufu there were from six to eight kumi altogether, each one usually comprising about fifty persons. In the clans the number was considerably smaller, and varied according to the size of the clan.

6) Nakakoshō 小小姓 often acted as grooms and stablemen, though their duties were not necessarily fixed. Fukuzawa’s father was a nakakoshō with the duties of overseer of the clan storehouse in Osaka.

Tomokoshō 付小姓 often acted as close attendants on the daimyō, walking behind him carrying his sword when he went out, or sitting immediately behind him on ceremonial occasions.

According to Fukuzawa’s text the nakakoshō and tomokoshō in the Nakatsu clan were not accounted part of the koshōgumi itself. This was by no means the case in every clan, though as a rule these two grades were counted among the lower samurai.

7) Koyakunin 小役人. Low ranking samurai with various light duties such as guarding the gate or patrolling the grounds.

8) Ashigaru 足軽. Lowest rank of samurai, sometimes hardly considered to have samurai status.

9) That is to say a rise from a position in the upper ranks of the lower samurai to one in the lower ranks of the upper samurai.
of 250 years. A lower samurai might therefore aspire to promotion within his own class, but he would no more hope to enter the ranks of the upper samurai than would a four-legged beast hope to fly like a bird. As I have already remarked, there was certainly a great difference between the social position of the Chief Minister and that of the members of the koshōgumi, but yet it was not uncommon for one of the koshōgumi to rise to the position of yōnin.10) When the younger sons of the Chief Minister left their father’s house they always became members of the koshōgumi, so that one could say that the Chief Minister and the koshōgumi belonged substantially to the same kind. Then in the lower class there was a considerable difference between the nakakoshō and the ashigaru, but yet it was very easy for an ashigaru to rise to be a koyakunin, and hence to become a nakakoshō. Moreover if a peasant became a chūgen,11) or a chūgen became a Chief Attendant,12) or the son of a Chief Attendant became a koyakunin, they could occupy a respected position among the lower samurai without any shame or embarrassment.

An ashigaru always had to prostrate himself on the ground in the presence of an upper samurai. If he should encounter an upper samurai on the road in the rain, he had to take off his geta and prostrate himself by the roadside. Even those of the rank of koyakunin, superior to the ashigaru, were required by law to prostrate themselves on the ground when they encountered the Chief Minister, or indeed any one of the upper samurai with the duties of yōnin. When a lower samurai came to the house of an upper samurai, he was required to make his salutation in the anteroom before entering the room where the upper samurai sat. When an upper samurai came to the house of a lower samurai, however, he could take his sword with him right into the main front room.

In letters too there were various rigid and strictly differentiated modes of address, the character sama being written differently according to the rank of the person to whom the letter was addressed.13) In

10) Yōnin 用入. A kind of chamberlain in the daimyō’s court; a high ranking official in close attendance on the daimyō himself. For a member of the koshōgumi to become a yōnin would be a considerable rise in rank.
12) Kagashira 小頭. Chief attendant of a body of chūgen.
13) Examples of such differences are tatesama 竪様 and bisama 表様, particular cursive forms of the character sama 様 used in writing to superiors or equals. Hirasama 平様 was a form used in writing to inferiors.

There were also seven different ways of writing the character on 御 according to the rank of the addressee, and similarly numerous ways of writing dono 賜. (See: Honjō Eijirō, Social and Economic History of Japan p. 192.)
spoken forms of address all upper samurai, regardless of age, addressed lower samurai as ‘Kisama’, while lower samurai addressed upper samurai as ‘Anata.’ While the upper samurai said ‘Kiyare’, the lower samurai said ‘Oide nasai’.\(^{14}\) when an \textit{ashigaru} addressed a \textit{hirazamurai},\(^{15}\) or an ordinary footsoldier\(^{16}\) the Chief Minister, they were not permitted to call them by name. Usually they called them ‘Danna-sama’\(^{17}\)—so that their relationship was really just like that of master and servant.

Upper samurai were allowed to have \textit{shikidai}\(^{18}\) in the entrance halls of their houses, whereas this privilege was denied to the lower samurai. Upper samurai rode on horseback; lower samurai went on foot. Upper samurai possessed the privileges of hunting wild boar and fishing; lower samurai had no such privileges. Sometimes it even happened that a lower samurai was refused formal permission to go to another province to study, on the score that learning was not considered proper to his station. I have no time to go into each and every one of all these particulars. Suffice to say that although there were minute distinctions of rank within both the upper and lower classes, yet these were not rigid and immovable. The broad distinction between the upper and lower classes was, however, accepted unquestioningly, almost as though it were a law of nature rather than an invention of man.

\textbf{Differences of Kinship.}

Upper samurai were sometimes called by the general name of \textit{kyūnin}, while the lower samurai went by the name of \textit{kachi} or \textit{koyakunin}.\(^{19}\) Under no circumstances was marriage permitted between those of the rank of \textit{kyūnin} and those of the rank of \textit{kachi}. Such alliances were forbidden both by clan law and by custom. Even in cases of adultery, both parties nearly always came from the same class. It was extremely rare to find men and women from different classes forming illicit unions. (It should be remembered, however, that the moral code of the samurai

\(^{14}\) \textit{Anata} and \textit{oide nasai} are comparatively respectful words for ‘you’ and ‘come.’ \textit{Kisama} and \textit{kiyare} are used only to inferiors.

\(^{15}\) \textit{Hirazamurai} 平士. A vague denomination. Generally indicates a fairly low-ranking samurai, slightly higher than a footsoldier, with no fixed duties.

\(^{16}\) \textit{Kachi} 徒士 or foot soldier. Samurai on much the same status as the \textit{koyakunin}, higher than an \textit{ashigaru}. The \textit{kachi} attached to the Edo Bakufu lived in the part of Edo now called Okachimachi.

\(^{17}\) \textit{Danna-sama} 旦那様—literally ‘master.’

\(^{18}\) \textit{Shikidai} 歩踏, the step in the entrance hall, uncovered by \textit{tatami}, on which a \textit{kago} could be set down.

\(^{19}\) The use of \textit{kyūnin} as a general name for upper samurai, and \textit{kachi} for lower samurai is unusual, and may have peculiar to the Nakatsu clan. \textit{Kyūnin} 給人 generally indicates any samurai receiving a rice stipend as opposed to a money wage.
was of the highest, and it was only very rarely that one heard stories of adultery. These standards applied, of course, to the Nakatsu samurai as well as to any other clan, and I have only mentioned this rare class of people in order to illustrate my point.

Because marriages took place only within such narrow limits, it follows that today, after two or three hundred years of such restricted marriages, the samurai of one clan are bound together not only by friendship and intimacy, but also by kinship. It goes without saying therefore that the ties of feeling between them were very close. Yet if we were to examine the family tree of any samurai, we should invariably find that his ancestors came exclusively from one class. Hence we might well say that there were two different races of people within the same clan. The two classes might be bound together in friendship, belonging as they did to the same clan and serving the same lord, yet between them there were no ties of kinship or family tradition.

Differences in Income.

The differences in rank within the upper class naturally carried with them considerable differences in stipend. The Chief Minister received one or two thousand koku, sometimes even more, while the lowest ranking of the upper samurai—the physicians and members of the koshōgumi—sometimes received less than ten men's rations. Generally speaking, however, the average income of an upper samurai was quoted at about 100, 200 or 250 koku, and worked out net at anything from 22 to 60 koku. Those families in the clan with a net income of twenty to thirty koku or more, were not troubled over the necessities of life such as food or clothing, and were able to provide their children with a fairly decent education.

The lower samurai, on the other hand, received stipends of fifteen koku plus rations for three, thirteen koku plus rations for two, or ten koku plus rations for one. Some received a money stipend of even less.  

20) Rations for ten. A samurai's stipend was calculated in units of what one person was held to need each month. Hence 'one person's ration'—ichininbuchi—was a quantity relatively fixed, though it tended to differ slightly in different clans. It was usually calculated as 1 to and 5 shō. Cf. Fukuzawa's remark on p. 314 that 'rations for two' were 3 to each month. One koku, it may be noted, was calculated to be the average annual consumption of one person. Hence, as Fukuzawa remarks below, an annual income of 7 to 10 koku for a samurai with four or five children would leave next to nothing to be converted into money to buy the necessities of life other than food.

21) A samurai's nominal income, related to the maximum amount that the fief was capable of yielding (omotedaka 表高), often differed very considerably from the net income he in fact received.
than this. Those of middle rank and above received a net income no higher than from seven to ten koku. At this rate a man and his wife living alone might manage without hardship, but if there were four or five children or old people in the family, this income was not sufficient to cover even the necessities of life such as food and clothing. Hence everyone in the family capable of work, both men and women alike, eked out a poor livelihood by odd jobs such as spinning and handicrafts. These jobs might in theory be mere sidework, but in fact the samurai came to regard them as their main occupation, relegating their official clan duties to the position of sidework. These men were therefore not true samurai. It would be more correct to say that there were a kind of workmen. Thus harassed by the task of making a mere living for themselves, they had no time in which to give a thought to their children's education. The lower samurai were thus very ill versed in literature and other high forms of learning, and not unnaturally came to have the bearing and deportment of humble workmen.

Differences in Education.

The upper samurai were well fed and clothed and thus had plenty of leisure time to devote to the arts, literary and military. They would read the Confucian Classics and the Books of History, study military strategy, practise horsemanship, spearmanship and swordsmanship, and generally indulge in all the branches of art and learning which were considered at the time to be cultured and noble. Thus their manners were naturally elegant and aristocratic, and many of them could be considered most cultured and refined gentlemen.

With the lower samurai, however, it was quite otherwise. Except in the performance of their duty, they never rode on horseback. Many of them practised the military arts in such little time as they could spare from their sidework, but in literature they would get no further than the Four Books and the Five Classics, and, at a little more advanced stage, one or two books of Meng Ch'iü and the Tso Chuan. What they studied most was writing and arithmetic, and in this they were certainly far superior to the upper samurai. The reason for this was that the only way in which a lower samurai could make his family prosperous and himself respected by his fellows was by doing clerical work as a petty official. To become a petty official the art of writing and arithmetic was always necessary, so that every family made at least a pretence towards education, and every samurai, however poor and lowly, always studied writing and arithmetic. Nowadays, of course, we do not
consider arithmetic to be despicable, but in those days the feudal samurai held it in contempt, so that those who practised it came to be regarded as common and vulgar and unfit company for gentlemen.\(^22\)

In calligraphy too, the upper samurai wrote in the Chinese style while the lower samurai wrote in the style called o-ie-ryū.\(^23\) Customary standards of criticism held o-ie-ryū to be a vulgar style of writing, irrespective of whether the characters were well or ill formed, so that those who practised it came to be regarded as vulgarians.

**Differences in Household Economy.**

Though there were certainly some poor men with small stipends among their ranks, the upper samurai in general had little need to worry about their income. They concerned themselves only with planning their expenditure. The lower samurai had to work with both income and expenditure in mind, and hence had to plan their household economy with a minuteness never dreamt of by the upper samurai. Rations for two for one month were three to of unpolished rice. If a couple had three children they needed every day from at least one shō and five go to two shō of polished rice, so that in fact they were short of two or three to every month.\(^24\) They would however manage to supplement their diet in various ways, buying corn and millet, and making rice gruel or dumplings with what they earned from their side-work. This was called in common parlance tashibuchi—eking out one's stipend.

Clothes were another necessity. Hence it was the task of the housewife to work day and night at spinning thread and weaving cotton cloth. If in ten days, in addition to her housework, a woman could weave 150 momme of cotton thread into one roll of cloth, she could then trade the roll of cloth for 300 momme of cotton thread. This transaction was called locally kaebiki. Sometimes they would trade the cloth for more cotton thread to use in the next transaction; sometimes they would trade it for money to help with the household expenses. But unless they worked very hard they would have no cloth left over for their own use. Before a daughter married her mother and the other children were busy not in buying the necessary things for making her trousseau, but in

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\(^{22}\) In his Autobiography Fukuzawa describes his father's fury when he discovered that the teacher he had engaged to instruct his children in calligraphy and other general subjects was teaching them the use of numbers.

\(^{23}\) O-ie-ryū 御家流. A style of calligraphy founded by Prince Son'en. 猶國法親王

\(^{24}\) According to the Japanese measure of capacity, 10 gō 合=1 shō 盒, 10 shō=1 to 斗, 10 to=1 koku 石.
making these things. When they did buy things, they had to work hard to earn the money to pay for them. Of this kind of household economy the upper samurai could know nothing, and from this point of view could be looked upon as a small aristocracy.

After the abolition of the clans the income of the samurai class was drastically reduced, so that most samurai suffered hardship. But if the present stipend of an upper samurai were to be given to a lower samurai to enable him to lead his traditional way of life, he would certainly be a wealthy man in four or five years.

When I say that the samurai’s income was greatly reduced after the abolition of clans, I do not mean that the ordinary stipend was reduced. In the Nakatsu clan for some time back the samurais’ stipend had been cut down in various reforms, and so was already greatly reduced compared to what it had been in the old times. Hence it was difficult for them to subscribe to the policy of a further reduction such as was being carried out in many of the other clans. At that time moreover the young men of radical opinions, though their views were much in vogue, did not actually seize power in the clan. A suitable system of stipends was worked out by samurai who had some respect for the stipend itself—so that Nakatsu escaped the flat reduction which had taken place in many other clans.

Income apart from the usual stipend, however, did suffer a great reduction. The net annual income of the Nakatsu clan in rice was something over 50,000 koku, of which not more than 20,000 koku were distributed as stipends to samurai. The remaining odd 30,000 koku were appropriated for the private use of the lord and his family, and for the official uses of the clan. These ‘official uses’ consisted of the compulsory services required by the Bakufu, the upkeep of the clan mansion in Edo, interest on clan debts, armaments, the building of the castle, bridges and embankments in the clan territory itself, allowance for poor relief, patronage of the literary and military pursuits of the clan samurai.

In theory these expenditures had nothing to do with the income of the samurai, but in fact it was otherwise. The Edo mansion at

25) The Rokusei Kaitei 禄制改定 of 1870 worked out in most clans not as a flat reduction, but as a reduction increasing progressively with the increase in stipend. Thus large stipends suffered large reductions, small stipends little if any reduction. In the Tsugaru 津軽 clan, for instance, those with an income of 800 koku and over were reduced to 200, while those with an income of 50 koku were only reduced to 40, those with an income of 30 koku suffering no reduction at all. (Fujii Jintarō 藤井兼太郎, Meiji Ishin to Samurai Kaikyū 明治維新と侍階級, in the work entitled Meiji Ishinshi Kenkyū 明治維新史研究)
Shiodome, for instance, was a kamiyashiki, or main residence, and must have covered an area of more than 10,000 tsubo, with a circumference of almost 500 ken. After being destroyed by fire it was rebuilt with temporary pinewood to a height of two ken and with an outer wall 500 ken in circumference—an undertaking which cost about 3000 ryō in the currency of the Tempō era. Even in ordinary times, however, all clans alike indulged in innumerable extravagances in the way of building, purchases and sales. Such expenditures meant, of course, that the Edo merchants and workman made money, but a part of it inevitably had an indirect effect on the general prosperity of the clan.

Patronage of the literary and military pursuits of the samurai in the clan territory meant that each samurai could borrow books, horses and guns from the lord’s collection. It was naturally a great advantage for them to be able to borrow such things, and to study under teachers to whom they need give no monthly gratuity. Then such things as travelling expenses of officials, money lent to samurai free of interest, nominal loans which in fact were gifts were all really of the nature of direct additions to the samurai’s income over and above his usual stipend.

Though there were few cases of open bribery in the clan office, each post carried with it its own perquisites. The presents brought back from duty in Edo or Osaka were nothing more not less than perquisites—unless they happened to be what was left over from travelling expenses. Quite apart from corrupt officials, however, even those samurai whose conduct was upright and blameless found it in practice almost impossible to avoid being caught up in the toils of ‘extra emoluments.’ Even a straight and upright official, trusted by the people because he refused absolutely to have anything to do with bribery or perquisites, could yet hardly help but slip unawares into the tempting trap of corruption. The local chōnin would devise various means to

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26) Kamiyashiki 上屋敷—the main residence of a daimyō in Edo, situated as near as possible to Edo Castle. His secondary residence, or nakayashiki 中屋敷, set apart for occasional use, was situated further from the center of the city. Powerful daimyō possessed a third mansion, shimoyashiki 下屋敷, which was a kind of country seat, situated by the sea or in the country surrounding Edo.

27) These loans in name but gifts in fact were called kudasaregiri. The samurai code of honour laid down that to receive presents was disgraceful. Hence it frequently happened that bribes would be disguised under the form of loans, with the tacit understanding that the ‘borrower’ need not bother to repay the loan.

28) Duty in Edo meant serving in the clan mansion in Edo, in which the daimyō would reside for six months every year in accordance with the Sankin Kōtai system. Sometimes samurai on ‘Edo duty’ would reside permanently in Edo, sometimes they would accompany the daimyō to and fro between Edo and the clan.

Osaka duty meant duty in connection with the clan storehouse (kurayashiki 倉敷) in Osaka. Sometimes such duties would be called kuraban 倉番. Fukuzawa’s father, with the rank of nakakoshō, had such a post.
approach him—lending him money at low rates of interest, depositing money with him at purposely high rates of interest, or selling him things cheaply at a loss to themselves. In fact it was impossible for him to preserve his integrity unless he had himself a keen financial sense and judgment.

All these examples show the various ways in which samurai supplemented their usual stipend. One of the reasons for their distress today is that all these indirect, nameless advantages are no more.

**Differences in Customs.**

The upper samurai usually employed servants, but even in those families where there were no servants not even the children and younger brothers, let alone the master of the house, would go in person into the town to make purchases or visit the public bathhouse. When they went out of doors they always wore *hakama* and two swords, and whenever they went out at night they were always accompanied by lanterns. Some even went so far as to have lanterns on bright moonlight nights. The more old fashioned of them had servants carry large and heavy box lanterns whenever the women and children in their family went out at night.

Just as it was considered low and vulgar to go out to make purchases, so it was thought shameful to carry things. Hence apart from fishing rods and the appurtenances of swordsmanship, no upper samurai ever carried anything in his hands, even the smallest *furoshiki* bundle.

The lower samurai did not employ servants unless they happened to hold a good post or have a particularly large family. Few of them would go into the towns in daylight to make purchases, but at night it was quite customary for both men and women to go. The men would wrap their heads round with a towel, some wearing two swords, some only one. If they went out in daylight they would wear two swords but no *hakama*, but if they were merely strolling among the neighbouring houses they would sometimes wear no sword at all.

At the height of the merry-making at feasts and drinking parties, very few of the upper samurai would sing and dance or play the game of *hen*, but among the lower samurai many men would add to the

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29) *Hakama* —a formal kind of trousers.
30) *Box lanterns—hako jōchin* 箱提灯. Large rectangular lanterns, with a lid on top to enable the candle to be taken in and out. Used only by high-ranking officials, or on ceremonial occasions.
31) A game played with clenched fists, similar to the modern *janken*. There were various kinds—*ishi ken* 石拳, *hon ken* 本拳, *kitsune ken* 狐拳. Considered at the time to be a very vulgar game.
fun by performing their own special accomplishments. In short, the manners of the upper samurai were elegant and restrained, while those of the lower samurai were more rustic and lively.

These differences in customs were borne out by differences in speech. Here are a few examples of the dialects of the samurai, farmers and merchants in the old Nakatsu clan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mite kure yo</th>
<th>Yuke yo</th>
<th>Ikaga sen ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper samurai:</td>
<td>Michikurei</td>
<td>Ikinasai</td>
<td>Dō shiyō ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower samurai:</td>
<td>Michikurii</td>
<td>Ikinahai or Ikinai</td>
<td>Dō shiyō ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants:</td>
<td>Mite kurii</td>
<td>Same as lower samurai.</td>
<td>Dogei shiyō ka or Dō shiyō ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers:</td>
<td>Michekurii</td>
<td>Same as lower samurai, or Ikinaharii</td>
<td>Same as merchants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were innumerable other differences in speech besides these—far too many for me to mention here. Thus if one heard a conversation the other side of a wall, one would know immediately if those talking were upper samurai, lower samurai, merchants or farmers.

As I have just described, the upper samurai differed from the lower in rights, kinship, income, education, household economy, manners and customs. It was therefore only natural that their standards of honour and fields of interest should also differ. With different interests and conceptions of honour, it was hardly possible for them to become friendly and intimate with each other on equal terms. In the course of a chance conversation, for instance, an upper samurai might start to talk about something which they were not supposed to mention to the lower samurai, or the lower samurai might mention a subject of which the upper samurai knew nothing. Doubt and anger would thus arise on both sides, to be followed by years of resentment. The spirit of the times, however, insisted on a strict observance of one's station in life and on preserving a fixed and immovable order in everything, and this spirit forbade the lower samurai to express outwardly the doubt and anger which they constantly harboured. It is possible that they simply did not know how to express these feelings, as though they had forgotten how to do so.

The government of the Nakatsu clan, like that of other clans, insisted strictly on the observance of one's allotted station in life, its regulations being minute in the extreme. As political power lay with the upper samurai the clan law always favoured the upper samurai against the
lower when it came to a dispute between the two. The upper samurais' weak point lay, however, in the matter of the accounting of money and grain, and in this, though they might bear the titles of yakugashira and bugyo, they were very often hoodwinked by their subordinate lower samurai. Hence the upper samurai were much concerned to preserve their dignity by means of a strict observance of the differentiations of rank. In this there was much that was unsuited to the current circumstances, and much that was even positively harmful. For instance, it once happened that a new administrative reform was issued, ordering all samurai throughout the clan to practise frugality and economy. Regulations were issued for the control of clothing, laying down what classes of people could wear cotton clothing, pongee or habutae silk. It was not at all clear, however, whether these regulations were issued to promote the economy of the clan, or merely in order to differentiate the various ranks from each other by outward appearance. In fact those condemned to wear cotton clothing were very dissatisfied, being more concerned to vaunt their pride of rank than to practise economy, so that their economies lasted only a very short time.

About thirty years ago it was ordered that the foot soldiers with no particular duties should act as guards at the castle gate. Guarding the gate had up till then been the job of the ashigaru, but those in authority took it into their heads that while the duties of the ashigaru should be arduous, those of the foot soldiers should be relatively light. In an easy task such as gate duty, therefore, the foot soldiers should be substituted for the ashigaru. This argument was, however, confused in the minds of those in authority with the desire to differentiate even more clearly between the two classes, and to insist that the lower samurai should at all times be subject to the will of the upper samurai. In fact this measure proved to be entirely useless, resulting neither in any economy in expenditure nor in any promotion of military efficiency. The lower samurai argued furiously over this matter, but their superiors restored peace and order by confiscating the hereditary stipends of two or three of the ringleaders and banishing them from the clan.

From these particulars it can be seen that the lower samurai had more than enough to complain about, but were never given an opportunity

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32) Yakugashira 後頭—general designation for the 'chief' of a department. Bugyo 奉行—officials of various ranks and duties. Under the Edo Bakufu the Jisha Bugyo 寺社奉行 acted as commissioners of temples and shrines; the Kanjō Bugyo 勘定奉行 were commissioners of finance, and the Machi Bugyo 町奉行, of which there were two in Edo, acted as governors of the city, possessing not only administrative, but also military and judicial functions.
to express their discontent. Among them there were many men of talent and refinement of manners, but as they were always employed in mean tasks such as accounting or clerical work, they tended to work only for their own advantage, never giving a thought to the welfare of the rest of their kind. Those samurai not vested with any particular duties were as a matter of course not among the most intelligent, and occupied themselves in making a livelihood for their families by various kinds of sidework, living from day to day without concerning themselves with anything over and above the bare necessities of life. Indeed, for twenty or thirty years the sidework of the lower samurai had been steadily increasing. At first they did little more than joinery work in wood, making boxes and low tables, or twisting paper cords for binding hair. Gradually however their jobs increased in variety. Some made wooden clogs and umbrellas; some covered paper lanterns; some would do carpentry work in plain wood and then add to its quality by painting it with lacquer; some were so skilful in making doors and sliding screens that they could even vie with professional carpenters. Recently some began to combine handicrafts with commerce. They would build boats, lay in stock and ship it to Osaka, some travelling in the boats themselves. Of course not all the lower samurai were thus engaged in commercial and industrial activities, but the capital accumulated by those who were so engaged certainly had an indirect effect on the clan economy. Though the available funds were extremely small, these activities did promote the circulation of money and the profits therefrom were not inconsiderable.

As commerce came to be practised within the clan the upper samurai were not content to be mere spectators. Some would secretly invest their money in these enterprises, but as they had always neglected mathematics in their education and had no real feeling for finance, they often lost their capital even when they followed the rules of commerce according to the advice of the lower samurai. When this did not happen, they received only the mere dregs of the profits.

Many of the lower samurai avoided real hardship by thus gradually amassing property. As soon as they were possessed of the necessities of

33) Apart from those samurai who had no duties simply because they were redundant, relief or deprivation of duties was used both as a reward and as a punishment to samurai. As a punishment the deprivation might last indefinitely. Samurai thus punished would suffer, in addition to the loss of face, a considerable reduction in income. Relief from duty for a limited period of time would sometimes be granted as a reward for hard work.

34) Fukuzawa describes in his Autobiography how as a boy he would make wooden clogs, mend broken doors, and fit out the handles and scabbards of swords.
life and consequently a little leisure time, they inevitably began to envy the education of the upper samurai. Dissatisfied with their hitherto restricted accomplishments of writing and arithmetic, many of them suddenly changed their whole attitude to military and literary pursuits. This was probably why some opened halls for teaching their children swordsmanship. (Up till then those with the rank of foot soldier and below learned *iai* and *jūjutsu*, and those with the rank of *ashigaru* learned the art of the bow, gun and stick only. Very few learned sword- or spearmanship.) Few could equal the upper samurai in the propriety of their behaviour or the refinement of their taste, for after all they had not the same tradition behind them. Even so, however, one could certainly say that in general their manners and conduct showed a marked improvement.

The upper samurai on the other hand had always occupied an indisputably favourable position in the clan, and so not unnaturally began to sink into effeminacy and indolence. About twenty or thirty years ago they started to give feasts and drinking parties. (Until then feasting and drinking were common among the lower samurai, but the upper samurai always led very frugal and simple lives.) Towards the end of the Tokugawa regime in particular, when an edict was issued commanding the wives and children of all the *daimyō* to return to their own provinces, the clan samurai who had for some years back been residing in the Nakatsu mansion in Edo—*Edo Jōfu* as they were called—also moved back to Nakatsu. The critical events of the times meant also that the samurai living in Nakatsu often had to go to Edo, there becoming acquainted with the city ways and bringing back with them various articles from the city. When the Edo samurai moved back to Nakatsu with their wives and children, bringing all the conveniences of the big city into the heart of the country clan, the country samurai, already sinking into effeminacy, were quite dazzled by it all and became more and more luxurious and frivolous. The clan had never seen so much

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35) *iai*—the art of drawing a long sword at a short distance from the enemy.
36) It may be noted that the *ashigaru* were the only rank of samurai permitted to handle guns.
37) In 1862 the *Sankin Kōtai* system was modified so that the *daimyō* spent instead of six months every year, only 100 days every three years in Edo, and their wives and families, hitherto forced to reside permanently in Edo as quasi-hostages, were allowed to go back to the clan territory.
38) *Edo Jōfu*—those of the clan samurai who were stationed permanently at the Edo mansion. Such posts were often hereditary, so that if three successive generations should serve as *Edo Jōfu* the third generation would become true *Edokko*, with little or no knowledge of the clan territory.
feasting and drinking as at that time. The effect of the critical events of the period on the upper samurai of the Nakatsu clan was not, therefore, to imbue them with greater martial spirit, but rather to increase their effeminacy and unmannerliness.

Though the spirit of the upper samurai might show signs of degeneration, the power of the lower samurai steadily increased. It was perhaps natural and unavoidable that if the one party showed any sign of weakness of which the other might take advantage, the other would not let such an opportunity slip. Just at that time a score or so of the young lower samurai without any particular official duties (they were not entirely without official duties, but took no part in the clan government) conspired together to murder the daimyō's Chief Minister. Such an event was quite unprecedented in the history of the clan and, had it happened thirty years before, all the culprits would certainly have been immediately arrested. But as it was, the spirit of the times made it impossible that they should be apprehended, and public opinion was eventually appeased by the temporising measure of dismissing the Chief Minister. This event was the first indication that the power which for the past 250 years had been thought to be permanent and immutable, was beginning to lose its balance. (The event took place in the third year of Bunkyū, 1863.)

The power of the lower samurai increased even more after the Restoration. One heard strange tales of lower samurai in other clans arbitrarily promoting and degrading persons in official positions, altering the system of stipends, and, even more extreme, killing the conservative ministers in authority and triumphantly setting up mere youths in the position of karō and sanji.39) But in Nakatsu such events did not occur, and it would not be incorrect to say that it was virtually the only clan in which they did not.

For some time back the lower samurai had been giving much attention to educating and cultivating themselves. Their education was, however, entirely modelled on that of the upper samurai, so that they could never strike out on any new lines beyond the limits imposed by their model. In swordsmanship for instance, there were many devotees among the upper samurai with whom the lower samurai could not hope to vie in skill. In Chinese learning, the lower samurai had been studying for only a comparatively short time and naturally could not achieve the same degree of literary refinement as did the upper samurai. Some of the lower samurai studied Japanese literature and took pleasure in

39) Karō 家老 and sanji 参事 were high-ranking administrative posts.
the Mito School of learning, but their learning and literature was merely provincial. They knew little or nothing of what was going on in the rest of the country. They only very rarely went to other provinces or met people from other clans, so that they had but scanty information as to what was going on outside.

Thus the lower samurai might through educating themselves increase in energy and initiative, and might at the bottom of their hearts not hesitate to despise the upper samurai, yet still they were mere country people, quite ignorant of the world, whose energy and initiative had been fostered entirely within the clan and who had no opportunity to follow the example of other clans. In education, age, and rank too, they were all very much on the same level, there being no outstanding leader among them. They were thus unable to combine and focus their energies on any one particular point with any common objective. This was the reason why the Nakatsu clan alone has remained quiet and undisturbed through all the events of the Restoration and the abolition of the clans, until today. If at that time the clan government had been disturbed by the prevalent 'Western' scholars or powerful supporters of the Throne, the clan today would be very different from what in fact it is. That these things did not happen may be said to be a fortuitous blessing arising purely from indecision and lack of common purpose.

It was owing to this entirely fortuitous stroke of good luck that the Nakatsu clan was able to escape the disasters which fell upon most of the other clans at the time of the Restoration. Later something happened to consolidate this stroke of fortune: namely the establishment of the Municipal School. About the time of the abolition of the clans in 1871 the men who had held official positions in the old clan conferred with the staff of Keio Gijuku in Tôkyô and decided to divide up the hereditary stipend of the old clan governor and amalgamate it with the savings of the old clan to form a capital fund for promoting Western studies. They then built a school in the old castle town which they called the Municipal School. The rules of the School stipulated that all pupils were to be treated alike, irrespective of their birth or rank—a policy which was not only proclaimed in theory but also carried out

40) The Mito branch of the Tokugawa family, one of the three senior Tokugawa houses, had since the 17th century cultivated a school of learning and historical research which tended to discredit the Shôgunate and support the Imperial family. Tokugawa Mitsuiki, daimyô of Mito from 1661-1700, initiated the great historical work Dai Nihonshi 大日本史 and, in his researches into antiquity, gave preference to the native Japanese literature above Chinese learning, the native Shintô above Buddhism, and intimated that the Shôguns were illegitimate usurpers of the power which traditionally belonged to the Emperor.
in practice. This principle held good from the very day the School was founded, so that it was just as if a new world of equal rights for all people had appeared in the midst of the fading dream of feudal privilege. Many of the staff of Keiōgijuku had been samurai of the old Nakatsu clan but they had never interfered in any way with the clan administration, and through all the various disturbances which the clan had undergone had merely looked on with calm hostility. They might be wrongly accused of heartlessness and disloyalty, but they were never criticised for interfering or taking sides in clan affairs. It was owing to these men that the Municipal School too was founded clearly for the benefit of the clan as a whole. However prejudiced one's point of view, one could never say that in that School the upper samurai were favoured at the expense of the lower samurai. The purpose of treating everyone alike was to stamp out the old pride of rank and by doing so overthrow the empty authority which up till then had existed in Japanese society.

It was left entirely to the samurais' own discretion whether or not they attended the School, but gradually both upper and lower samurai, and many of the powerful upper samurai in particular, began to send their children there in large numbers. As soon as they really put their hearts into the School they lost all their old notions of birth and rank. Indeed, one might well say that the School was an instrument for calculating people's ideas as to rank and lineage. (Naturally I do not mean to say that those who did not attend the School were necessarily sticklers for the old clan rank and lineage. Recently many other schools besides the Municipal School have appeared, and the choice of a suitable place to send their children is entirely up to the parents. I am not presuming to make any kind of judgment of people on this score. All I wish to point out is that those who put their hearts into the School with complete trust ceased to care about birth or rank.)

The main reason for the lower samurais' hostility to the upper samurai was that the latter exploited the empty authority of their birth and rank. Yet although they might bear hostility towards those from well-born families who happened to wield power, those who could be called in any sense worthy opponents had in most cases cast off the bad habits of exploiting the privileges of their birth. Thus the lower samurai found themselves in the position of wanting to fight but having lost their opponent. This could be said to be a great blessing for everyone concerned, and it was for this reason that I said that the Municipal School turned what was originally a mere stroke of good fortune into a lasting blessing for the old Nakatsu clan.
These, as I recall them, were the main changes which came over the Nakatsu clan during the past thirty years. Whether it be due to mere luck or to a recognisable cause, it is certainly clear that today one sees no trace of resentment or ill-feeling between the clan samurai. (The incident this year of some ten samurai deserting to join the Satsuma clan was confined entirely to those particular samurai and had nothing to do with the rest of the clan.)

Such being the circumstances today, what are the prospects for tomorrow? Can we expect the future to be free from trouble? If we take the situation today as our 'standard', and judge anything in advance of it to be 'progress', and anything falling back from it to be 'retrogression', the following considerations make me hope that we shall progress.

The delusion of birth and lineage has been wiped out and the upper samurai no longer flaunt their rank before the lower samurai. In the old days their pride of rank acted as a shield for protecting their families and preserving their honour, but they know that today such arrogance will only invite harm and ridicule. The lower samurai no longer bear resentment against the upper. They realise that a vindictive spirit is petty and unmanly, that it is shameful for a man to continue to bear hostility to an enemy with whom he has already become reconciled, and that too implacable a spirit of revenge will only redound to their own misfortune. Both upper and lower samurai have cast off the old ways of thinking. They hope in the future to cultivate what is good and beautiful in the samurai code of behaviour and, by producing instead of expending, to blend the spirit of the samurai with the work of merchants and craftsmen. Thus, independent in mind and body, they hope to take the lead in promoting civilization in Japan.

I do not mean to say that there are no aspects of the situation to be deplored. For many hundreds of years the upper samurai have been oppressors and the lower samurai oppressed. Today the former are, as it were, borrowers and the latter lenders, with as yet no proper balance between them. The upper samurai, moreover, tend to regard their old feudal status as the permanent, fixed standard, and the present system of equal rights as only a passing incident. They tend to look on the lower samurai rather as though they had lent them something. Neither upper nor lower samurai are able to banish entirely the old dream of feudalism. Today whenever the samurai hold private meetings, their seats are arranged in the order of the old scale of stipends and social rank. This is perhaps unavoidable, since there happens to be no other order of seats in which they could sit, but nevertheless it is an indication
that they have not yet entirely woken from their old dreams. In public meetings in the town they are naturally not required to sit according to their old status, but as soon as they get back home they listen to old people's tales of the days past and their wives' complaints about the present times—as though they were about to wake from their old dreams but were as yet still half asleep.

This state of affairs may well continue provided there is no unexpected crisis. If, however, the country were by any chance to be violently disturbed, and its effects to make themselves felt in the neighbourhood of the clan territory, then the old malady would again break out and the paths of the upper and lower samurai again diverge. The situation is so unstable that a small external cause might produce great internal distress. Even if there be no sudden change and the samurai follow their usual pursuits undisturbed, yet one cannot be entirely certain that friction will not arise between the two classes. After all, their interests and sentiments differ, they neither cooperate in industrial enterprises, nor combine their capital in commerce.

All these considerations are what I see to be the negative, retrogressive aspects of the situation, which prejudice our hopes of promoting happiness and well-being.

Whether one takes preventive measures to forestall calamities or more positive steps to promote advantages, those who used to hold authority in the old clan will always view any such measures with disapproval. Dissatisfaction is however something perennial and ineluctable in human life. The advice I wish to give here could not be called really positive and progressive, for all I want to do is point out the ways in which we can avoid disaster. As I see it there are two such ways: to promote the School of which I have just spoken, and to encourage the custom of intermarriage between the upper and lower samurai.

Those who have seen the sea are not afraid of the river. Those who have heard a cannon are not alarmed at the sound of a bell. It is merely a matter of familiarity. The emotions of joy and sorrow, honour and disgrace are the same. They will change as people's attitudes towards them change. Something in which we yesterday rejoiced as an honour, we may today deplore as a disgrace. Education in schools seeks to make men's minds broad and lofty so that they may draw comparisons and enquire into the causes and effects of historical changes and disturbances. A mere word or glance will thus not be without significance. When we look at a geography book, we know that beyond Nakatsu lies Japan, and that beyond Japan lie the countries of the west.
Later when we hear the theories of astronomy and geology we learn that there are laws in the vast universe and in the movements of the stars. We learn that the layers of the earth’s crust were formed by a natural process lasting innumerable myriads of years, that its component matter lies in a fixed and regular order. When we read history, we realise that Nakatsu was but one of three hundred clans which existed during the Tokugawa period, and that the Tokugawa were merely persons who happened to have seized power in the single island of Japan. We see that beyond Japan lie the almost innumerable countries of Asia and the west, whose histories leave evidence of heroes and great men. When we contemplate the works of Napoleon and Alexander, or imagine the erudition of Newton, Watt or Adam Smith, we realise that there are Hideyoshis beyond the seas and that Butsu Sorai was but a small man of learning from the East. When we read even the bare elements of geography and history, our minds must needs be lifted from their old ways of thought. Into what lofty realms will they rise therefore when we look into the theories of the great thinkers of the west, analysing and comparing, inquiring into the cause and effects of all things from the organic laws of the physical world to the formless affairs of men. As we ponder deeply on what we read, we experience a state of rapture as though we were transported into a different world. When, from this position, we look back on the world and its phases, governments seem like small compartments of men’s affairs, and wars like the games of children. Why should we trouble ourselves with anything so small as the Nakatsu clan? When I recall the disputes on the threshold of the front room, the passions kindled over the records of the metsuke, the sudden fury, the triumphant smiles, it is just as if I were dreaming I were struggling in the corner of a tinder box.

Now that the front room has become firewood for heating the public bath, and the records have passed into the hands of the waste-paper man,

41) Also known as Ogyū Sorai 葛生矩瑞 (1666-1728). One of the protagonists of the ‘Ancient’ school of Confucianism, so called because it refused to countenance the ‘modern’ interpretations of Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming and went back to Confucius and Mencius. Author of Taiheisaku 太平策 and Seidan 政談.

42) The main room or zashiki in the houses of high-ranking samurai was divided by sliding screens into two halves, known as kamima 上間 and shinoma 下間. At a meeting or conference the whole room would be used without the partition, the higher ranking samurai being seated in the kamima. Hence “quarrels over the partition of the main room” implies that the samurai quarrelled with each other as to whether or not their status warranted a seat in the kamima.

43) The metsuke 目付 or censors would keep records of the conduct of the various members of the clan. The passage implies that samurai who saw their own conduct unfavourably described would be roused to sudden fury, while those who found themselves praised would smile with triumph.
surely there is no need to cherish their memory. For those who were lower samurai to continue to accuse those who were upper samurai of empty pride of birth would be like asking for a guide at the gate of an empty house or trying to capture an empty snake skin. They would merely reveal their own foolishness and invite the mockery of others. Many samurai today regret what they say is their fall in rank. But rising or falling in rank is after all merely a matter of what one takes as one's standard. To be put on a par with common folk may be a fall, but to sit next to an aristocrat, one's former master, without bowing one's head on the ground, is a rise. If one dislikes falling in rank one should shun the common people. Nobody would stop one doing this. If one wishes to rise in rank one should consort with the aristocracy. Nobody would prevent one doing that. But whether one shuns people or consorts with them is after all of little importance, and to worry oneself on this point is the gravest mistake. What I earnestly hope for is that samurai will strive to maintain the spiritual code of behaviour peculiar to their class, without bothering about promotion or demotion in mere nominal rank. But if this is to happen they must experience a change of heart, and as the School of which I spoke will be an effective instrument for bringing about such a change of heart, we must make special efforts to seek out men in the clan of good moral influence who will combine their efforts for the prosperity of the School.

That the upper and lower samurai of the Nakatsu clan do not intermarry is a great defect in our society, and, it would seem, an evil rooted immovably in human nature. Today there are certainly a few cases of upper and lower samurai intermarrying, but this tendency shows no sign of increasing. The upper samurai, still not fully woken from their old delusions, regard such marriages with secret disgust. Neither have the lower samurai any wish for such marriages. On the contrary, they flatly reject them, saying that anyone brought up in an upper samurai family, whether man or woman, is of no use at all in practical life, and that marriage with such a person would mean an end of any future hopes of making a living. The one party feels it is conferring a favour by contracting such marriages; the other party not only fails to recognise but even scorns such favours. In short, their ways at present lie so far apart that there seems little real hope of intermarriage becoming frequent. I could wish that some powerful samurai would take the initiative and set an example in this matter—for everything in this world tends to follow a previous example.

Marriage depends, of course, for its success on the will of the
persons concerned. Parents and friends should bear in mind that though they may not force their children to marry someone with whom there is no hope of making a living, yet many a good spouse has been lost through pure prejudice. Once a marriage is arranged it brings friendship between the respective families, and joy to the families of all the numerous distant relations of both parties. Hence when children and grandchildren are born, having grandparents and great-grandparents in common, a love and warmth of feeling will arise, transcending the conventions of the clan, which will contribute no less than education to the ultimate wellbeing and harmony of our society.