

Profile of Asian Minded Man VIII

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Introduction

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Introduction

In the mid-1880's, Sohō made a brilliant entrance into the press as a critic of civilization. At that time his motto was "plebeian democracy." However, faced with the problem of treaty revision with the Western powers, he gradually inclined towards nationalism. Later, confronted with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the problem of the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, he was at last converted into an imperialistic expansionist, and came to emphasize an "Asian Monroe Doctrine."

One purpose of this essay is to trace the changes in Sohō's thought, and then to make clear the logic and psychology of his apostasy, and the logical construction of his "Asianism" (the principle of "Asia for the Asians").

1. Early Days

In October, 1886 Sohō Tokutomi (personal name Iichirō), who was an obscure young man of twenty-three years old, published his work, *Shōrai no Nihon* (Japan in the Future). It was this book that made him a popular writer in the world of critics. In the following year, he issued a magazine, *Kokumin no tomo* (The Nation). In this way he started an active life as a writer.

Sohō was born at Mizumata in Higo Province (present Minamata city, Kumamoto Prefecture), in January 1863. He was the son of a warrior who

had settled in a rural community. His father, Ikkei, was one of the ablest disciples of Shōnan Yokoi (1810-69), a leading spirit in the late Tokugawa era, as well as a leader of the Kumamoto jitsugaku-tō (Kumamoto Party of Practical-Technological Science). His mother, Hisako, had three distinctive sisters, Junko, Tsuseko, and Kajiko. Tsuseko, Hisako's younger sister, was the wife of Shōnan Yokoi. Junko Takesaki, Hisako's elder sister, together with her husband, Sadō, tried to raise milch cows, to diffuse Western farming, and had conducted a private school, Nisshindō. Kajiko Yajima (1834-1925), Tsuseko's younger sister, was a famous woman who was appointed president of the Women's Educational Institute and became a chairman of the Nihon Kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai (Japanese Women's Christian Temperance Union), the first women's organization in Japan. Roka Tokutomi (personal name Kenjirō) (1868-1927), Sohō's younger brother, became a famous writer. As seen from the foregoing, it was in such a family and intellectual environment that Sohō's personality and thought were formed.

In 1875, at the age of thirteen, Sohō entered the Kumamoto School of Western Learning. In the following year, he participated in the formation of the "Kumamoto Band." Along with the "Yokohama Band" and the "Sapporo Band," it was one of main organizations which helped Protestantism to take root in Japan. Its "Prospectus" states that its purpose was to diffuse the "impartial" Western religion all over the "Empire," and to "enlighten the people." It was signed by such individuals as Hiromichi Kozaki (1856-1938), Danjō Ebina (1856-1937), Tsuneteru Miyakawa, Tsūrin Kanamori (1857-?), Tokio Yokoi (1860-1927), and Kazutami Ukita. Looking back upon it, Sohō stated: "I didn't participate in the agreement at Hanaokayama from the first, but participated only as one of so-called 'rank and file,' for being still thirteen or fourteen and about six years younger than its leading members, I was too young and inexperienced to be an active member." (*Sohō jiden* [Sohō's Autobiography])

We can give two reasons why Sohō participated in the Kumamoto Band. One is that like signers of the "prospectus," he understood what a Western spirit, the founder of modern society, was, owing to his study of Western civilization and Christianity at the Kumamoto School under an American teacher, L.L. Janes (1838-1909). Consequently, he came to realize the limitation of Yokoi's practicalism, stating that "we ought to learn physical science upon Western technology, while we ought to base our philosophy upon the Oriental Confucianism." The other reason may well be that, like the young men in those days, Sohō also had the high ambition of making a more important contribution to building new Japan as a "youth of the Meiji era" than those who came from Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen provinces.

When the Kumamoto School came to a close, Sohō chose Dōshisha English School in Kyoto for continuing his studies in spite of his family's persuasion that he enrol in the preparatory course of the Tokyo Kaisei School which then was regarded as the best of all the élite schools for boys. Here, too, he showed the same mettle that he had when he participated in

the Kumamoto Band. What really attracted him to the Dōshisha English School was the personality of Jō Niijima (1843-1890). Reflecting on the past, he said that he "believed in Mr. Niijima rather than in Jesus Christ," and tried to "understand God through Mr. Niijima rather than through Jesus Christ." From remarks like these we see how he came to believe in Christianity. Just before his graduation, a question of class amalgamation grew into a school tumult. Sohō became involved in it, and so in May, 1880 he left school and set off for Tokyo. At that time the Liberty and Popular Rights Movement, which was just then at its peak, had a strong impact on Sohō. Thus in 1882 he returned home in Kyūshū to open by himself a private school called the Ōe-gijuku. At last he attained mental independence from his friends as well as from his teachers and seniors.

A series of Sohō's early publications, including *Meiji nijū-san nen igo no seijika no shikaku wo ronzu* (An Essay on the Ideal Statesman after the 23rd Year of Meiji: January, 1884), *Jiyū, dōtoku, oyobi jukyō-shugi* (Liberty, Morality and Confucianism: December, 1884), and *Dai jūkyū-seiki Nihon no seinen oyobi sono kyōiku* (Young Men and Education in Japan in the 19th Century: June, 1885), were first produced as pamphlets for his lectures at the Ōe-gijuku. It was through the training he received in making this series of pamphlets that *Shōrai no Nihon* came into being. In this sense, it can be said that the years of teaching at the Ōe-gijuku were the time of preparation for becoming a critic of civilization. Besides lecturing, he was associated with the leading members of the Jiyūtō (Liberal Party), especially Taisuke Itagaki (1837-1919), and became acquainted with the ideas of R. Cobden (1804-1865), J. Bright (1811-1889) and others who belonged to the Manchester School through Tatsui Baba (1850-1888) and the *Jiyū shimbun* (an organ of the Liberal Party).

2. *Blueprint of Modern Japan*

Shōrai no Nihon, the work which made Sohō's fame, appeared just at the time it first became possible to objectively view the Restoration as a historical event. It is a distinguished book in the criticism of civilization written by the author who has inherited the spirit of the Meiji Restoration which raised a lofty ideal of *Japan in the world*. Before we comment on this, we will touch on an essay, *Dai jūkyū-seiki Nihon no seinen oyobi sono kyōiku* which was written just before the publication of *Shōrai no Nihon* (and which was revised and enlarged as *Shin Nihon no seinen* [Young Men in Modern Japan] in 1887). Sohō's major point of view presented in this essay, which turned the attention of the press to him, was that in the 19th century it was necessary for modern Japan to adopt the Western civilization, a civilization in which "man has overcome Nature, freedom has overcome despotism, and truth has overcome corrupt customs." From such a point of view he objected both to reactionism, which had a tendency to lean towards the educational principles of the feudal age, and to eclecticism, on which the Oriental idea of

hierarchy was based. Furthermore, he asserted that "Japan should adopt the moral principles prevailing in Western society, a world of freedom." *Shōrai no Nihon* followed and further developed such a point of view. It gave a grand prospect of the future Japan. In other words, it illustrated the ideal type of a modern Japan by emphasizing the necessity of advancing from a violent, aristocratic, and feudalistic society to a peaceful, modern, and industrial one. This idea was based on the evolutionary theory that every society in the world follows the law of natural, necessary evolution. Sohō wrote: "What kind of nation should Japan grow into? I firmly believe she should grow into a productive nation. Further, she should grow into a democratic plebeian society which is to be brought forth naturally and necessarily according to the development of the productive facilities. I believe that the present trends in our country will drive us to such a goal even if we do not take the trouble to promote it with all our might, and that even if we dared to try to prevent it with swords or halberds, we could not stop it. On the contrary, it would become more and more rapid."

As clearly shown in the foregoing, Sohō's conception of modern Japan was of a democratic plebeian society which was to be realized by the modern or bourgeois development of Japan based upon production (the principle of "Production first"). Now, let us dwell on this idea. According to him, there are two ways for a nation to maintain its existence: "One is through productive facilities; the other is through military machinery." "In a military nation only a few are entitled to political power, but in a productive nation many people are entitled to it. In the one they think the people should live for their state, while in the other they think the state should be for its people. With the former, the state is most important and no people can exist without it, while with the latter, people are most important and the state cannot exist without them." Thus, he thought a military nation constitutes a despotic society controlled by only a few rulers, while a productive nation constitutes a democratic, plebeian society governed by the people.

Further, according to Sohō, the productive and democratic, plebeian society to come should not be maintained by military forces, but by national wealth. He continued: "Today is really the day when national wealth should control military forces. Therefore it is a well-judged remark that national wealth is power.... The power of wealth deserves military power, and not vice versa. For in any society at present, military strength can be maintained by wealth, but the latter cannot be maintained by the former." He thus laid stress upon the superiority of bourgeois wealth, under the slogan of production aiming at its accumulation.

On the other hand, looking back upon the trend of history for the first two decades after the Restoration, Sohō had to admit that the modernization of Japan was not thoroughgoing, and that "Japan has been indeed incompletely modernized." (*Kokumin no tomo* [The Nation], No. 1) This was because in Japan "to superiors everybody humbled himself as if a servant, while to inferiors he behaved like a master.... Reforms which should have been

made immediately had been accomplished too late, and ones which [did not have to be made in haste had been accomplished first." This is how Japan was modernized; our society is still revolving around the upper classes. Therefore, the most important thing was to improve such an unequal society. In order to do so civil rights had to be established prior to national rights. Sohō said: "Even though a state should expand its national power and conquer foreign countries, it will not reach its aim if it should infringe upon civil rights." Thus he emphasized the superiority of natural reason to an artificial will of the State.

To sum up, Sohō considered as his ideal a society under whose system productive facilities come before military machinery, the lower classes before the upper classes, and civil rights before national rights; and such a society can be formed only in a peaceful world. With such a point of view he mercilessly criticized the idea of the expansion of national rights which was by degrees gaining popularity in the latter half of 1880's when *Shōrai no Nihon* was published. He said: "Although the idea of the expansion of national rights and forces wears the cloak of modern thought, it is nothing but a modification of the old ideas of the feudal age."

In short, the ideal of modern Japan Sohō entertained developed into plebeian democracy based on two principles: production and pacifism. In other words, setting up as its antithesis the modernization by the Meiji Administration's preferential treatment of trading capital, he grasped plebeian democracy in terms of the category of "the provincial gentlemen." (*Kokumin no tomo*, No. 52) He developed this idea, strengthening the traditional thought of the Japanese bourgeoisie with the meliorism of the Manchester School. This idea as advocated by Sohō, however, consisted in the view, that modern Japan should be formed through the improvement or reconstruction of the existing society in the second decade of Meiji. This is why it was necessarily of the character of a melioristic revolution in the subjective sphere, approving the existing social system from the objective point of view. Therefore, in spite of its brilliance, as a man out of office he was doomed to engage in a series of the Meiji Administration's policies for the modernization of Japan. Indeed it can be said that under the slogan of pacifism as opposed to the idea of expansion of national rights and forces, he foresaw the coming crisis in the relations between Japan and the advanced nations. He insisted on the independence of Japan from the viewpoint of nationalism, which was, of course, a subconscious idea to him at that time.

3. *Inclination towards Nationalism*

However, if we view Sohō's statements around 1887 from the standpoint of nationalism, his ideas were far from being nationalistic. As stated above, his ideas presented in *Shōrai no Nihon* were the product of his keen interest in the trends in the western world in the 19th century. In order to squeeze out this idea, he "not only attempted, but also really endeavoured, to concentrate all the

ideas, knowledge, and learning so far acquired." (*Sohō jiden* [Sohō's Autobiography]) Accordingly, he declared that he "would rather continue to live among the simple-minded commoners with whom he had been keeping company." ("Buraito-shi no heimin-shugi" [Mr. Bright's Plebeian Democracy], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 15) He took a decisive stand against the expansion of armaments. He said: "Military power is a matter of valour; diplomacy is a matter of wisdom.... If you devote yourself to the question of military expansion and neglect diplomacy, is it not an instance of putting the cart before the horse?" ("Kokubō-saku ani hitori gumbi nomi naran-ya" [Is Armament the Only Means of National Defence?], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 108) Taking pride in being a champion of pacifism, he at that time believed that the independence of a nation was based on the spirit of independence in the individual members of a nation. ("Idai-naru kokumin" [Great People], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 119) Furthermore, he thought that "pacific diplomacy, namely treaty revision, was the only way to strengthen Japan and exalt national prestige." ("Taigai seisaku no hōshin" [An Aim of Diplomacy], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 126) Indeed, we may take him as a pacifist, but, needless to say, Sohō's pacifism was not originally absolute. In the above-mentioned article he stated: "In establishing a state, it is natural and necessary for the founder to take notice of the movements of surrounding countries and to be careful not to be struck at a weak point in self-defence." Thus, he thought protection for self-defence was indispensable. Therefore, if we developed his pacifism to an extreme, we see that it would be delicately involved with the idea of the expansion of a nationalistic spirit. It is a fact that later this idea, which was ambivalently related to plebeian democracy, fermented and took a subtle form in his mind with reference to the problem of treaty revision, which had been looked upon as an aim of the foreign policy of our country since the Restoration. The problem of treaty revision was a pitfall for the Liberty and Popular Rights Movements, and to our regret, this was also true of Sohō.

According to Sohō, the modernization of Japan was not made from a "domestic necessity," but from the "external necessity" of the then existing government. Japan was modernized from "diplomatic necessity," so that it became strained. Since the problem of treaty revision was so important that it could decide the future course of Japan, it was necessary to concentrate public opinion on it. In this respect, he said: "The related committee should consist not only of the representatives of the administration offices but also of those of people. This applies to the committee of negotiation." ("Seifu no kakugo" [The Administration's Resolution], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 186) As a consequence, he advocated that the problem of treaty revision be solved by means of the unity of the whole nation. Here we see the subconscious stream of nationalism in Sohō spouting.

When we think about Sohō's inclination towards nationalism, we must regard as important his remarks in 1893, the year before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In January of this year he elatedly advocated: "Speaking of the foreign policy in question, it is only the problem of treaty revision

that the present government takes notice of, and that the people wish to solve; both of them are very indifferent from a plan to establish 'Great Japan' in the East.... Now that tens of thousands of people have succeeded in obtaining suffrage, it is time that we should establish in the South Seas a new country to be governed exclusively by the Japanese. Does this mean a splendid way to get a colony without losing a warrior or a weapon? The importance of establishing 'Great Japan' consists not only in developing trade or planting colonies, but in showing off national power to the world." ("Dainaru Nihon" [Great Japan], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 179) Next he declared: "I have now realized that democratic plebeian progressivism and a nationalistic spirit should be united, and furthermore that without doing so, the great plan made at the time of the Restoration cannot be carried out at all. In the *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 2, I once said, 'Diplomatic troubles are not external, but domestic.... The essence of a nationalism lies in the assertion that the people should be treated without distinctions between aristocrats, warriors, and commoners. In this respect, it is identified with the plebeian democracy under whose system all of the people engage in politics. The nationalistic movement, therefore, is nothing but the manifestation of plebeian democracy.'" ("Heimin-teki shimpo-shugi to kokumin seishin" [Democratic Plebeian Progressivism and a Nationalistic Spirit], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 222) Thus, at last his plebeian democracy came together with his nationalism, with an insistence on treaty revision. In other words, when faced with the problem of the treaty revision, Sohō, who had thought the principle of plebeian democracy consisted in its clear distinction from the system of society controlled by aristocrats or warriors, came to regard "plebeian" and "nation" as generally homogeneous and then reduced both of them to the category of nationality, set in contrast to an international world.

4. *From Imperialistic Expansionism to an Asian Monroe Doctrine*

As previously stated, Sohō, a plebeian democrat, had almost turned to nationalism before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. That is to say, the outbreak of the War made his nationalistic tendencies clearer. He abandoned plebeian democracy and became converted to a rational advocacy of national rights as the van of imperialism. In this case, he identified the necessity of his conversion from plebeian democracy to imperialism with the historically inevitable destiny of the Japanese people, who were obliged to turn to nationalism and then to internationalism from the principle of decentralization. This is how he tried to maintain both his own moral responsibility for his ideas and a consistency in them. He said: "The Sino-Japanese War is certainly an epoch-making incident in that it has enabled us to look at things from the international point of view, and no longer from the nationalistic point of view.... Thirty years ago, a Japanese thought in terms of a world no larger than the domain in which he lived; but now we think in terms of a nation; and from now on, the boundaries should expand to the

whole world. Moreover, we should not only dream of dominating but should in fact dominate it. ("Sei Shin no shin igi" [The True Sense of the Sino-Japanese War]) Thus, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War gave Sohō the first opportunity to proclaim imperialistic expansionism, which was going to grow into Asianism, with China regarded as an object of conquest. Before the outbreak of the war, he had already written: "What do we mean by 'Greater Japan'?... We mean by it the expansion of the sphere of life. In every respect, it is China that prevents us from expanding own national power. When we try to establish 'Great Japan,' we find the cause of great troubles confronting the foreign policy of our country in China, not in Europe." ("Shina ron" [An Essay on China], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 230) Nevertheless when the war broke out, he issued the following statement: "We should all be ready to invade not only China and Korea, but also whatever territories need conquering from the point of view of military, commercial, or colonial interests. It is not necessary that the world map should always remain the same.... We will be able to revise it without difficulty, if we endeavour to have sufficient power, patience, and strategy to do so." ("Aikoku-teki kyōiku" [On Patriotic Education], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 241)

Sohō's turn to expansionism was spurred on by the problem of the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula presented by the Triple Intervention. In this respect, he reminisced: "It is not going too far to say that the problem of the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula affected the course of my life. I was so shocked by this matter that since then my viewpoint has become quite different. I thought our country was lacking in national power. Therefore, I became convinced that no just and righteous deed would be worth even the half its value without enough power." (*Sohō jiden*) Thus, after taking office as a councillor in the Second Matsukata cabinet with the intention of implementing the retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, he came to firmly believe in "the Gospel of power." However, granting that his attachment to nationalistic expansionism grew more and more ardent as the Sino-Japanese relationship, which agitated public opinion, became more and more delicate, we cannot say that to have the War started was his primary intention. His primary intention was the expansion of Japan itself. This idea of his is clearly shown in the following quotation: "I afford the question of the Japan's invasion of China seven or eight-tenths of the total pages of this essay. I do not regard the expansion of Great Japan as the question of her invasion of China, but her invasion of China as the question of the expansion of Great Japan. That is to say, the expansion of Great Japan comes prior to her invasion of China, and not vice versa." ("Dai Nihon bōchō ron" [An Essay on the Expansion of Great Japan], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 241) According to this principle, in an essay on "Patriotic Education" (*Kokumin no tomo*, No. 241), he assented to the boundless territorial expansion of Japan into Asian countries, and regarded it as the primary mission of our country. In other words, he thought that Japan's mission was

“to bestow the favours of a modern political system upon the people in the East and in the South Seas.” (“Rōma-jin to Nihon-jin” [The Romans and the Japanese], in *Sohō bunsen* [An Anthology of Sohō’s Works]), and that “to propagate the cause of justice and humanity in the whole world,” “to help the backward nations set up self-government,” and “to establish peace in the Far East,” (“Jishu-teki gaikō no igi” [The Significance of a Positive Foreign Policy], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 282) were supreme tasks given to our country. Putting it in another way, he believed that “we Japanese must first break down the privileges of the white race” (“Rekishi-teki ni kansatsu shitaru kaikoku ron” [An Essay on the Opening of the Country from the Historical Point of View], *Kokumin no tomo*, No. 284), and then, by means of the introduction of both Eastern and Western civilizations, we ought to get rid of the discrimination between the white race and the yellow race, and propagate humanism all over the world.” (“Nihon kokumin no shibō” [The Desire of the Japanese People], in *Sohō bunsen*) In the long run, Sohō’s Asianism amounted to an Asian Monroe Doctrine “whose motto was the control of Asia by the Asians.” (*Taishō no seinen to teikoku no zento* [The Young Men of the Taishō Era and the Future of the Empire]) The substance of this idea is shown in the following: “Now, Japan confronts two problems to be solved. One is how she should support seventy or eighty thousand people, increasing year by year. The other is how she should improve the condition of the yellow race and maintain peace among the Asian nations. That is, the former is the problem of national self-defence; the latter is that of the fulfilment of Japan’s mission in the world. However, both of them are based on the principle of national self-defence.” (*Taisen-go no sekai to Nihon* [The World and Japan after the World War])

As is seen from the foregoing, the Asian Monroe Doctrine is not based on the idea of the solidarity of Asian nations. It is nothing but the dogmatic assertion of an Asianism whose first principle is the self-defence of Japan. Therefore, it can be said that Sohō’s thought at that time had already implied the idea of the expansion of the “sphere of existence” or “sphere of life,” which claimed Japan to be the “chief of the Asian nations,” and in which the fascism of the early Shōwa era had its theoretical and sentimental basis.

5. *After the Sino-Japanese War*

After Sohō began to believe in “the Gospel of power” and was appointed a councillor in the Matsukata administration, a post which laid him open to public censure for apostasy, he led a political life, keeping a close acquaintance with Tarō Katsura (1848–1913). This is why he could act as an extremely radical nationalist and imperialist, quite differently from what he had been. Once he had abandoned his former views, he continued to hold the “Emperor First” principle, or the idea of the rule of all the people by the Emperor. In February, 1913, the third Katsura cabinet, for which Sohō worked for many years, fell on account of the Campaign for Defence of the Constitution.

In October of the same year, simultaneously with the unexpected death of Prime Minister Katsura, Sohō broke off relations with the political world.

Sohō then began a life of "patriotic writing" (*Sohō jiden*). He began to write *Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi* (The History of the Japanese People in Modern Times) which consists of one hundred volumes. The first portion of the book appeared in the July 1st edition of the *Kokumin shimbun* in 1918 under the title of "Oda-shi jidai—zempen" (The Age of Oda Nobunaga, Part I)." In the following year, to commemorate the publication of the 10,000th edition of the *Kokumin shimbun*, he founded the Organization for the Promotion of National Education. Further, in 1923, in commemoration of Sohō's 60th birthday, the Aoyama Hall was built with a view to giving the public opportunities to associate themselves with Sohō's political ideas and principles.

Unfortunately, on the 1st September, 1923 the building of the Kokumin shimbun-sha (Sohō's newspaper office) was burned down by the great fire caused by the Kantō Earthquake. The building itself was reconstructed with financial aid from Takeyoshi Ishikawa (1887-1961), the president of the Shufunotomo-sha (the publishing company of a women's magazine). Nevertheless, Sohō was so persistently devoted to the existing social system that he failed to regain public support. In consequence, he found it hard to continue to manage his newspaper office, and decided to leave it in the hands of Kaichirō Nezu (1860-1940), a member of the Tōbu financial group. In January, 1929, he resigned from the office to which he had given himself for forty years. At that time he said as follows: "The reason for my resignation ... is pressure of writing and my uneasiness about it. In other words, I decided to resign in order to defend freedom of speech and writing in the Press." (*Sohō jiden*)

Nevertheless, in May, 1929, Sohō began to contribute to the *Osaka mainichi* and the *Tokyo nichinichi* (both of which were major newspapers in Japan at that time) as a guest editor. In May, 1942 (during World War II), he was appointed the president of the Bungaku hōkokukai (Patriotic Writers' Association), and at the end of this year became president of Dai Nippon hōkokukai (Patriots League of Great Japan, its Director was Kazunobu Kanokogi), which was financially supported by the General Staff of the Japanese Army and founded on such rightist organizations as the Nippon seiki-sha, the Nippon hyōronka kyōkai (one of whose members was Tatsuo Tsukui), and the Genri Nippon-sha, in order "to establish the characteristic Japanese world view and to carry out a propaganda war in our country." Hereupon he became a typical spokesman for Japan in the war time, both in name and reality.

From the foregoing we may say that the fact that Sohō, who had changed his views many times, was given the highest position in the press of our country during the war shows forcibly that the press at that time took no account of apostasy, and that even an apostate had a chance to gain such a position and fame. In consequence, Sohō, who had called himself "a youth

of the Meiji era" in contrast to "the old men of the Tempō era" (*Shin Nihon no seinen* [Young Men in Modern Japan]), went back to the same position as the latter. That is, he was in the end converted into an ultranationalist.

However, as soon as World War II came to an end, Sohō, changeable in views, notified the Cabinet of his intention of resigning all his public offices, and then took the necessary procedure for declining membership in the Imperial Academy and an Order of Cultural Merit. On the other hand, in December, 1945 he was divested of public office, being considered a suspected war criminal. Needless to say, his resignation from all public offices does not mean that he stopped his life of speculation and writing. In January, 1952, he published his work, *Shōri-sha no hiai* (The Misfortune of the Winner). What he repeated in this book was the necessity of rearmament for the self-defence of our country; he argued very forcibly that the inconclusive American policy towards Japan would bring about a great deal of misfortune or disadvantage, which was "the natural consequence of her deeds." From such a point of view, he harshly commented on the Tokyo Trials from beginning to end, and encouraged Ichirō Kiyose, one of the chief counsels. In a letter addressed to him Sohō stated: "Nothing is more disgusting than the present attitude of the Japanese press towards these trials and, especially, towards you. Apart from the attitude of the American press, I can't stand that of the Japanese press. Though they should behave like Japanese, they speak as if they were not Japanese. This is incorrigible." (The letters to Ichirō Kiyose, *Yomiuri shimbun*, [October 22, 1966])

In 1923, Sohō had commented: "There are two types of men in this world. The first type is flexible and goes with the stream, and the second type is inflexible and goes against the stream. The former always belongs to the majority; the latter, to the minority. The one is a trimmer; the other not a trimmer. One an adaptable mind and one a rebellious mind. Looking back upon my life, I can frankly say I am the second type. I have consistently acted according to my rebellious spirit, if you will excuse me using a tasteless expression. A spirit of rebellion in itself is consistent, even if its object has been different according to time and place." ("Kanreki wo mukauru ichi shimbun-kisha no kaiko" [Recollections of a Newspaper Man on His 60th Birthday]) Sohō changed his own views again and again. He cut off himself from the norm of the Kumamoto jitsugaku-tō (Kumamoto Party of Practical-Technological Science), he renounced Christianity, and he abandoned plebeian democracy. On one occasion he declared himself for the signing of the Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty, and he was against the Campaign for Defence of the Constitution, and twice his newspaper office was set fire to. On another occasion he was far ahead of the public in the judgment of the Tokyo Trials, and taking the times in advance, he reproved the American occupation policy in Japan for the "misfortune of the winner" before the Peace Treaty was concluded between the two countries. Taking all these facts into consideration, can one still conclude that Sohō's life was so consistent as to be called a revelation of such a "rebellious spirit" always

going against the times and "belonging to the minority" as he thought himself to have been? How will one explain the fact that not one of his voluminous works had ever been banned? Here we may reach the conclusion that Sohō adapted himself as occasion demanded, and that his life was far from having any consistency. Even if it can be called rebellious, it was at most under the protection of the national power.

From a different point of view, however, it may be true that Sohō's life was a pattern of life that most of the Japanese intellectuals were obliged to lead in the rapid process of modernization in the latter half of the 19th century, a period in which they were faced with the problems of the "pre-modern," "modern," and "ultra-modern" ages all at once. Moreover, it can be said that here lies the secret of the popularity of Sohō, who was an active man of thought and journalist throughout the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa eras.

A Short Life History

- 1863 Born (25 January) at Mizumata, Kumamoto prefecture.
- 1866 Studied some Chinese poems of the T'ang Dynasty.
- 1867 Read *Ta Hsueh* (The Great Learning).
- 1870 Family moved to Ōe village in Kumamoto prefecture, because of the appointment of his father (Ikkei Tokutomi) to the office of Kumamoto clan. Sohō was enrolled at the Motoda School (*juku*).
- 1871 Enrolled at Kanesaka Shinsui School (*juku*).
- 1873 Enrolled at Kumamoto School of Western Learning. However, he was dismissed soon because he was only ten years old.
- 1875 Re-enrolled at Kumamoto School of Western Learning.
- 1876 January: The Kumamoto Band was established. Sohō joined immediately. August: The Kumamoto School of Western Learning was closed. Enrolled at Tokyo English School (later The First High School). Winter: Enrolled at Dōshisha English School in Kyoto, where studied mainly journalism.
- 1879 Employment by the *Nanaichi zappō*, a newspaper in Kōbe, as pressman upon recommendation of Jō Niijima.
- 1880 Withdrew from Dōshisha English School. Came to Tokyo to study at Ōkoku Okamatsu's Shōsei-shoin School (*juku*).
- 1881 Gave a series of political talks with colleagues of the Kumamoto sōaisha. Co-operated with the members of the Kumamoto sōaisha for the publication of a newspaper *Tōhi shimpō*. Published co-authored book *Kaika no tebiki* (Introduction to Civilization).
- 1882 March: Opening of Ōe-gijuku, was appointed as its president. About this time regularly read *The Nation*. First met and spent a week with Taisuke Itagaki in Tokyo.
- 1884 April: Published *Meiji nijū-san nen igo no seijika no shikaku wo ronzu* (An Essay on the Ideal Statesman after the 23rd Year of Meiji).
- 1885 Published an article, "Dai jūkyū-seiki Nihon no seinen oyobi sono kyōiku" (Young Men and Education in Japan in the Nineteenth Century) in Ukichi Taguchi's magazine *Tokyo keizai zasshi*.
- 1886 Published *Shōrai no Nihon* (Japan in the Future). His reputation as a social critic was raised. The Ōe-gijuku closed towards the end of the year.

- 1887 February: The founding of the Minyūsha and the publication of its organ *Kokumin no tomo*.
- 1888-89 Played active role in politics together with his compatriots of Kyūshū. Co-operated with Jō Nijjima in founding Dōshisha University.
- 1890 February: Published a newspaper *Kokumin shimbun*.
- 1892 September: Published a magazine *Katei zasshi*.
- 1894 August: Outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Sohō immediately visited the Imperial Headquarters in Hiroshima.
- 1895 February: Published an English journal *Far East*. April to May: A trip to China (Manchuria) to inspect the ruins of the war.
- 1896 May to June, 1897: A trip to Europe and the United States.
- 1897 July: Appointed a councillor of the Home Minister of the Matsukata cabinet. Sohō officially recommended for the retrocession of Liaotung, which provoked tremendous unfavourable criticism of him in public. December: Resigned as councillor.
- 1898 September: *Kokumin no tomo*, *Katei zasshi*, and *Far East* incorporated into *Kokumin shimbun*.
- 1905 September: The building of the *Kokumin shimbun* burned by those who were enraged at Sohō's support of the government proposals for the peace treaty with Russia.
- 1906 May to August: A trip to Korea, Manchuria, and China.
- 1910 September: Appointed as superintendent of a newspaper, *Keijō nippō*, in Seoul, by Terauchi, Governor-General of Korea. (The appointment was effective till July, 1919.)
- 1911 August: Appointed as a member of the House of Peers.
- 1912 Advocated royalism.
- 1913 February 10: First Constitution Defence Campaigners again burned the *Kokumin shimbun*. October: Sohō severed relations with the political world.
- 1918 June: Began work on *Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi* (The History of Japanese People in Modern Times), which appeared serially in *Kokumin shimbun* from July 1.
- 1919 December: The founding of Organization for Promotion of National Education.
- 1920 May: Awarded Imperial Academy Prize (*Onshishō*).
- 1925 April: Inauguration of Aoyama kaikan. June: Obtained membership in Japan Imperial Academy.
- 1929 January: Resigned from the *Kokumin shimbun*. March: Became guest editor with two leading newspapers of the time: *Osaka mainichi* and *Tokyo nichinichi*.
- 1935 April: Met with the Emperor of Manchukuo.
- 1937 June: Obtained membership in Japan Imperial Arts Academy.
- 1942 May: Appointed President of the Patriot Writers' Association (*Bungaku hōkokukai*). December: Appointed President of the Patriots Journalists' Association of Japan (*Dai Nippon genron hōkokukai*).
- 1943 April: Awarded a Cultural Medal.
- 1944 July: Met with Prime Minister Hideki Tōjō.
- 1945 April: Met with Prime Minister Kantarō Suzuki. August 15: Japan's surrender and the conclusion of the Second World War. August 16: Proclaimed willingness to resign from all official assignments.
- 1946 February: Disposed of all assets in order to seek seclusion, resigned from membership in the House of Peers and Japan Imperial Academy, and returned his Cultural Medal.

- 1947 September: Discharged from war crimes custody.
 1951 February: Resumed drafting *Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi*.
 1952 April 18: End of purge. April 20: Completed of *Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi*, in 100 volumes. November 17: Awarded Kumamoto Cultural Prize by the Board of Education of Kumamoto City.
 1954 March: Granted honorary citizenship of Minamata City, his native town.
 1957 Died (November 2) at the age of ninety-four.

A Selected List of Works

- Kaika no tebiki* (An Introduction to Civilization), co-authored with T. Ikematsu and M. Munakata. Kumamoto, Publication at his own expense, 1881.
Meiji nijū-san nen igo no seijika no shikaku wo ronzu (An Essay on the Ideal Statesman after the 23rd Year of Meiji). Kumamoto, Publication at his own expense, 1884.
Jiyū, dōtoku oyobi Jukyō-shugi (Liberty, Morality, and Confucianism). Kumamoto, Publication at his own expense, 1884.
Dai jūkyū-seiki Nihon no seinen oyobi sono kyōiku (Young Men and Education in Japan in the Nineteenth Century). Kumamoto, Publication at his own expense, 1885.
Shōrai no Nihon (Japan in the Future). Tokyo, Keizaizasshisha, 1886.
Seinen to kyōiku (Education and Youth). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1892.
Yoshida Shōin. Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1893.
Tennen to hito (Man and Nature). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1894.
Rai Sanyō oyobi sono jidai (Rai Sanyō and His Age), co-authored with A. Yamaji and S. Morita. Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1898.
Katsu Kaishū. Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1899.
Kyōiku shōgen (On Education). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1902.
Kinji seikyoku shiron (Political Outlook Today). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1903.
Motoda sensei shinkō roku (Lectures by Master Motoda). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1910.
Seijika to-shiteno Katsura-kō (Prince Katsura, A Statesman). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1913.
Taishō seikyoku shiron (A Political Outlook on the Taishō Era). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1916.
Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi (The History of the Japanese People in Modern Times). 100 volumes 1918. Vols 1-65, Tokyo, Minyūsha; vols. 66-100, Tokyo, Meiji-shoin. Completed in 1952.
Taisen-go no sekai to Nihon (The World and Japan after the World War). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1920.
Seikai no kakushin (Political Renovation). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1924.
Yamato minzoku no mezame (The Awakening of the Yamato Race). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1924.
Kokumin shōkun (The People's Ethics). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1925.
Sohō zuihitsu (Essays), Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1925.
Taishō fujin no shin kyōyō (New Cultured Women of the Taishō Era). Tokyo, Shufunotomomsha, 1926.
Rai Sanyō. Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1926.
Shōwa isshin ron (On the Renovation of Shōwa). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1927.
Kōshitsu to kokumin (The Emperor and His People). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1928.
Kokumin to seiji (The People and Politics). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1928.
Kido Shōgiku sensei (Master Kōin Kido). 1928.
Kokumin-teki kyōyō (Education for the People). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1929.
Ishin kaiten shi no ichimen (One Aspect of the Restoration). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1929.
Sokū Yamagata-kō den (Biography of Prince Aritomo Yamagata). Tokyo, Yamagata kōshaku

- denki hensankai, 1929.
- Jisei to jimbutsu* (Times and Persons). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1929.
- Rekishi no kyōmi* (Historical Interests). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1930.
- Jidai to josei* (Women and Social Change). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1930.
- Shūshi yoka* (Historical Ramblings). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1931.
- Gendai Nihon to sekai no ugoki* (The Contemporary Political Situation of the World and Japan). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1931.
- Iwakura Tomomi kō* (Prince Tomomi Iwakura). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1932.
- Katsu Kaishū den* (Biography of Katsu Kaishū). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1932.
- Seishi yoroku* (Meditations), revised edition. Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1934.
- Meiji ishin no taigyō* (The Accomplishment of the Meiji Restoration). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1935.
- Sohō jiden* (Autobiography). Tokyo, Chūō-kōronsha, 1935.
- Warera no Nihon seishin* (Japanese Spirit). Tokyo, Minyūsha, 1936.
- Gendai josei kun* (Ethics for Modern Women). Tokyo, Shufunotomo-sha, 1937.
- Waga kōyū roku* (About My Friends and Acquaintances). Tokyo, Chūō-kōronsha, 1938.
- Fujin no shin kyōyō* (A New Concept of the Cultured Woman). Tokyo, Shufunotomo-sha, 1940.
- Manshū kenkoku tokuhon* (The Founding of Manchuria). Tokyo, Meiji-shoin, 1940.
- Kōkoku Nihon no taidō* (The Principles of the Japanese Monarchy). Tokyo, Meiji-shoin, 1941.
- Kōa no taigi* (Towards Asian Prosperity). Tokyo, Meiji-shoin, 1942.
- Soō kammei roku* (My Impressions). Tokyo, Hōunsha, 1944.
- Hissshō kokumin tokuhon* (People's Guide towards Victory). Tokyo, Mainichi shimbun-sha, 1944.
- Minamoto no Yoritomo*, vols 1 and 2. Tokyo, Kōdansha, 1954.