

character and general trustworthiness of the average native; others do not hold such a high opinion of him and consider him the inferior of the American negro, mentally, morally and physically. As students in the University of the Philippines it is said they compare favorably with students in American universities.

Doubtless there is as much variation, mental and moral, among the natives of the Philippine Islands as among the inhabitants of an Anglo-Saxon country, so that one's opinions are apt to be influenced by the class of natives with which he chiefly comes in contact.

THE IDEA OF MORAL HERITAGE IN THE JAPANESE FAMILY.

BY M. ANESAKI.

JAPAN has now emerged from the feudal régime, but hardly enough to be completely emancipated from various ideas and practices cherished for centuries during the old régime. Grave questions in the moral life of new Japan arise out of the relation and conflicts between the inherited conception of the family tie and the new life of the individual. The change in social life wrought by the rising industrialism is disintegrating the bonds and usages of the old communal system; but, on the other hand, the moral tradition of the family system is an abiding force and is deemed by national leaders to be the essential kernel of social life in Japan. What will be the outcome of the two counteracting forces, old and new? This is a question which awaits a solution in the future. I shall try to present here the ideal of family integrity in its historical development, giving special attention to that important part of its history, in the fourteenth century, when an eager effort for national unity was combined with a zeal for the perpetuation of family tradition.

Speaking in general, the national history of Japan shows alternate ups and downs of the clan spirit and the state ideal, and in many stages an interesting combination of the two. The dawn of Japanese history is marked by the predominance of clan life. Though many clans were serving the ruling family who were believed to be the descendants of the Sun-Goddess, many of them were semi-independent tribes, united by blood or by the relation of lord and serf and having their definite territories ruled over

by chiefs with established prerogatives. The mutual independence of these clans often militated against the advance toward national unity, yet the belief in the divine descent of the Imperial family played a great part in preserving the allegiance of those powerful clans to it; and the influx of immigrants from the continent, all of whom served the ruling family with their arts and industries, also contributed to the prestige of the central government. It was in the sixth century, when Buddhism together with various arts was introduced into the country, that the rivalry between the two most powerful clans was a serious menace to the national government. But thanks to the able statesmanship of Prince-Regent Shōtoku, the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism, and to the civilizing influence of Buddhist missionaries and immigrants the crisis was at last overcome, with the Imperialists as victors, the Buddhist cause having become identified with the authority of the ruling family, thus weakening the power of the clans. The result was the firm establishment of national unity under the sole authority of the time-honored Imperial family.

The seventh century marks an epoch in the rising Imperialism, which succeeded in abolishing the clan privileges and even in inaugurating universal military service by conscription, the consummation of all this being codified in the Institutes of 701. Not only did the rising influence of Confucianism and Buddhism contribute to the cause, but the old Shinto ideas were modified or elevated from their association with the clan spirit to enhance the power of the Imperial régime. A captain of the old warrior family, the Oh-tomo, expressed the warlike spirit of his clan in a new and Imperialistic form:

“Serve our Sovran at sea,
Our corpses leaving to the salt of the sea;
Our Sovran serve by land,
Our corpses leaving amid the wild-waste bushes;
Rejoice to die in our dread Sovran's cause,
Never looking back from the edge of the battle.”

And this captain was the last of the commanders whom the family supplied to the country, while the family never again occupied such a prominent position in state affairs as they had occupied previous to the eighth century. Another, an old priestly family, perished after having left its last testimony in a record of ancient traditions which was compiled in the beginning of the ninth century. Thus the fall of the old clan prerogatives was concomitant with the rise

of Imperialism, and the three centuries from the seventh onward may be designated as a preeminently Imperial period.

This Imperialism was however purchased at the cost of the virile spirit which had been a characteristic and cherished virtue of the clan system, for the centralized government with its wealth caused luxury and effeminacy to influence the court nobles in the capital. Moreover the Chinese institution adopted for the sake of the Imperial régime, gave rise to a bureaucratic development of the government system, and the bureaucracy fell into the hands of the Fujiwara family which always supplied the major-domos and empress-consorts to the Imperial family; the patriarchs of the Fujiwara continuously became regents in title but rulers in fact; and finally, as the bureaucratic oligarchy was consolidated, the rivalry among the prominent members of the same family became the chief factor of the court life, only to accelerate their selfishness and effeminate degeneration. Imperialism was kept in form, but it was no longer the controlling force of social life; family lineage was respected, but it was unable to exercise any restraint on the personal motives of its members; national aspiration gave place entirely to individual desires and emotions, in which love and romanticism played as great a part as ambition for power and wealth. Thus the court life produced the highly individualistic age of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the literature and religion of the time were ruled by sentimentalism. The government lost its hold upon the provinces, the moral sense was overshadowed by romantic sentiment, and social disintegration seemed imminent.

The saving factor at this critical time was the revival of the clan spirit, especially among the warriors in the provinces. Signs of this revival were apparent in the eleventh century, when the military men were sent on expeditions to the disturbed provinces where they began to settle down. The captains of the army, living in the remote provinces, were able to train their men in warlike exercises almost undisturbed by the central government, and the relations between the captains and the retainers, lasting as it did for generations, furnished a firm moral tie which became the foundation of the new clan system, even without blood kinship. It was under these conditions that the warlike spirit and the virtues of obedience, gratitude, and fidelity were cultivated among the men under the hereditary captainship, and they were called the "sons of the family" or "clan retainers." The final result was the fall of the effeminate oligarchy and the coming into power of the virile military men, in the middle of the twelfth century.

The government fell into the hands of the military captains, and though the Imperial authority was kept intact in form, the actual government of the country was gradually transformed into a feudal state under a military dictatorship. Fealty to the dictator was controlled by the idea of clan kinship, which even without blood relationship proved to be something like a large family group. Naturally, under the moral tie and military discipline of the clan life the family in the narrower sense strengthened its bonds upon its members and became an essential organ for the perpetuation of the lineage and tradition which involved the obligation it owed to the lord and the fame and dignity which the prominent members of the family had created. To hold a family estate and to bear a family name meant a great thing for a warrior, and it was the custom of the fighting knights to challenge a worthy opponent on the battlefield by first naming himself and enumerating the fame of his ancestors. "Listen to me, you know the name of the one who, having subjugated the rebellious Masakado, was highly prized by the Imperial court and has left his noble name to posterity, Tawara Tōda Hidesato. Here I am, the son of Ashikaga no Taro Toshitsuna, the knight of the province of Shimozuke and tenth generation of the said famous captain,—my name is Matotaro Tاداتsuna, now only seventeen years old. Though I am now a man without any rank and office, I, the descendant of Hidesato, want a match to fight. Any one in your camp who would dare, come out and fight me." Such or sometimes a longer address was the common formula challenging to a duel, and after mutual address the combat ensued. And at critical moments during the struggle the thought of a warrior was always occupied not only with his own warlike fame but with the high name of the ancestors and the pride to be bestowed upon his descendants. It was this keen and far-reaching sense of family fame that stimulated valor and preserved the allegiance to the lord, even unto death.

Now this sense of family perpetuity was strengthened and extended during the firm military government of the feudal régime in the thirteenth century. Although the first dynasty of the military dictatorship fell in 1333, the warlike morality and the sense of family fame remained ever a powerful controlling force among the warriors. The fall of the first military dictatorship was caused partly by its inner corruption and partly by the revival of Imperialistic ideas. But this latter was too weak to overthrow the feudal ideas and the morality of clan kinship, and the consequence was the rise of another military clan, under the leadership of the Ashikaga,

the descendants of the old Minamoto generals of high fame and great popularity. A fierce contest took place between the advocates of the Imperial principle and the followers of the new military dictatorship, and this gave rise to a division of the Imperial dynasty. The legitimate dynasty, the Imperialistic side, was called the southern and was supported by the loyal nobles and warriors who were united in the Imperialistic idea and principle, while the northern was supported by the military party of the Ashikaga who established a counter dynasty in order to avoid the imputation of being mere rebels. This division lasted about sixty years (1336-92), and ended by the abdication of the southern dynasty, and it was during this struggle that the family idea of the southern warriors became closely connected with the Imperial cause, of which we shall presently see significant instances.

The struggle ended in the triumph of the military and feudal party and the collapse of the Imperial cause, though the abdication was carried out by a peaceful delivery of the Imperial insignia. Yet the moral victors were, in a certain sense, the southern warriors, for the idea of moral heritage perpetuated by their clansmen and followers proved to be an unconquerable power, while the feuds of selfish interests among the followers of the northern dictator reached a point which threatened social disintegration. "The stricture of the superior by the subordinate" became the ruling force of social and political life; the Emperor was treated like a puppet by the dictator, the latter in turn by his warden, who was again abused by his retainers. This abominable condition obliged the dictator to adopt and emulate the spirit of moral tradition cherished among the followers of the Imperial cause. The third and ablest of the Ashikaga dictators made an earnest endeavor to lay down moral rules for the conduct and life of the warriors, the results of which were seen in the strengthening of family tradition among his retainers, not only in moral principles but in the military arts of archery, tactics, riding, and the etiquette of war. The hereditary perpetuation of these arts and ceremonies by the respective families to which they were entrusted was systematically carried out in this way toward the end of the fourteenth century and became a great force in the social control of the coming centuries, especially in the peaceful reign of the Tokugawa dictatorship from the seventeenth century onward.

In order to understand the significance of this institution of moral and professional legacies handed down by the family line we must see how the loyal followers of the Imperial party in the

fourteenth century fostered their family traditions in connection with the Imperial cause. The most significant and influential example in this respect was furnished by Kusunoki Masashige, the greatest of Japan's national heroes, whose tradition became a national inheritance. Masashige stood firm for the Imperial cause throughout his whole life, and when he was obliged by Imperial order to face the overwhelming force of the rebellious Ashikaga, he went to the front with a resolute determination to fight his last battle. When his force of five hundred troops was reduced to fifty he retired to a monastery, together with his brother and retainers, and killed himself. Before going to this his last battle he called his eldest son, only thirteen years old,¹ and left him a moral legacy together with a sword, the soul of a warrior. The son emulated the loyal spirit of his father, and died a similar death eleven years later; the whole family indeed devoted their lives to the same cause, and perished, so that the effort of the government after the restoration of 1868 to seek out his descendants was in vain. There is a document pretending to be the hero's moral legacy left to his sons, but its authenticity is very doubtful. Yet the moral legacy of Masashige, as expressed by his life and death, had a greater effect than any written document and survived the final extinction of his blood lineage, for all the patriots of the restoration in the nineteenth century deemed themselves to be working in the spirit of the ancient hero.

Another instance of a moral legacy, preserved in its original, is shown by that of Kikuchi Takemochi. The family Kikuchi was another of those families which stood unswervingly on the Imperialist side throughout the contest of the two dynasties. Takemochi's father died in the war against the Hōjō in 1333; his elder brother fought unsuccessful battles against the Ashikaga and died at last in a battle. In 1336 the Imperial army lost its ablest general, Masashige, and his antagonist, Ashikaga, made a triumphant entry into the capital. In the following years the southern dynasty lost its best captains one by one, the greatest of whom, Yoshisada, died in 1338. At this critical moment of his cause, in the month following Yoshisada's death, Takemochi wrote his solemn vows, intending them to be a binding force upon himself and his clansmen, never to deviate from the family tradition of royalist warriorship, even in the utmost calamity of his own party. This document was a revised version of those left by his father and brother, but perhaps

¹ This is a tradition, while the historians think that he was twenty-one years old.

more solemn in tone than the former. Takemochi shows in this legacy his ardent faith in his and his family's religion, the Zen Buddhism, and also takes the vow of fidelity to the Imperial house by swearing by the names of all celestial guardians. His father is said to have written his legacy in blood, which however does not exist now, while Takemochi signed his name with his own blood and the original is preserved.²

These instances of moral legacy clearly show what a vehement ardor took possession of the minds of those loyal warriors, and furnish us the material for judging what moral effects they had upon the lives of their clansmen and descendants. It is this moral zeal and influence that awakened the military leaders of the northern party to the necessity of moral control upon the life of their retainers, as we have alluded to above. There is a document of the same sort ascribed to the rebellious general Ashikaga Takauji, and though it is discredited by historical critics it was surely a product of the age in which the military party became convinced of the necessity of a moral legacy for themselves. It is a product of pious fraud, but this fraud testifies to the influence produced by the legacies of the Imperialist leaders upon the minds of the military partisans. Moreover, the third Ashikaga dictator instituted, as we have said, the perpetuation of various legacies by particular families, the legacies pertaining to the various military and orther arts but always containing morals in their instructions.

The close connection established among military arts, moral principles and family traditions is one of the characteristic features of the Way of the Warriors, of which religious faith and mental training were the central principles. The religion of these warriors was Zen Buddhism, a form of Buddhism which laid special emphasis on mental training by a method of meditation. Its aim consisted in attaining mental serenity and purity by a controlling of both body and mind in tranquil session, and its effects were seen in a lofty attitude of mind toward all commotion of life and a calm air of renunciation combined with a firm determination. This religion of spiritual aloofness, together with its general disciplinary training, was a strong impetus also to an artistic control of life, which was carried out in the development of pure taste and refined culture. Now the effects of this severe refinement were applied to the training in military arts and ceremonial observances and became the foundation of the moral and professional traditions perpetuated by various families.

² The whole text is given in the appendix.

The ramifications of the disciplinary rules, mental training, esthetic refinement, family traditions, in a warrior's family, is too complicated to be treated here; but it was the composite force of these elements of the family tradition that preserved in many families the most precious inheritance of national life and civilization, through the two centuries of turbulence and disturbance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The keen solicitude for the perpetuation of moral traditions was not limited to the family, in the usual sense of blood kinship, but was extended to the spheres of clan integrity in the feudal states, of the spiritual solidarity of the philosophical and ethical schools, and of the preservation and development of arts and crafts in the guilds and fellowships. Herein lies the reason why the relation between master and disciple played in ancient Japan almost the same role as those between father and son and between lord and retainer. Not only the moral history of the Japanese but the history of their arts and philosophies will be incomplete without due consideration of the influence of traditions and legacies perpetuated by families and schools.

Beside the noble traits of the social life of Japan, supported by the ideal of moral tradition, we must, however, note an evil side. This latter consisted in the rise of a stagnant conservatism and in the elaboration of family monopolies. This was especially the case during the two centuries and a half of the Tokugawa government, from the seventeenth century, when the necessity of restoring social order after a long reign of war caused the dictatorial government to keep strictly the established status in every sphere of social life. There was a strong central government, but each feudal state was ruled by its lord; each commune within a fief held its traditions and sanctions intact; and each family, whether aristocratic or plebeian, transmitted its tradition from generation to generation. The clan spirit, the communal cult, the family heritage, and in addition to these the traditions of schools of painting or medical practice or ethical teaching,—each of these units exercised its influence on the moral, artistic and other traditions. The painter adopted any of his able disciples as his son, in order to perpetuate his art; the medical man disinherited his own incapable son and gave the time-honored name and fame of his family to the ablest of his pupils. On the other hand, but for the same reason, the pupils of a philosopher or artist who dared to think and practice in an original manner were excluded from the communion of the school. In the perpetuation of these traditions there were elaboration and development, but in many cases slavish imitation and mechanical repetition deadened the spirit

and vitality. The moral tradition of the family or school alone was not responsible for this rigidity, it was largely a product of the rigid social status under the strict vigilance of the high-handed government, which was always ready to sacrifice everything for peace, the peace of stagnation.

The burden of this oppressive rule became in the course of time unbearable for those who yearned for individual initiative, and even peaceful obedient citizens breathed the heavy air with uneasiness and restlessness. When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the knocking of foreigners at the door of the country began to be heard, the revolt against the existing régime was beginning to stir up the minds of a few far-sighted men. In addition to this discontent the plea for a real national unity under the Imperial régime was promulgated by the scholars of the national classics and by Confucian nationalists. The aspiration for the restoration of old Japan, the adoration of Masashige, the loyal martyr, the revolt against the rigid caste division, worked together for a great movement toward the restoration. This inner movement joined its power with the urgent necessity of opening the country to the world's commerce, which accelerated the real unity of the nation under the Imperial régime, and the result was the revolution of 1868. Here the zeal for family tradition and the loyalty to the feudal lord found a modified application to the national movement of great magnitude and intense ardor. Now the reverence for moral tradition was expanded and applied to the national and Imperial cause, and the will of the heroes of the fourteenth century was not only fulfilled but developed in a grander scale than ever dreamed of by the nation.

In conclusion, and as an illustration of this development, we cite a legacy left by a pioneer and martyr of the new era to his disciples, who worked for the realization of their master's aspiration. He was Yoshida Shōin, who in 1854 wrote down instructions which were in part as follows:

"Any one born in this empire should know wherein lies the superiority of this country over others. The empire has ever been ruled by the unique Throne, the one dynasty permanent throughout all ages. In the feudal states all the ministers and retainers inherit their ranks and emoluments; and those who rule perpetuate the achievements of their forefathers, while the retainers and the people follow the will of their fathers in loyally serving their rulers. In this way the unique constitution of our country is established on the

basis of a harmony between the rulers and the ruled and of the union of loyalty (toward the lord) and filial piety."

The writer further admonishes his disciples in the practice of the virtues, such as righteousness, simplicity, sincerity, gratitude, resoluteness, all of which he deemed to be the necessary means of realizing the unique constitution of the national life of Japan through the moral life of the people, especially of the Samurai, the leaders of the people.

APPENDIX: THE TEXT OF KIKUCHI TAKEMOCHI'S VOWS.

"Reverently calling to witness the Three Treasures³ of all the ten quarters, everlasting through the three times,⁴ especially the Seven Buddhas and the patriarchs of over fifty generations of the temple Goshō on the Hill Hōgi,⁵ as well as all the celestial deities and the eight groups of the *Nāga* deities, who guard the Truth, and also the Great God of Aso, the tutelary deity of this province, I swear solemnly in their presence the following vows:

"1. I, Takemochi, having been born in a family of warriors, who are destined to serve the Imperial cause, cherish the wish to enhance the fame of the family and to promote myself by the Imperial grace, in accordance with the way of heaven and by the virtue of faithfulness. This shall be sanctioned and guaranteed by the Three Treasures. Besides this I swear never to be infected by the spirit of the warriors of these days, who neglect a righteous cause for the sake of personal fame and selfish interests, and are altogether shameless.

"2. I shall be caused to die, by way of penalty, as soon as I may wander from the way of the five relations,⁶ being bewildered by selfish motives of by private relation of intimacy. Yet it may happen that I, a man of stupid nature, shall err in the discrimination of right and wrong; in that case I shall soon return to justice through your remonstrance.

"3. Although the strict observance of the two vows above sworn may be fraught with great difficulty in these days, this I have done

³ The Buddhist *Tri-ratna*: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, which may be called the Perfect Person, the Truth or Religion and the Community. The Community embraces all visible and invisible existences who are at last to be saved by Buddhist faith.

⁴ The past, the present and the future.

⁵ A Zen temple patronized by the Kikuchi family. Its patriarchs were always the masters of the family in the practice of Zen meditation.

⁶ This is Confucian, the five moral relationships between lord and retainer, parents and children, husband and wife, elder brothers and sisters and the younger, and between friends.

in the utmost sincerity, with the intention of guarding the true religion of Buddha Sākya-muni. This vow I swear veraciously and with delight, believing that it is a great and meritorious work for a layman to have aroused this faith and wish, the wish to guard the true religion, even one day or one night, in this age of degeneration when the true religion is threatened by fall and decline; and I shall never be sorry if I should be punished by heaven because of my own fault and transgression. Let the Three Treasures and *Nāgas* and the celestial beings witness this vow. Let my mind never deviate from this desire to guard the true religion, and let me, together with all beings of the whole cosmos, attain the life of final enlightenment, by virtue of the true religion of Sākya-muni, saving them together with me, without interruption, until the appearance of the future Buddha Maitreya.

"4. I, who have now taken the vow to protect the true religion, shall ever protect and revere, in a pure faith, the monastic members of the Communion who have abandoned for ever the worldly fame, interest and glory and are striving with single mind after the way of Bodhi for the sake of the future.

"5. Beside the public services and certain private intercourse I shall never be interested in fame and glory, except a few kinds of worldly practice for the sake of recreation, which are allowed to the layman. In order to guard the true religion I strictly forbid (to myself and my clansmen) all conduct which deviates from the way of military virtues and literary training, or which may hinder the prosperity of the true religion, or which violates the law and brings calamities to the state,—acts which are so common among dishonest men of these days.

"6. In order to perpetuate the prosperity of Sākya-muni's true religion I shall suppress within my territory all acts of intentional killing, especially on the six days (every month) of the holy observance.

"7. This sincere desire to guard the true religion is the legacy left to posterity by my dear brother, the governor of Higo; and I, Takemochi, having been stimulated by his earnest desire, arouse an ardent faith in his legacy with tears and leave this to my descendants for ever. Herewith let me, together with them,⁷ take the vow to guard the true religion, for the sake of the Sovereign and of the family, and—both monks and laymen—to tread the righteous way in concord.

⁷ It is assumed that the will of the ancestor has a binding force upon the descendants.

"8. In order to express my gratitude for having heard and learned the true religion I will be born in this life whenever the true religion may prosper, and will guard it generation after generation and birth after birth by arousing a firm faith in the true religion and by becoming a disciple of (the Three Treasures as) my Master.

"These are my vows and desires, and I write this down in order to give testimony to them.

"If I should violate the substance of these vows, let the Three Treasures, Buddhas and Patriarchs, celestial beings and *Nāgas*, and all other guardians of the religion, inflict severe punishment upon each of the eighty and four thousands of pores of my, Takemochi's, body; let me suffer in this life from the white and black leprosies, and make me lose the opportunity even of coming into contact with the religion of Buddha during seven rebirths in future.

"I humbly beseech the Three Treasures that they should testify, approve and protect this, and that *Nāgas* and celestial deities accept these vows and let them be fulfilled.

"The 15th day of the 8th month
in the 3d year of Yengen (1338)

Signed.

COMMENTS ON "MORAL LAW AND THE BIBLE."

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

NINE years ago I began as a contributor to *The Open Court* with an article on "Pious Fraud." Although even to-day I would not on the whole take back the position I took then, and although my purpose then was entirely pure, deploring how greatly true religion had been harmed by what I criticized, still my article called forth some just criticism, and really was "onesided" in its statements, as the editor of *The Open Court* said, though he otherwise defended me. The case is somewhat similar with Westermayr in his article "Moral Law and the Bible" (*Open Court*, Sept., 1916). Whether his purpose was or was not the same he may decide.

First of all I will quote some erroneous statements of his with refutations, and these I think will justify some other criticisms which may be more debatable. I will add that I am not a "revelationist."