

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELEK

VOLUME XXXIX (No. 10) OCTOBER, 1925 (No. 833)

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The Open Court Publishing Company

122 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Illinois

Per copy, 20 cents (1 shilling). Yearly, \$2.00 (in the U.P.U., 9s. 6d.)

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1887, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879.
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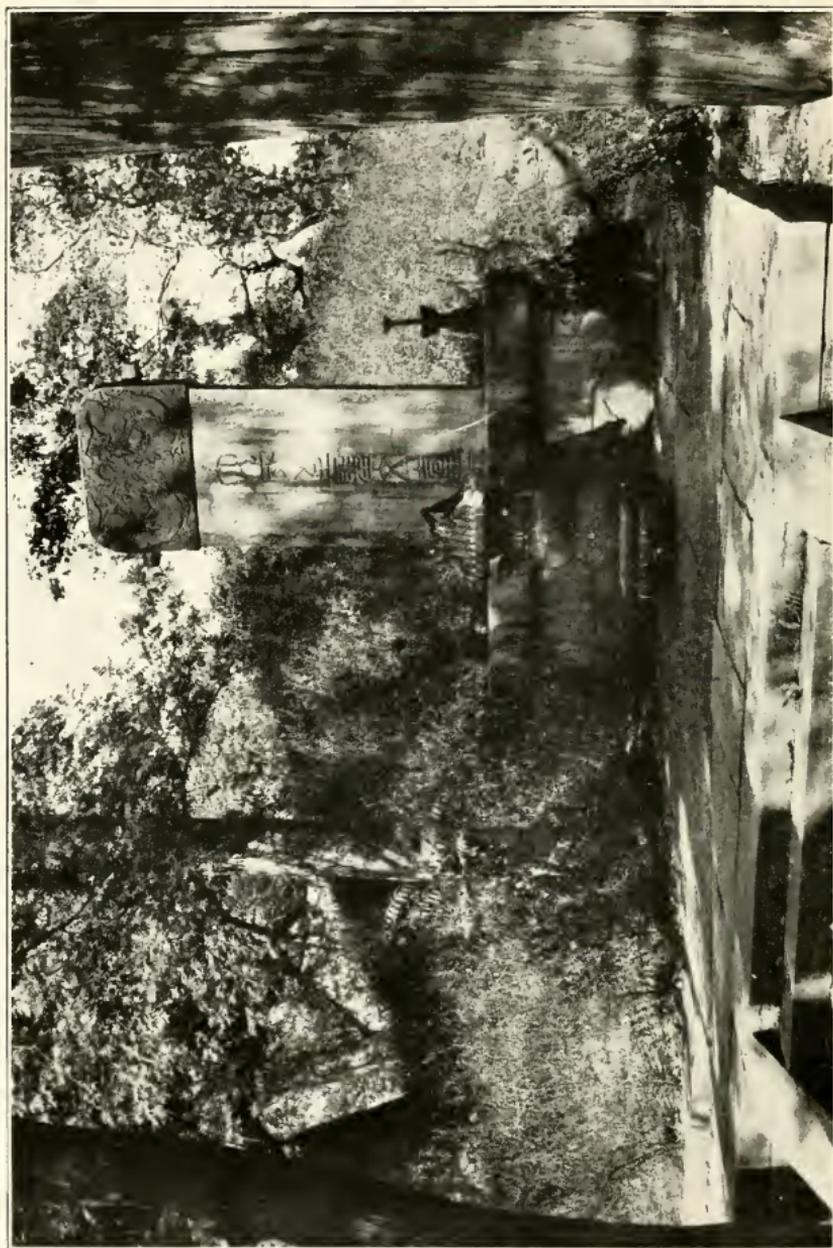
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM

BY W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH

AMONG the color-prints by the exquisite master, Hiroshige, there are several which depict a tiny house of prayer, perched charmingly on the end of a promontory, in a little lake. But if Hiroshige is a notably favorite artist in the West, apparently no Occidentals, in descanting on him, have spoken of the historic interest of the miniature fane, which he drew so beautifully. For the Buddhist priest who founded it, Jiken Daishi, living at the outset of the seventeenth century, was a close friend of the wonderful statesman, Tokugawa Iyeyasu. And it was their time, which witnessed the advent of Confucianism, as a force in Japanese life. On one occasion, Jiken was invited to go to a scholastic establishment, the Seido, or Hall of the Wise Men, there to uphold the merits of Buddhism, while another person, Hayashi Rasan, championed those of Confucianism. And this debate was symbolic of the epoch in which it occurred, the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). For it was an age, seething with the spirit of inquiry.

Confucius was not the originator of the faith which bears his name. Inculcating an orthodox code of morality, it acknowledges the rule of one supreme god, which belief notwithstanding, Chinese Confucians pray to their own dead ancestors, for mundane blessings. And this monthestic and ancestral cult had obtained in China, fully two thousand years before the birth of Confucius, in 551 B. C. It is maintained, that he edited certain ancient writings; it is supposed, that he added chapters to some other things of that kind. There is a book, regarded as being exclusively by him; there are other books, which claim to give his spoken wisdom, as set down by his disciples. This voluminous mass of literature, part of it historical, part poetical, here concerned with divination, there with

morality, elsewhere with statescraft, forms the Confucian Canon. And there grew up around it, in China, a body of exegesis, diverse in the extreme, and of colossal size.

It appears to have been towards the close of the fourth century, A. D., that the Japanese first heard of Confucianism, but it evoked slight interest with them. A hundred and fifty years thereafter, it had brought no step forward with the people of Nippon, from their primitive condition. In sharp contrast, as shown in the present writer's former article, when Buddhism reached Japan, in the mid sixth century, it quickly united with the indigenous Japanese cult, Shinto. The dual creed, thus formed, soon became the universal one, in the Island Empire, straightway espousing moreover, the current civilization of the Asiatic mainland. It is the case that, a university being established in the Land of Sunrise, towards the close of the six hundreds, the Confucian Canon was made a part of the curriculum. It is the case that, about the middle of the seven hundreds, a Japanese Empress tried zealously, to popularize an item in that Canon, the Book of Filial Piety. Nevertheless, the University was but a tiny affair: and the popularizing of a book was scarcely possible, since, as yet no printed volumes were produced in Japan. The inauguration, in 1192, of the Shogunate, or military dictatorship, which presently became the real governing factor, the crown devolving into a shadow of authority, was followed ere long by a marked development in printing. In 1317 there was published, *Sanken Itchi Sho*, or the *Union of the Three Wisdoms*, in which book a Japanese Buddhist priest, Dairen, sought to harmonize the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism, together with those of the latter's chief rival in China, Taoism. But if the publication of this work demonstrates, that liberal thought was not unknown in Nippon in the fourteenth century, it was no written word, but a series of strange happenings, which brought Confucianism its titanic vogue in the Tokugawa period.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Portuguese and Spanish missionaries settled in large numbers in Japan. Owing to the ceaseless baronial wars, there was harrowing privation with the commonalty. People were therefore ready to listen to a novelty, and literally thousands became Christians. Certain Japanese nobles tried, to coerce their tenants into accepting the Western religion. For the tyrants felt that, if Christianity grew omnipresent, in the estates they personally owned, this would bring commerce between those domains, and the Portuguese possessions in the Orient. And

this commerce would yield wealth, for the nobles at issue. When, in 1562, Oda Nobunaga set out, to pacify the land by armed force, he saw well that a backing of many swords was at disposal, with the Christian nobles, and he enlisted them in his service. But the pacification he achieved was only a lull, in the storm of internecine strife. And now there went forth the tale, that the Christian missionaries were plotting, to facilitate a naval invasion. Who would save the Land of Sunrise from wars at home and peril from abroad?

No doubt, the curiously sad nature of his childhood was partly the thing, which engendered in Tokugawa Iyeyasu the habit of thought. For he grew up, homeless, motherless, during twelve years a boy hostage, which circumstances were due to his father having suffered a reverse in the baronial wars. On a morning in 1600 two armies gathered at Sekigahara, not far from Kyoto, one army being nearly twice the size of the other. But how should the men of the smaller dread defeat, when their general was Iyeyasu? And as evening approached, his clarions sang triumph. Some of his followers, hastening to congratulate him, spoke of the wealth which would be his, since surely all Nippon lay in his hand, as it were. He replied that he cared nothing for riches, nor personal glory; declared that his sole dream was the welfare of the Japanese people. He added memorable counsel: "After a victory, tighten the strings of your helmet." And the night came down.

A myriad questions must have surged through the mind of the brilliant leader, as gloom enveloped the battlefield. If the civilizing spell of Buddhism, huge as that spell was, had not brought immunity from baronial strife, what moral force could be discovered, conducive to a central government of enduring stability, a government which should break forever, the turbulence of the feudal lords? It is the easier to imagine the great soldier pondering thus, for he was a man of wide reading. Once, prior to Sekigahara, he had heard that, near his camp, there was resident a scholar who, having begun life as a Buddhist priest, had renounced Buddhism and was eliciting attention as an exponent of Confucianism. On that occasion, Iyeyasu had expressed a desire to make the acquaintance of this person, Fujiwara Seikwa (1561-1619). And scarcely was the signal fray of 1600 over when the triumphant soldier besought the ex-priest to come and expound the Chinese cult. But when the lecture was about to begin, it was noticed that the general wore his ordinary clothing. "The wisdom of the Chinese sages

demands ceremonial robes," was Seikwa's cutting remark. And Iyeyasu went humbly to change his raiment!

Yedo, nowadays called Tokio, was chosen seat of Shogunal rule, when the victor of Sekigahara was appointed Shogun in 1603, and the office made hereditary with his family, the Tokugawa. Scholarship had waned sadly in the long storms preceding this event. Of the old university of early Buddhist times, all that remained was sundry academic titles which passed from father to son in various families. Iyeyasu therefore started at Yedo, a college for young *samurai*, or men of the military caste, a band of which swordsmen each noble had the right to have in his service. It was this college which acquired the name Seido, the place being a direct ancestor of the present Imperial University. The Confucian Canon was from the first, the staple, in fact the dominating thing in the curriculum at the Seido; it continued to have that position in the learning imparted there till the end of the Tokugawa period. Seikwa's pupil, Hayashi Rasan (1583-1657), was nominated principal of the new educational institute by Iyeyasu. And it was the great soldier personally who organized the debate there in which the Buddhist, Jiken Daishi, confronted the Confucian, Hayashi. With the latter, as with Jiken, the Shogun formed an intimacy, and he remained very cordial towards Seikwa, despite that scholar's rudeness to him above mentioned. But with all his interest in Confucianism, Iyeyasu was a member of the Buddhist church, and expressed a wish that his descendants should never leave its fold. What was it, in the Confucian Canon which he desired to impress on the young men of the military aristocracy, the governing class?

In contrast to Buddhism, primarily concerned with teaching people how to win salvation in the hereafter, Confucianism says nothing about the life after death. And, with the Chinese expositors of their national cult, it was common to assail Buddhism for its want of practicality. Where, they would ask, are its rules for the manipulation of the state? Confucius saw, in the perfect family, with parents tending the children, and children obeying the parents, a picture in miniature of the perfect country. And in consonance with preaching the excellence of filial piety, the sage and his exegetists descanted on the need of unswerving fealty with people to government. But the duty of the governors, towards the governed, was also expatiated on by the philosophers, and their conception of the divine right of kings was notably sane. The Emperors of China, they would say, give proof of holding a charge from God, only so

long as they rule for the benefit of the realm. Kings exist for the nation, not the nation for Kings. The Chinese expositors would enlarge on the desirability of each individual thinking of the common good first, his own second. He should always be ready to sacrifice his personal interests for those of the majority. And of Confucius himself it is told that, challenged to name in a single word a force which would keep everything right, he answered, Reciprocity. The *Buke Shohatto*, or Statutes for the Military Caste, is sometimes thought to be of Iyeyasu's own composing; in the opinion of seemingly all Japanese biographers of Hayashi Rasan, he had much to do with compiling the code; the surmise is tenable, since that outstanding Confucian was secretary to Iyeyasu, besides head of the Seido. And, apart from containing definite citing of the Confucian Canon as an authority, the *Shohatto* is rich, on page after page, in memories of Confucian literature in general. It represents an endeavor to give Japan the reciprocal regime, which the thinkers of China had upheld as the ideal one.

If crime abounds in the country, the Shogunal government is to blame, says the *Shohatto* characteristically. It is the duty of the Shogunate, to preserve tranquillity throughout the land. If a man drinks and gambles, the point to be inquired about is, whether he was taught these actions are wrong, and if he was not so taught, those responsible for his education ought to be penalized. Expanding on the need of finding for government posts, men of integrity and wisdom, the code duly inveighs against such nobles as oppress the common people. But it holds that, if a *samurai* receives offence from a commoner, the former is entitled himself to punish the offender. The *samurai*, however, should he be most severely dealt with by the government, should he be convicted of going forth without his sword, badge of his caste, he should never forget, that his sword is the very soul of a gentleman.

This last comment in the Statutes is remarkably illuminative. Iyeyasu appears to have marked clearly that, would he strengthen the central government, would he create towards it that fealty which Confucianism advocated, the reform movement must be led by the nobles and their men-at-arms. The Statesman saw that there must be heightened with the military aristocracy the sense of honor. They must be taught that, even as they had the privilege to go armed, they must show themselves worthy of it, setting to the other classes an example of fine manly conduct. In a little, the great Shogun might well congratulate himself, on the results of his various meas-

ures since Sekigahara. Through his pacification of Nippon, prosperity was dawning for the masses. And meanwhile, the ruler had shown amply that he was anything but prejudiced against the Occident. He had sent a young compatriot to Italy, there to study Western civilization, and bring home a report; he had allowed British and Dutch merchants to settle in Japan, and the Shogun had personally won the friendship of a British seaman, Will Adams. But now, there went forth again the terrifying story about the Christian missionaries trying to facilitate a naval invasion. Had he labored in vain, Iyeyasu may have asked himself, to set his beloved country in order? Convinced that a dynamic move was needful, he sternly interdicted the profession of the Occidental faith, and he ordered all the foreign churchmen to leave Nippon instantly, at peril of death. The third Tokugawa Shogun, Iyemitsu, made of the Island Empire a very hermit. He ejected the European traders; he closed the seaports to Western commerce, and he absolutely forbade Japanese to go abroad. There were still many people, however, who clung to Christianity, and there was launched against them a harrowing persecution. How should this sad event fail to quicken the philosophic bias which had been heralded by Fujiwara Seikwa in turning from Buddhism to Confucianism?

It was through feeling the need of a foil to Christianity that, as told in the present writer's former article, the Tokugawa Shogunate demanded that every mature Japanese male should be on the membership roll of some Buddhist temple. Accordingly, although Confucius was canonized in Japan with the name of Bunseno, and although there was placed in the Seido an image of him, to which his admirers paid obeisance, Confucianism never became an actual church in the Land of Sunrise. It never had a priesthood there, and was simply a force, which moulded the thought of the country. It could scarcely have become a church there, since the ancestral worship, which is a salient part of the Chinese cult, was also a part of Japanese Buddhism, having acquired this from the old creed of Nippon, Shinto. Iyemitsu granted revenues to the Seido, and soon in divers places, other than Yedo, there were philosophers who gathered youths around them, and instructed them in the Confucian Canon. In the course of the Tokugawa period, upwards of twenty men gained wide repute by such expounding. Most of them were likewise writers on the Chinese religion, and several of them openly criticised Buddhism. Ere long, a stupendous mass of literature had grown up in Japan around the ancient sacred books of China. If

the pages of the Japanese exegetists are often crying a splendid passion for learning was shown by a number of these men. And it illustrates well, on the one hand, the mental activity of their epoch, on the other hand, the rigor of the anti-Western policy, that the fourth Tokugawa Shogun, coming to power in 1651, found cause to issue an edict against the translating of any books from European tongues.

Not Buddhism alone, but also Taoism, was assailed by the Chinese Confucians. For they were worshippers of hard logic, whereas Lao Tsu, the alleged founder of Taoism, inculcated an idealistic charity as of Jesus Christ. "Recompense injury with kindness," said Lao Tsu. And Confucius being asked what he thought of the doctrine, he answered with the logic his compatriots were afterwards to extol: "Recompense kindness with kindness, injury with justice." In the Book of Rites, an item in the Confucian Canon, it is claimed as just, to avenge the death of a father or brother. And, in Japan, this conception of filial piety and justice became only too prevalent in the Tokugawa age. Long before, namely in the twelfth century, two brothers names Soga waged a victorious vendetta on the assassin of their father. And early in Tokugawa days, there was inaugurated a festival to keep fresh the memory of the brothers, with what was viewed as their excellent and dutiful action.

In the Confucian expositions of Fujiwara Seikwa, it is held that a *samurai* should always be ready to testify his devotion to his lord, even unto death. Hayashi Rasan harps on the fineness of loyalty, without saying explicitly what he signifies by the word. In the Confucian discussions of a later writer, Yamaga Soko (1622-1685), who was a pupil of Rasan, Seikwa's sentiments above-named are echoed. And, imbued with the Confucian notion of justice, Soko writes lengthily on how a *samurai* should act, in wreaking vengeance on one, who has wronged the noble whom the *samurai* serves. The man-at-arms should disguise himself, should craftily study the ways of the enemy, should lie in wait for him till a fit hour for striking. In the Occident there is familiar the story, *The Forty-seven Ronin*, about a band of warriors who, exacting the penalty of death from a person, who had insulted him whose liegemen they were, then disembowelled themselves. And this story is based on veritable events, which occurred in 1701-03. The leader of the vengeful, Oishi Yoshio (1659-1703), had studied the Confucian Canon under none other than Yamaga Soko. And, in his gory exploit, Oishi employed the very tactics which his preceptor had written about!

It was perhaps inevitable that in Japan, feudalistic, her governor's swordsmen, the Confucian Canon should bring forth a fruit, somewhat other from that which it yielded in China, industrial, her rulers owing their posts to having passed scholastic examinations. It was perhaps inevitable that in the Sunrise Land the extolling of filial piety, reckoned by the Chinese Confucians the golden virtue, should engender the related element, loyalty. For remember, and be this emphasized, Oishi and his band acted in accordance with a lofty sense of duty and honor. And not these men only, but others of the *samurai* caste, manifested towards the feudal lords they served, a nobly sacrificial loyalty. A cult, whose originators exalted the logical, and scouted the idealistic, fostered in Nippon something illogical yet extraordinary beautiful. Iyeyasu had not acted in vain when he worked to make the Confucian Canon the staple of education with the military aristocracy. Seikwa had not written in vain a remarkable passage, in which he pointed out that "learning is of value, only in so far as it creates character."

The material prosperity which Iyeyasu had brought by giving stability to the central government was anything but swept away by the anti-Western or hermit policy. The veneration for loyalty on the part of *samurai* to his chief, was largely the moral force which underlay the social fabric in the Tokugawa period. Its popular literature demonstrates that the commoners bowed before the merit, enthusiastically admiring *samurai* fidelity. Observe, too, in 1783, when there was much distress owing to a volcanic eruption, a noted Confucian expositor, Kameda Hosai, parted with the most precious of all things to a scholar, his library, so that he might distribute money to the distressed. This was merely one of a number of generous acts, by outstanding exponents of the Confucian Canon in Nippon. They endeavored to practice the orthodox virtues they wrote about; they made sacrifice for their parents. They illustrated true filial piety, instead of the sanguinary thing, mistaken for it by votaries of the Soga brothers.

It is customary with Japanese historians to divide their bygone Confucians into sundry schools or groups. In 1790, so various had become the ideas of the apostles of the Chinese cult, that the Shogun Iyenari made an abortive attempt to prohibit the teaching of any code of philosophy, save what this ruler called Shushi. This is the Japanese version of the name of the Chinese sage, Chu Hi (1130-1200). He was of those Confucians who notably upheld fealty to government, and this explains why the Shogunate favored his writ-

ings on the Canon. A distinction with Chu was that he was very explicit about the riddle of the universe, explaining that in nature there existed two forces, an active and a passive, which united, whence out of chaos was born cosmos. Of the Shushi school were Seikwa and Rasan, the latter being a doubly significant figure, in that he wrote a book about Christianity. He assaulted it fiercely, quite misunderstanding it, his main trouble being the first text in the Book of Genesis! Another group of Japanese Confucians are known as the Classicists, concerned as they were more with the Canon itself than with the interminable Chinese essays on it, and of this group was Yamaga Soko. The Oyomei was the designation of still another band, the name being that whereby the Japanese spoke of the Chinese writer, Wang Yang Ming (1472-1528). With his writings as their authority, they put a democratic construction on the Confucian Canon. Of the Oyomei set was Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), who declaimed noisily against the nobles being allowed to maintain armed retainers, who did no work. An Oyomei man was Okumiya Zosai (1811-1876), who had the boldness to express something of friendship towards Christianity. Nor did the democrats prove themselves a clawless dragon, for among them was Saigo Takamori (1827-1877), who played a leading part in subverting the Shogunal rule in 1868. And this event, being followed by the complete opening of Japan to Occidentals, soon brought the books of Western thinkers into the country.

At first the Japanese philosophers studied their Confucian Canon exclusively in the Chinese original. The thing was read aloud at the Seido, the purport of page after page being told to the audience. It was through his precocity in learning Chinese that Hayashi Rasan first elicited his fame. And it was not till the nineteenth century that the sacred Chinese volumes were printed in Japanese. If the Confucians of Nippon are deeply memorable, as symbols of the tense intellectual vitality of their time, perhaps the prime interest which attaches to Japanese Confucianism, is that the faith helped a brilliant legislator to serve his country. It assisted him in forming, after a time of chaos, a government which had sound stability for close on three hundred years. Many centuries will elapse ere yet the name of Iyeyasu shall have passed from the cognizance of some among those

“Who bear the burden of the pride of thought.”