

広池千九郎博士の平和論と その実践記録

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一、広池千九郎博士の平和論

(一) 平和とは何か

広池博士は、その『道徳科学の論文』の中で、幸福の条件として、安心、健康、長命、開運、子孫万世不朽というものを挙げている。

健康、長命、開運ということは比較的なことであって絶対的な基準を設けることは困難であろうが、ある程度は客観的な捉え方が出来よう。ただし、長命とは、すでに長命したものについて言えることであり、若い者にはあまり実感はない。ただ、自分の血族が多く長命している場合と短命に終る場合とでは他人と比較して幸不幸を感じるであろう。将来、遺伝学的に、あるいは生理学的に、あるいは衛生学的に、よりの確に捉えることが出来ると、この要因は一層比重を増すかも知れぬ。次に、開運というのは従来は半ば信仰的に、あるいは偶然の事態として考えられたものであって、この抽象的な観念がどのくらい科学的に実証されるかはなお将来の問題であろう。即ち、体験的に確認するかどうかは別として、これを道徳上の因果関係に持込むについては、重要な問題であるだけに一層なお慎重な研究を要すると思われる。

幸福が部分的には主観的な概念である以上、安心がなければ幸福は成立つ筈もないけれども、安心については、自らの精神の鍛練によって獲得され得るものと、客観的条件によって支えられるものがあり得る。広池博士が、安心を幸福の条件として挙げ、安心と幸福との条件として「平和」を挙げるとき、その平和には、精神的状態としての平和と、戦争や闘争のない社会的状態としてのそれと、その両者を含んでいるが、後者もまた結局においては前者の所産であるとして、その根本を個人の精神的状態として考えている。それゆえ、根本的な平和の条件は、却って、社会状況の中においてよりは、むしろ、箇人の心の平静に求められるようである。また、健康、長命、開運というような、むしろ多分に物質面を含む条件にしても、究極においては、これらの事項の精神主義的解釈とは別に、これらに対する精神的原因を重視しているが、それは多分に生物学的な生存・発達・進化という考え方も関連している。

宇宙自然の法則をあるがままに捉えようとした広池博士は、その基本的態度として、一方に偏することを拒んだ。身口意一致、情理円満、知徳一体、正義と慈悲、天地人、質と量というようにすべてを調和ある一体と見て普遍

的に、一元的に且つ中庸的に表現することを試みているが、従ってその平等観についても無差別一律の態度を避け、実際の且つ比例的であって、平等の中の差別、差別の中の平等を真理と見る。その差別観は質を尊び量を次とするものである。この比例的平等観は「秩序を確守して自由を尊重す」という格言によく現われているが、また、「寛弘を尊ぶ但し塵芥を容れず」と条件づけをしながら直ちにまた「塵芥をも棄てず器に随って之を導く」と補っているこの両格言にもよく表われていると言えよう。故に、標準規格は階層的で、大小本末軽重尊卑正邪善悪の如く、両極的構造を持っている。それも単に消極積極の如き抽象的世界ではなく、現実的な、生存発達の極と滅亡の極とを具えた一つの方向軸に沿っているようである。東洋古典学者、史学者として出発し、東洋法制史家として大成した博士の出発点は、「物あれば則あり」、「事實は真理なり」というのであるから、当時の驚くべき自然科学上の諸発見は、いよいよその確信を強めたことであろう。同じく運命観といっても、博士のそれは、天道是か非かの懐疑論でなく、賽翁が馬の禍福説でなく、勿論また没法子式の絶対的宿命観ではない。いわば「天道親なし常に善人に興す」るものであって、因果律を積極的に認め、運命の改善を可能と考えるものである。東洋古典学者たる広池博士はこの世界諸聖人の教訓から学んだ道徳上の因果律を元亨利貞、亢龍有悔という対句によって示し、これに生物学的発想によって進化の原理、退化の原理の名を与え、また法理学者たる広池博士は義務の先行による権利の獲得と確保を重んじ、債務の弁済という観念で経済人に向って解説を試みるのであるが、これには宗教人たる広池博士の原罪観と、改心更生という贖罪の思想の裏付けがあるようだ。後段に示す湯浅宮相あての書簡の中で「古来東西聖人の御教によれば、此地球は人間の力にて変化するもの也」という広池博士は、万有聯絡循環の理から人間の本質に及ぶ広範な研究によって科学と道徳との結合を企て、人類の根本問題の解決に挑んだのである。現時、二十世紀の最後段に於て我々が対決を逼られている人類のスケールでの食糧問題、資源問題、人口問題、環境問題を前にして筆者は、広池博士の予見的な感度の鋭敏さに思いを致さざるを得ない。さ

て広池博士の両極の構造に於ては、義務先行を裏付けとする徳の世界の中に伝統祖述報恩という解脱原理を軸として一方に生存、発達、進化の極を、他方に退化、滅亡の極を置き、建設と破壊、愛と憎、平和と抗争というような形で正邪善悪の価値規準が方向的に即ち質的に且つ量的に設定されているのである。

さて、世界の平和が確保されなければ真の安心も幸福もないのは当然であるから、一方に「戦争、政争、階級闘争」の如きがあるうちは、他方に於いてどのような「善事」や「発明」があっても無効だと広池博士は考えた。

そこでモラロジーは「人類に安心と幸福とを与える」ことをその目的とすることになるのだが同時に「世界永遠の平和を実現するための基礎となる一個の専門学」としても考えられているのである。そして、モラロジーの原理と方法がすべて平和実現の原理と方法にほかならないことになっている。

(二) 平和実現の方法

すなわち、モラロジーによる世界永遠平和実現の基礎づくりの方法は、人類に向って、聖人の教え即ち最高道徳を科学的に開示して、之を開発救済し、箇人の精神に平和を与え、その行為を改め、新運命を開かせようとするものであるというのである。

それでは、どうして箇人の精神の平和が世界永遠の平和の実現の基礎づくりになるのかと言うと、広池博士は次のように説明している。

モラロジーの理解と最高道徳の実行とは、その個人の精神と行為を自然の法則に一致させるから、従ってその実行者を安心・平和・幸福に導くのであるが、また一つには最高道徳の実行者が生ずるということは、その人の精神と運命との改善になるのであるから、即ち世界の一部の改造であり、平和の一步前進であって、「開発された人の数とその開発の深さ」とによって、ある社会の「平和の程度」が決まるというのである。そこである特定の社会に住む人々の安心と幸福は、言わばその社会の平和度によって大幅に決定されるわけであろう。

次に、人類の「平和及び幸福」には「団体の統一」が必要であり、団体の統一は、最高道徳によってはじめて可能になるというのである。なぜならば、人間の精神に関する調和・統一・統制もしくは平和の如きは、智識でなく道徳によってのみ実現可能なのであり、ことに、平和の問題のような人間生活の基礎を形造る問題の徹底的解決は、人間の精神の最高道徳の開発以外にはありえないからであるという。

(三) 平和を脅すもの

広池博士によれば、平和を脅すものに、帝国主義と通称されている軍国主義もしくは侵略主義があり、これは個人の精神に宿っている人間固有の利己心に基づくものであるといわれる。

利己心から生じて来る愛国心は自国自慢、排他心、復讐心などになって、利害の衝突を契機として、戦争を招くものであるが、そうなれば「平素の衛生も儉約も養育も」一朝にして焦土の灰と化するわけである。財界も政党も、利己の為に国を売ることがある。そこで何を措いても利己心を改めることが先決であると広池博士は警める。

それでは、他の主義はどうなのか、人道主義、世界同朋主義、民主主義、社会主義などはどうなのか。それらの主義は、むしろ帝国主義とは異なる土壌から出て反対の立場に立つようであるが、それらは平和の実現に対して有効ではないのか、それとも全く無力であるのか、それとも帝国主義と同様に却って有害でしかないのだろうか。これに対して広池博士は自ら設問して次のように答えているようである。それらの諸主義はいずれも生ずべくして生じたるものであり、道徳的意味乃至要素をも含んで歴史的に使命を果たして来た。だから全く悪いというわけではない。しかしながら、同じく利己的な基礎に立つか利己的な要素を含む限りに於ては、どちらかと言えば利益よりもむしろ弊害を伴うものであり、時として甚だ有害となる。主義というものは種々あるが、一つの主義あるいは幾つかの主義が平和の実現に有効であると見るのは皮相な見方である。なぜなら、そもそも主義というものは、真

理すなわち自然の法則の一部を表現するに止まり、他と衝突するから、従って、安心・平和・幸福を齎さないのと。

(四) 平和政策の本末

『道徳科学の論文』(以下単に『論文』という)の第九章上は「人類の平和及び幸福享受の方法に関する現代人の思想の誤謬」と題されている。第一項は、「本末の顛倒」と題して、現代人が道徳の重要性を忘れて政策的・形式的になっていることを述べ、第二項以下、政策は団体統制の変態であり、政治、法律の改良のみでは国家社会の安定も個人の幸福も期し難いことを述べ、更に、帝国主義、軍国主義、保守主義も、社会主義もデモクラシーも革命も、幸福への正道では無いことを論じている。

1. 近代思想に基づく諸主義の批判

社会主義は、もともと個人主義の拡大であるところの帝国主義・軍国主義・資本主義・国家主義に対して、社会全体の幸福を目的として起ったものであるが、現代(1920年代)の社会主義は階級的で、社会革命を狙うものと言う。史的研究の結果と関係諸科学の研究の結果、共産主義の如きは全世界各民族の原始時代の生活法に過ぎぬものであり、20世紀の今日斯かる不合理なるものを唱導し、之に和するものあるは、何れも皆学問の浅薄な人々であるので取るに足らぬとして、『論文』の第一版(1928)に於ては説明を省略している。しかし、その後、マルクス学説が急激に流行したので、第二版(1933)では追加文十三に於て、これを批判している。即ち、マルクス学説は第一に資本と労働との本質に関する研究が誤っており、第二に法律学の研究に徹底を欠く所あり、即ちモラロジーに於ける義務先行の原理などを知らなかった点などが挙げられる。第三に、資本家各個人の品性改善の問題を考えず、且つ経済・産業上の制度の欠陥と資本家個人の品性の問題とを混同して著説している、第四に所謂資本主義の欠陥のみを見て、将来に社会主義及び共産主義の実現された場合の欠陥を予想しておらず、第五に、その著説に感情的、反動的な要素を含んで純粋な学究的態度を欠く所があり、従って、

革命的で破壊的性質を帯びていると論じている。また、第二版の序文に於ては、この説が俗耳に入り易いのは従来の一般経済学説が既に人間の欲望を基にして著説されているからだと言っている。

次に、デモクラシーについては、それで権力者の恣意的な独裁専制の弊を是正した点、特に立憲制度の確立と私法上の人権の擁護において功績があった点を認めているが、これもやはり中庸の道でなく、その無条件の平等観と多数決原理には特に問題があることを挙げて欠点としている。広池博士はまた、コズモポリタニズムやヒューマニズムが、人類の視野に立つ思考を促進鼓吹した功績を認め、ことに、その『日本憲法淵源論』(1616)の中では、ナショナリズムを確立した上でヒューマニズムの普及をはかり人類究極の目標であるコズモポリタニズムを実現すべしと説いているが、また、同時に、現実に於けるこれらの思想の弊害をも認めている。総じて近世の自由・平等・博愛の思想が、聖人の教えに立脚せずに利己心に発するときは弊害が多いとしている。この思想はただ甚しい暗黒社会を救済する一つの頓服剤だと見る広池博士は、自然及び人為の法則の外郭は不自由・不平等であり、自由・平等はその中での「或る法則」に過ぎない、無制限の自由・平等の思想は義務先行の原理に反し、また利己心に発するいわゆる博愛は伝統の原理に反すると考える。

広池博士は、人間の利己心とその共通の揺籃とするいわゆる近世思想の弊害については、『論文』第二版序文に於て、政治、法律、経済、産業、学問、宗教、教育の各分野に亘り、その「現代」の誤りを簡略ではあるが重点的に指摘している。また『論文』の第九章下に於いては、労働問題、公共事業、社会事業など一般に社会問題の解決法に於ける形式的、物質主義的、感傷的政策の誤謬を指摘し、真の道徳教育の必要が閑却されていると訴えている。

以上の所説の根幹を為すものは、諸悪の根源は人間の利己心であり、その救済策は本末を誤っているという指摘である。従って、最高道徳による人心の開発によって、その根源を除去しなければ、如何なる方策も無効であるというわけである。

2. 制度的平和策の批判

そこで、国際連盟・軍縮会議・不戦条約などは、尊ぶべき誠意の産物と見ることが出来るけれども、決して根本策ではあり得ない、根本策は、迂遠なように見えても、人間の個人の精神の開発であるというのである。

平和会議は概ね政治的であって政策を主としたが、之に反して、グロティウスの国際法や、カントの平和論、またウィルソンの国際連盟の提唱などは確かに誠意から生じたものであるとして広池博士は高く評価しているのである。しかし、これらさえも、やはり根本策ではないとしている。これらの人々をはじめ其後も識者の献身的な平和への努力がなされたが、世界各国の利己主義のために十分な効を奏していないのが実情である。現在、第二次大戦の後に、国際連盟の失敗に鑑みて、軍隊制度や教育制度をも携げて登場してきた国際連合の果している平和の役割は極めて大きいようである。しかしその人権宣言の中にひそむ生得の人権説や機構の運営に関する多数決原理が果して正当有効な解決策に役立っているかどうかは難しい問題である。

会議・条約・法律は、一時的、一部分的であって永遠的・全面的・確実的ではないと広池博士は言う。昔から、聖人・賢人・識者といわれた人達がみな世界平和の方法を考え且つ実行しようと努めて来たが未だに不十分なのである。

3. 平和の手段としての正義と慈悲

広池博士によれば、従来、正義の行使が平和実現の方法と考えられてきたのは大いなる誤りであった。第一に、各人が考えている正義そのものに標準がないのである。第二に、利害反する場合、利己的で人間的な正義には相違があるから、平和は実現しないのである。第三に、正義を双方が行使すると必ず衝突が起るのである。第四に、国家の法律も、主権者の権力の下に代理者が強制的に善悪を決定する已むを得ぬ便宜措置にすぎない。

もちろん、正義には、自然の法則が示す宇宙的正義と、人間の決定による人間的正義とがあって、人間が宇宙的正義の立場に立つことができれば問題はない筈であるが、多人数がそれぞれの正義を主張するので平和が実現しな

いのである。そこで、広池博士は、正義は道徳帰着の理想を意味し、慈悲が道徳実行の基礎的観念であるとしている。即ち社会に正義を実現する目的のためには自己の慈悲を以てその実現の方法とするのである。そこで、平和実現の基礎的観念と根本的方法は、神の心を体得した人間の慈悲であるということになる。

広池博士の考えていた平和実現の方法といえば、人間に神の慈悲心を体得させ、一切の問題を人間の慈悲心に訴えたと、個人の精神にも、家族の間にも、各団体の間にも、国と国の間にも、真正且つ永遠の平和が出来るのである。正義は、慈悲心行使の羅針盤であって、その分量や程度を調節する標準を示す機関である。

真の平和は、正義によってではなしに、必ず人間の慈悲心の行使に基礎を置き、多少の不合理は許し、愛を以てせねばならぬ。もし両者の間に解決すべき問題があるとき、双方の道徳心が同じであれば、相互に推譲して、その間から正義即ち問題解決の標準を見出し、はじめて真正永遠の平和を生じ得るものと考えられている。

広池博士は、労資問題に特別の関心を示しているが、労資問題の解決には、資本家側による物質的厚遇も労働者側による労力の奉仕も共に最高道徳的開発活動を伴うことが必要であるとしているが、国際間の平和の問題についてもまた、いかなる会議や制度よりも、まず最高道徳的開発活動が必要だとするのである。

(五) 永久平和の要諦

広池博士の時代の日本は、何よりもまず、狭い国土、過密な人口、乏しい資源という、民族的死活問題から脱したいのであった。移民問題と海外の利権の問題は、常に国の拡大政策の源であった。しかるに広池博士は言う、国家による海外居住者の重視は、もとより主権維持の意味もあるけれども、多数国民を犠牲にしても戦争を辞さないという、(利益本位で無慈悲な)思想につながっているのだと。

広池博士の軍国主義批判は当然のこととして本稿ではあまり触れていないが、もちろん、原則として戦争には真向から反対である。いわんや由なき海外出兵に於てをや。しかしながら、博士はまた、社会主義者などが一方に於ては闘争を認めながら、他方に於ては国家生存の必要から来る戦争や出兵を認めないのは矛盾であると指摘している。それでは、広池博士は軍備にも反対だったのだろうか。博士は言う、最高道徳は、平和の保障に必要な軍備は重視すると。また、正しい軍隊教育は、精神を健康にすると。また、適当な軍備は、個人、国家、社会の発達上に必要であると。

軍事力の行使については極めて慎重、むしろ消極的であって、曾つて日露戦争当時に主戦論を鼓吹した数人の有力大学教授を後日論評し且つその後年の運命がことごとく不祥であったと語るのを聞いたが、『論文』の中でも、「外国軍隊の非道や外国の無秩序に際し、海外居住者保護の出兵は当然ではあるが人道上頗る慎重を要する」としている。なぜならば、「国際間の非常手段は、敵国をも自国民をも苦しめ、後日在外居留民を脅すことになる」からである、しかし、非常な不正者の膺懲は、むしろ徹底的であるべきだと言っている。なお、国際的闘争、階級闘争に当って、単に政策的に若しくは普通道徳的に打算上から、妄りに他を凌辱し、若しくは屈服させるのは不道徳であるが、反対に、敵に譲歩するとか負けるとかいうのも決して後日の大捷を得る保障にはならないと述べている。

更に、「外国や外国人を憎んで苛酷な法律を決め、過大な税を課し、ボイコット其他商工業上の妨害を与えるのは大不道徳である」と言っている。

総じて、国家や団体に守られる営利事業などは道徳的とは言いがたく、そのような権力依存は時代錯誤であって、今後は道徳すなわち自己の品性に頼るべきであるというのが広池博士の態度であって、海外居住者の場合も、国家が守る必要のないのが理想であって、各人の道徳により、居住地の人々と融和するのが本筋であるとされている。

即ち、海外居住者の心得として、「外国に居住する各箇人の実生活の方法、その居住する国の人との交際法、外人に対する利益の取引、すべて自国内と

同じく、個人の道徳心と道徳行為に基礎を置くべ」く、また「その国の慣例、慣習、法律および国民性に適応し同化する」ようにと教えている。ただし必ずしも帰化がよいとは言っていない。

これを要するに、「すべての場合に、慈悲の心から機宜に適する行動を執るほかに自ら生きる真の方法はない」と結んでいるのは、形式や条件にとらわれず時と場合に応じて適切に働くような深い慈悲の精神を養っておくほかはないということに帰するのであろう。換言すれば、結局は、完成された自己の品性以外に頼るべきものは何物もないということになるが、これは個人主義の立場から言うのではなくて、品性の完成を尊び慈悲の精神を養うということは、即ち「徳を尊び伝統を尊ぶ」ことになるので、それが広池博士の「永久平和の要諦」なのである。

二、広池千九郎博士の平和論を跡づけるその実践記録

(一) 平和実践家の自覚

広池博士は、その成年の際に於て、「五十以上にて国事に奔走、死を致すも可なり」と誓ったと言われているが、その言葉の通り、五十を過ぎてからは、独立独行、あるいは名士を歴訪して意見を開陳し、あるいは著述講演もしくは実際の立会いによって労働問題の解決をはじめ、国事に対する実際的な奔走がはじまっている。57歳の10月10日「(1)学者としてモラル研究大成、(2)平和実践家として人心救済を為す事」を決意すると自らその日誌に記している。

明治の発展のあと、日本には、大正期につづく沈滞が来て、その間に動揺がはじまった。昭和に入ると、社会不安は一層甚しく、政財界巨頭の暗殺相次ぎ、やがて世界動乱の真只中に敢えて巻きこまれた日本は、第二次世界大戦で重大な渦中に突入するのであるが、広池博士は昭和13年に他界するまでのあいだ学者、教育者として後進を誘掖するほか、平和のためと国のために日夜その心を砕いたのであった。いまそのあとを日誌によって辿ってみよう

と思う。日誌は、昭和七年を頂点として、国事に関する片言隻句のあいだに、国家の要職にある人々に宛てた出状の写しを記録しているが、それらはすべて憂国の至情に満ちた切々たる文字である。ここには、その要点のみを記すつもりであったが、多くは重大な発言であるから、間々、煩をいとわずに全文を写すこととした。また説題に直接関係のない記事も参考となるものは点綴することとした。読者以て諒とせられたい。文は自筆のもの、写し、及び側近者の文と混っている。

(二) 日支事変解決案

昭和6年9月に満州事変が始まった。その年の12月13日の記事に

「(1)金本位停止 (2)兌換禁止」

とあって

「一時の空景気はやがて一大恐慌を生ずる」であろう。そこで「国家救済の目的」で、一方には実業界の思想善導を行い、他方に於ては、これはと思う「大政治家にモラロジー政治、モラロジー経済を実行せしめて」国家を荒波の底から「救い出すことを決心」するという記事がある。つづいて12月14日には、この事で一度、若槻前首相を訪問したいと思って、試みに手紙を出している。

年が明けて、昭和7年となる。

1月5日に、「大阪の産業経済立て直しのため」に下阪している。1月8日の日誌には、9日、14日、16日と立て続けに、市内各所における講演会の日程が出ている。

1月21日の日誌に「午後三時過 衆議院解散」とあり、1月28日には「夜より上海日支衝突」と記入してあるが、2月1日に注目すべき記録がある。要約すると、「新聞には、日本に対する英米の干渉が判然として来ました。南支に対する日本の主張を通そうとすれば、英米その他と衝突を免れずまい。戦って負ければ殆ど滅亡、たとえ勝つとしても長びくし、国は滅亡同然に衰えます。そこで今、天皇陛下は平安を愛するお考だという勅令で、南部

中国の日本の兵と在住日本人を全部引上げてしまい、あとはいよいよ挙国一致の真面目な道德生活に入り、次第に南米や蒙古に、移住発展すれば、日本は最後の勝利を得るでしょう。之を陸海軍の当局にも、内々お示し下さい。私の考をお取上げ下さるなら、休養中ですが、いつでも帰京してお話に参加するという手紙を鈴木侍従長に出状した。」というのである。

つづいて2月2日の朝にも、また次のような手紙を出している。

「昨夜も申し上げましたが、危機が刻々に迫るので、取返しがつかないと大変ですから、もう一度申し上げます。いったい「人間の感情は一時の利己の本能の発露」で、あとの損を考えないものです。世界の歴史上、戦争は皆そうです。聖人は、軍備は「平和の保障物」であって殺人の道具ではないと教えています。また、時代が変わっていて、日清・日露の戦後のような好結果は無理です。戦死者の悲惨、財力の消耗、国民の疲労などを考えると支那の權益どころではありません。まして、それよりもっと利益の多い平和的な方法があるのです。ここは、しばらく忍んで自重して時機を待つ方がよろしく、あとの策は私が年来研究しており、政治、外交、教育、移民、産業の何れにも確実な具体案があります。どうぞ、私の意見をおきき下さって、失礼ながら、陛下の本当のお力になって差上げて下さいませ、お手紙か電報いただければいつでも参ります」

更にその翌日、2月3日に追いかけて出状している。この手紙は短いから全文を掲げることにする。

「拜啓 一昨日昨日二通の卑書御高覧の御事と奉恐察候

さて第三次英米仏大使の抗議回答につぎて

天皇陛下平和の思召とあらば内外人の感激全世界に轟き可申 かくて南支在住の日本人全部を第三国軍隊に託して日本軍全部引上の事宜しと存候 此機を失しては臍を嚙むの悔あらんと存候 万世一系金甌無欠の我が天皇陛下と全国民との安危は在支日本人の財産よりは大なるものに候 此処の御判断が真に閣下を始め奉り親任方の今日の御奉公の要点と奉存候 御打電あらば直に帰京可仕候

二月三日 朝

敬具

千九郎

鈴木侍従長閣下

尚此書面何人の御目にかけても不苦候」

この手紙は飛行便で出されている。前に紹介した広池博士の平和の考えは、このように実際に行う考えであったことがわかるが、同時に種々の事情があったとはいえ、国家として実施出来なかったのは千載の恨事と言わなければならない。この書面の末尾に「何人の」とあるのは微妙なところである。

次いで井上蔵相狙撃事件の記事があるが、2月20日「日本内地は総選挙外に向っては上海総攻撃 地上りはだんだん進む 真に闘争デー也」という記事。つづいて2月29日には、2月27日午後7時ニュース、(1)上海のアメリカ石油会社が日本に経済断交をし、(2)英国名士連名で日本を侵略と見てタイムスに公開状が出た。25日に、日本の若槻、阪谷ら名士の連名の弁明が出たという記載のあとに「今月一日、二日、三日に亘って侍従長に忠告したことが、事実になってきた。日本の軍部は果たして米国または英米諸国と戦う決心があるのか。有れば国難を招く。これ以外に「陛下のみ心の中を察し奉る道」はないというのか。国民の惨状や、世界の動乱をどうするのか。「予には平和の方法を以て日本人の世界各地に発展する方法あり。単に世界列強と戦争して以て国民の權益を維持せんとする如きは時代錯誤にはあらざるか。予は更に考究の上、徐々に当局ならびに識者に謀るところあるべし」と記し、その次に28日7時のニュースで、鈴木侍従長が陛下のご命令で西園寺公爵の意見をお求めになったことなどを聞き、米国と衝突が起りそうなので、またまた鈴木侍従長に手紙を出している。この手紙はいろいろの意味で注目されるところがあるから、全文を原文のまま引用してみようと思う。

「拝啓 小生は多年英米支と我国との事情を知り久しく憂慮致し 之が為にモラロヂー英訳の完成を待って右各国融和を為し海外に出で可申計画の処事未だ三分の二迄進み居候中 今回の事変と相成候 結局我国〔人〕の考

は一局部に止りて世界の大局と我国の大局に疎き感有之候

満蒙の事は不得止事に候へ共 南支攻撃は正に全世界に反感を招く事其事情の善悪如何によらず候 此場合は天祖の御遺範に則りて慈悲寛大自己反省を要する義に有之候

支那境土の漠大なる処に兵を進むるの無謀と米國飛行機が船にて支那に渡りそれより日本全国を爆撃せむとする軍略と 英仏独の支那後援と 露國の支那人心の撓乱と相俟って実に我大帝國の危機恐るべきもの有之候 たとひ戦に克つも其後の整理大變に候

天祖御神靈の天祐は小生深く之を信ずれど 死傷者の惨状之を如何すべきや 小生には平和の方法を以て其難関を切りぬけ且つ事後に善処する方法有之候 而して聖人の御教に従ふ小生にては堅く黙秘の徳を守り候〔へ〕ば決して大事を洩す事無之に付御安心〔被〕下度候

只今聖天子の大詔を以て進撃を中止させ 都合によれば南支の日本人全部引上げ 軍隊も引上げ 全く支那を抛棄致す 一切支那本国の事は英米仏独伊國に任せ候様に致し 大々的に護歩致候は陛下の御稜威は八荒に輝き 国民塗炭の苦忽に助かり可申候 此れ越王勾踐が呉王に降りし例よりは更に偉大に候

然る後 國民に対して 天祖の御聖徳 今上陛下の御聖徳を以て徳教を布き候はば 其國運の發展は昔日に倍し可申候

実は只今別封の如く大阪に手のぬけぬ用事有之候へ共 國家の大事にはかへがたし 御命令あれば直に一寸帰京可申候

但し急要件は 進撃中止 軍隊引上と欧米諸國に一任の事丈に候 其後策は小生大阪要件終了後帰京拜顔可申上候

昭七 二月廿八夜認

千九郎

鈴木侍従長殿

御侍史

二伸

本月一日二日三日三回に亘り申上候通南支軍隊引上の理由は
天皇陛下世界平和御好愛の御精神と申す事にて これに附帯する理由は種々有之も要は右の外無之候
これ実に日本建国の大精神を世界に開示せる次第に相成 千百のジュネーブ会議より偉大の事に候
常侍の侍従長は東西古今何時の世にも有之候 常時輔弼の侍従長は歴史のものに候
此千載一遇の危機に於て閣下の深き御考慮を願上候
非公式に御内奏被下候はば如何なる事も出来可申候 小生は決して黙秘の徳を破らず候 御安心被下度候
金貲無欠の我国体を無難に永遠に伝ふるの偉勲 神様の御冥助は鈴木家の上に降るべく候
二月廿八日夜

千九郎

鈴木侍従長殿

事起って知るは凡人也 事を未然に知って之に善処するは神様也 小生神宮に十九ヶ年奉職致し今日も一切神知にもたれ居候
三伸
尚又小生は単に南支の勢力を抛棄する如き事を目的と致さず更に平和の手段を以て大々的に日本国民の発展を確実に為し遂げ得る方法を有し居候
千九郎

その次に続いてもう一通、29日夜の手紙の写しが出ている。その主旨は、28日の大毎号外を今見ると局面軟化の様相だが、結局日本と世界列強との衝突になるので、日本人を「好戦国人」として世界に印象づけないう、「日本人の精神態度の温和」なことを世界に知らせる必要があるとのことであるが、その夜、広池博士は微熱があって不快な気分だったので一時投函を見合わせたと書いてあるから、実際に出状したかどうかは分からない。

註 大正初年の大病以後、広池博士は自分の身命は神の意志に任せたという自覚があり、また経験上、心身に異常を認めるのは神の拒否であろうかとて行いを控え、そのためにか無事を得たことが多い。ソクラテスのダイモニオンの如きものか。

(三) 内政安定策の進言

さて日誌は続いて、大阪における講習会が8日から22日まで行われ、その前後には、講演の記事がある中に交って、3月1日に、満洲国の誕生、3月5日には財界の巨頭であった三井の団男爵の狙撃が記入してある。

満洲国の誕生については、更に3月29日の日誌に「其王国の治国の大本が王道主義」であるのと、最高幹部の一人の羅振玉が博士の旧知であった所から、「モラロジー并に最高道徳の根本原理を治国の礎に注入し」ようと考えて、モラロジーの著書を贈呈したことが重要記事として載っているが、結局、満洲国は日本軍部が政策的に王道政治の名を利用したに止まった。団男爵の件には井上氏の場合も同じく、かねて博士からその人のことを聞いていたという側近者の記入があるから、あとの犬養氏の場合もそうであるように、博士は側近者の心得として、屢々有名人の月且を試み、その運命を予言することがあったようである。

5月15日、いわゆる5・15事件なるものが起り、犬養首相は「話せばわかる」の一言を最後に頭部に被弾し絶命した。これに関しては次の記事がある。「犬養首相殺さる。

高橋蔵相臨時首相となる。

犬養氏のラジオ放送の要旨只民衆に媚ぶるのみの事にて、人間は貧しくなれば盗を為してもよろしと言ふやうな反道徳的な事を言へり、運命既に尽きて居りし也 故に防弾衣を着せしも頭部を射られて死せり」

この記事が右頁にあって、次の頁との間に巻紙に自筆の感想文が貼りつけてある。

「昭七・五・一日夜

犬養毅演説（ラジオ）

- 一、貧民に同情す 故に貧民なきやうにする心算也とて下級民に諂ふ
 - 一、盜賊は貧の為也 何人にも貧しく為れば盗む云々とて盗を奨励す
 - 一、支那の排日の大原因は支那少壮政治家が支那国家の為に事をいそぐより起る 自分も若き時に日本の治外法権の為に然りし也とて支那人に同情す
 - 一、財政は農工商に資金を潤沢にして活気を与ふる方針也云々
- 右の如くにして一毫も道徳に言及せず
右につき一言何か忠告せんかと思ひしも無効と思ひ直して中止す」

広池博士は5月17日に大阪から帰京しているが、翌18日の日誌に、側近者の筆で、博士が大阪滞在中、研究会で運命について語り、「運命は道徳にて開け政策にて閉づるもの」であるから、例えば犬養首相なども防弾衣を着ていると聞いているが、もし運命が尽きて頭をうたれたならばわけなく死ぬのであると語ったが、はたして、いくばくもなく首相は官邸日本間で頭を射撃されたので、研究会の出席者たちは今更のように感じたという記事がある。

この不測の変事で、斎藤実子爵の登場となった。そこで5月23日に次の記事がある。「組閣の大命斎藤実子に降下す 仍て左の書面を送る。

拝啓

此前古未曾有の難局に当りて畏多くも

聖天子の

大命を拜せられ候事 平素の御修徳の致す処 就ては閣員は何人にも不苦すべて国民の前に疑問を受けし事なく 道徳の修養有之候御人物を挙げられ 協力至誠

皇室と国民とを中心に御奉公被下候様の御実績願はしく奉存候

政務次官参与官の全廃 勅任以上一ケ年間位減俸三分の一各自発的に致し候様の事、〔汽〕車白パスの〔儀〕全部辞退の事、其他数々の事可有之候

而して都会は勿論地方農民迄に道徳心を入れ 教養第一の上に産業経済の立て直し願上度候

特に文相にはスポーツなど（農家の有志の大反対）に凝らず^{註1}道徳第一の人物願はしく候

小生儀去大正元年十二月の大患より全然塵界を退き居候へ共 モラロジーの立場より政治産業経済教育の四項目につきては萬斛の経綸を抱き居候既に着々実際に向って動きたき心持も有之候 乍併先づ人物養成の必要を感じ只今講習会などにて其準備致居候

就ては親しく右に付申上度事有之候間 六月に入り候はば何卒一度御招き被下度候 愚見申上度候

小生は官職を望まず名誉を望まず又報酬を望まず 只々上

皇室の御為下国民の為に奉仕の考に候間 此点は深く御諒解御願申上置候 著書の英訳も殆ど完成に近く 最高道徳の高潮を世界の最高識者に訴ふるの日もだんだんに近づき申居候

先は右憂国の余り申上候

敬具

昭和七年五月廿三日夜認

千九郎

斎藤子爵閣下

例の神経衰弱^{註2}にて只今表記の温泉に滞在仕居候間欠礼仕候

皇室の御道徳たる最高道徳の精神を以て特に国民を教養せずんば 折角の御奮起も無効に付 乍恐愚見可申上候

之を御きき被下候て決して御恥辱には不相成候

片々たる異端の学問や道徳にては決して真の統制は出来不申候

追曰

今回の御事業は財政経済の打開と人心の安定にて候 而してこれは道徳の振興に俟つ外無之候 前内閣は此問題を極めて簡単に考へ 単に金再禁

にて国策確立さるものと誤算致し候が 今日の不況は貨幣制度の如何のみによりたるものに無之候

廿世記の初以来急劇に変化せる国民道徳頹敗の結果に候へば頗る複雑を極め居候 此事現在の学者政治家実業家教育家など全く知らず 小生は夙に茲に着眼 全世界の立て直し計画中に候 目下健康も勝れず候へ共閣下の御直筆あれば上京の上委曲申上為国家尽力可仕候

千九郎記

つまり財政経済産業立て直しと道徳教育の振興とにて候」

註1 農家の子弟が父母の労働を助けず、教師と毬投げなどをして遊ぶのは本末顛倒であるというのが博士の持論であった。犬養内閣の文相は鳩山一郎であったが、次の斎藤内閣にも歴任した。鳩山氏はジャーナリズムの言うスポーツ大臣であった。

註2 末梢神経の機能減退であって俗に言う神経衰弱ノイローゼではない。

(四) 国難打開と人類平和の念願

この年の後半には国事関係の記入があまり無い。明けて昭和8年の年頭に、大迫大将に宛てた手紙がある。その中には極めて注目すべき意見が述べられているので、全文を引用することにする。

「恭賀新年

其後御無沙汰申上恐縮致候

大阪講習会后殊更疲勞致候間 九州各地巡回 処々の温泉に入浴致し 熊本県下にて越年致候 御承知の如く世相いよいよ険悪に赴き 殊に外交難澁 国難の近づきつつある事を覚え申候 此際いよいよ人心の道徳化を図るより外 他には断じて良策無之候

一月末帰京 二月十三日より東京講習会開会致筈に致置候間 何れ其節御拝顔の上に万事申上候へ共 山本英輔大将へは何卒一つ御話願上度候 国

家万一の節には同大将の御人格は実に我国安危のかかる処に有之候 東郷大将以上の御人格を御願申上度候 如何に物質的の器械の優秀を以てし将卒の忠勇を以てするも 天道の加護なくんば戦は敗れ可申候 古来忠臣の戦死者共の敗軍は忠臣其人には罪無きも 其一党の主なる人々の心行が天道に反する事有之候 且つ忠臣其人の人格も之を贖ふ程に偉大ならざる為に有之 就いては今後万一の国難に当り 我皇室と国家とを負ふ御人物の御人格は あらゆる現代の欠陥を贖ふほどの大人格ならでは叶はぬ事に在之候 次是陸海の将官政界の巨頭何れも此心得なくてはならぬ次第なるに現状御覧の如くでは誠に心細き次第に候 小生は乍不及我心身の奥底までを清めて八面玲瓏の実生活を営み天道の御加護により全国民の欠陥を我一身の至誠を以て贖ひ償ふの大決心にて 人心の開発救済に従事仕居候 右に付昭和八年には閣下の偉大なる御人格を以て上

皇室の御為 下国民の為一層の御尽力願上度と奉存候

先づは新年の御祝詞に代へて如斯候

草々

昭和八年元旦認

千九郎

大迫大将閣下」

ついで2月25日には次の記入がある。

「記

一、国家の眞の非常時は今年にあらずして今後に在るべし 是を以て只今熱狂的感情的行動を国民に強調するよりは 慎重深刻に国民に向て科学的に大義名分を明に開示する事必要と存候事

一、現代の政治学、経済学、倫理学等精神科学は皆不完全にして非科学的也 マルクス主義 共産主義 デモクラシー等の学説に対抗するに足らず寧ろ其原理と同一の基礎に立ちて危険思想誘致の媒介を為す傾あり

一、然るに幸にして小生若年の頃より思ひ立ち居りし新科学モラロジー(道徳科学) 去昭和三年完成致し 全国民に向て只今右講習会開会致居候

一、若し此時に当り陸軍海軍文部(学校の教員、青年団)及び内務(農村

篤志家) 四省の管下に在る多数の人々を小生の私設事業と一処に講習を受けさせ候様に相成候はば 為国家多大の効果有之事と存候

一、素より小生のモラロヂー研究所の職員は無報酬にて貢献可致候 又別に寄附金をも要求不致候

一、國務大臣の職掌は経国の大業即ち聖人正統の教を以て 上 陛下の御宸襟を安んじ奉り 下国民の安心幸福を図るに在りて 一時的事務に没頭し若くは無限に要求し来る所の私人の利益の為のみに忙殺さるべき性質のものならざる事は何人と雖も周知の事と存候 斯る大小本末を弁ぜずして俗事にのみ狂奔するは孔子の所謂斗筭の政治家にして非常時には適せざる
〔俗〕人世

一、国家若くは団体の統制に金銭物質を以て成功せむとするは愚人の所為にて候 必ずや聖人正統の道德を以て教育的に人心の開発を為すを要す

一、本日持参の小冊子にて先づ大体を御覧下され度候

小生は二月廿八日より大阪、九州に参り候 四月中頃帰京仕候

一、新科学モラロヂーを以て在来の精神科学の如きものとの同一視なきよう 又右講習会を以て私利の為に努力するものと御同一視なきよう願上候

千九郎記

昭和八年二月廿五日」

2月27日

「大迫大将と共に首相陸相文相を訪問す 首相は自邸に退庁後にて入間野秘書官に面会し、荒木陸相には官邸にて面会して親任級の人百名内外を集めて二時間宛五回程お話を聞いてもろうては如何やと話す(これは大迫大将の御意見にてお話し) 文相にも官邸にて面会しモラロヂーを教育に入るよう御考案願ひたしとお話す」

昭和8年3月に日本は国際連盟を脱退した。以下は日誌の原文を引用せず、要点を綴ることとする。

4月21日、首相に建議書を送る。

5月9日、斎藤首相に面会、意見開陳。

5月11日、若槻前首相に面会。

6月10日、斎藤首相、高橋蔵相、荒木陸相、湯浅宮相、鈴木侍従長、二上書記官長の夫々に宛てて、正しい予算編成法に就いて意見も述べた長文の電報(同文)を打つ。

7月31日に荒木陸相にあてた書簡が出ている。内容は「国民総動員道德化」について、その道德の内容が最高道德でなければならないということである。全文を引用して示すまでもないので概略のみを示すと、現代の道德や旧来の武士道は聖人の教に反する原理に立っているから役に立たない、あなたはいろいろ申上げても最高道德がお分りにならず、普通道德と同じようにお考えらしい、身分のない学者の意見に従っても恥にはならないとて太公望、張良、南淵請安、元田永孚の例をあげ、最高道德は天祖や諸聖人の実行されたもので、自分は科学的に証明しただけである。偉大な教を無視して、自分の才智と異端の学問道德で無益の事を企てると世の物笑いになりますとまで言い、なだめたりすかしたり、また叱るような言葉で、まず陸軍省内に最高道德の講習会を開き講師を養成するように勧めている。結局はこれも不発に終わったのであろう。

8月15日に、陸相あての一通の書簡の写しがある。これは5・15事件の減刑論である。なお9月15日と19日にも右に関係のある記入がある。

10月1日には岩崎男爵、三井男爵へ、10月10日は酒井忠正伯爵へ、10月13日には松岡洋右氏へ小冊子を送り且つ講習会の聴講をうながしている。

昭和8年から9年にかけて、各地で講習会を開くようになると共に、学園の敷地もきまり学校建設の努力がつづいているが、8年後半から9年前半にかけては有力者に対する働きかけは日誌にあまり見えていない。昭和9年6月21日に、広池博士は湯浅宮相を官邸に訪ねて上表文を提出し、次に鈴木侍従長に面会してその旨を告げている。上表ということは明治年間には沢山あったようだがその頃は異例の事であったらしい。

7月4日に岡田大将に大命降下の記入がある。

7月25日の日誌に、説明ぬきで「侍従長・宮相・岡田・若槻・荒木・松田」と書き、次に「一、教育の事 一、建議書の事 一、日本人の研究を軽んずる弊 一、新科学と新学説 一、モラロデーに権威をもたせたし 一、日本を救ふ方法 一、専門塾の件 右」とある。

7月28日には道德科学専攻塾の地鎮祭が行われた。この日の記に、斎藤子爵に『論文』の第二版に手紙を添えて贈ったことが出ているが、その手紙の中に「単に国事を事務的にのみ運ぶ現代の風習に今一つ新生命を入れたしと存居候」という語句があり、また副申として、「今回 第二版発表に付 天皇陛下に 上表文を添へて献上仕候 此手続を執れば必ず 御手許に届くものとの事に付 右の手続仕り六月廿七日 右手続完了仕り候」という文がある。

8月2日には、孔夫子の齋に『論文』を贈呈したことが出ている。

9月6日に次の記入がある。

「毎日上海五日発。

支那は旱魃、二百万人餓死、自殺。十億元の損。

大阪大機ストライキまだ片附かず。

四日は米国織物工はゼネスト、八十五万とか、外全部百万とか。

五日朝より日本は市電市バスのゼネスト。

神様、何としてもモラロデーを拵げねばなりません、御守護願います。」

9月14日の日誌に、大迫大将12日逝去の記載がある。

9月23日に、宮内大臣に宛てた書面の写しがある。その中には、道德教育と国の前途、皇室の安泰との関係が述べてある。

12月20日、南京政府が孔孟の子孫を優遇することに決したという17日付朝日の記事があり、11月28日には、支那大使館へ行って世界人類平和希望の為『論文』一部を南京政府に贈るなどの記事がある。

12月14日には、広田外相あての手紙の写しがある。『論文』を贈る件であるが、その中には例のように「人類の真の安心、平和を実現する原理と具体

的方法を闡明開示致し」云々と記す。

昭和10年には、4月に道德科学専攻塾が開設されたが、5月に儒教大会で来日中の孔家代表孔昭潤氏を招いている。

11月には斎藤前首相を招いている。

明けて昭和11年の1月15日に日本はロンドン軍縮会議を脱退したが、その16日、広池博士は伊勢神宮に参拝し、世界の外交、軍事上の御守護の御事、世界平和の件はか祈願をこめている。

間もなく、例の2・26事件が起って、斎藤、高橋等の重臣が死亡した。さきに知己大迫大将を失い今また心友斎藤前首相を失った広池博士の胸中はどうであったろうか。この事件は、はじめ岡田首相も死亡との報道があったばかりか戒厳令を布いたので特に衝撃が大きかった。日誌には「本日、大先生には畑毛より伊東へ御帰りになる途中、函南駅にて急に御体の具合悪くなり再び畑毛へ御帰りになりました」「東京に一大変事突発す 陸軍省発表 一、午前五時 一、岡田首相即死 一、斎藤大將即死 一、鈴木侍従武官重傷 一、渡辺陸軍教育総〔監〕即死 一、牧野伯爵不明 一、高橋蔵相負傷 右午前五時、一部青年将校 非常時国体擁護のため右の様なる暴動を起す」次に、「謹啓 本日第二の五・一五事件起り 東京は戒厳令を布きしとの事に候 殊に斎藤内府の御即死は洵に惜しき事にて 定めし 陛下におかせられては一方ならぬ御心配の御事と奉拝察候 今更如何とも致方無之候へ共 事変の勃発も案外早く参り候」という断片の写しがある。次いで28日の日誌には広池博士が乗ろうとしてやめた汽車は一列車前から乗客全部の取調べが熱海で行われた由が記されている。

註 大先生とは門下の間で子息の若先生と区別するために用いられた呼名であって、大先生ではない。

この年の7月6日に、広池博士は若槻元首相を招いて学園に迎えている。

明けて昭和12年。この年のはじめ、賀陽宮台臨の事がきまり、広池博士は1月27日に賀陽宮邸に参殿、その後しばらくは台臨のお迎え準備に没頭し万全を期した。

4月18日台臨、21日宮邸で進講、5月4日進講、10月24日再度台臨、12月19日進講、昭和13年は3月13日進講、21日進講、4月15日進講。

その後まもなく広池博士の病状は急激に悪化して6月4日遂に不帰の客となった。

曾って広池博士は、建武中興の失敗について述べたことがある。ひとたび建武の中興が成って公卿たちは安心し、税政を行った結果は怨嗟を招き、たちまちにして大事を逸するに至ったのだが、その間に於て、楠氏ほどの者が何故に天下に大義名分を説いて地方の武家豪族のあいだに地固めを行わなかったのであるかと批評したのである。いま、筆者は、広池博士の日誌を基にして、如何に博士が、病を冒して重臣、当路者、財界人を主たる対象として、モラロジーの普及を急ぎ、平和の盾となろうとして身を終るまで努力したか、その事蹟の一斑を述べた。これによって、上記の平和論は概ね跡づけをなされたことと思う。

三、前首相を招いた日の広池千九郎博士

前記のように、昭和10年、道徳科学専攻塾開設の初年11月10日に、広池博士は前首相斎藤実子爵を塾に招待した。また、翌年には元首相若槻礼次郎男爵を招待した。当時若年であった筆者は両度とも終始同席したので、特にその時の印象をここに記しておくこととした。筆者の記憶に従えば、博士と両政治家との間には、さしたる機密の語られた模様は無く淡々とした会見であったが、一流人物の会見には言語を超えた所で意志の語らいや理會や受け渡し諾否などが暗々裡に得られるのであったかも知れない。見識の乏しい筆者には和気と緊張を共に感じたが、斎藤子爵は、広池博士とは古い出会いであって、うち融けた態度ではあったが、博士が欣々と語るに対し、子爵は、深沈としていた。どこで誰が聞いているかわからない、うっかりした事は言えないという空気であったと感じられた。それはともかく、斎藤子爵は海軍出身の政治家であるが、朝鮮総督として、従来の武断政治を文治政治に切り

かえたことで令名があった。首相となつてからは、自力更生を標語として、内には堅実な経済生活を、外には平和外交を貫こうとした。斎藤子爵を講堂で迎えた博士は、自動車から出る前首相に近よって抱きかかえんばかりにして講堂内へ招き入れた。博士は前首相を学生に紹介し、斎藤子爵は英語に御堪能であるからという口実で、一学生に和文の歓迎の辞を、他の一学生に英文の朗読を命じた。この英文は、博士の指導で起草されたものであったが、周の大王の事蹟に触れていた。もとより、その寓意は明らかで、外国と事を構えず、隠忍自重して国力を養うべきことを諷したものであった。斎藤子爵は博士から批評を求められていたので、その寓意には触れず、英語は発音が大切である、なお一層勉強するようにと鼓舞したあとで、今日は大変難かしい時機であると言って自力更生を簡略に述べたのであった。そのあと、上賓館の日本間で主客は昼食を共にしたのであるが、筆者も卓を共にした。その時の話題は主として学校の教育についてであったと記憶するが、その時に斎藤子爵から自分の姪の教育についてこの学校がよさそうだという発言があった。^註

昼食時の話柄の中で特に記憶しているのは次のことである。博士は『道徳科学の論文』に言及し、宮中にも献上してあるのだが、宮中ではどんなところに置いてあるのだろうか、陛下も時には御覧になることがあるのだろうかということをお口にされた。斎藤子爵は、そのことはよく知らないようであった。博士は、皇室が、その御先祖の御実行になった最高道徳によって国運をお開きになることを切に願っていたので、あえてそのような質問が出たのであろう。

翌年の夏に招いた若槻男爵は政治家として特に著名な政治家であったが、また克堂と号して漢詩に堪能だとされていた。講堂における若槻男爵講演ののち、博士は自ら案内をしたが図書館の入口に自ら揮毫して掲げた「以経説経」の板額のあたりで、閣下は文学をなさるが、自分は経学の方であるということをお言われた。食事の際は専ら広池博士の談話が長く、若槻男爵は注意深く耳を傾けていたが、なにか不思議な話を聞かされているというような面持

ちでもあった。

広池博士は、道徳科学専攻塾の案内書の中で、時々学生のために名士を招きディナーを共にしてその警咳に接するようにすると書いたが、博士が自ら名指しで招いた名士といえば決して多くはないのであった。厳密にはこの両氏だけではなかったかと思う。その後であったか、ある日、近衛公爵を招こうかと思っているがと洩らされたことがあった。筆者は曾って同窓生の中に、日本は一君万民と称して日本人は皆陛下の忠良の臣であるべきなのに何故に特に華族が皇室の藩屏でなければならぬのかという説問を解決すべく苦勞する者が居って、それに因んである時我々数名が近衛公爵を囲んでお話を聞くということがあったのを思い出した。近衛公爵の意見では華族は飾りであるということであった。筆者はその事を広池博士にお話したが、博士は失望したように見受けられた。その為に中止になったとすれば甚だ差出がましい発言であったのかも知れない。後日、国家存亡の関頭にあつて公爵が大臣を受けた日のことを思えば、或いは招かねばならぬ人であったのかも知れない。招いてはならぬ人であったのかも知れない。

昭和8年の元旦、開戦に先立つこと凡そ9年、困難を予想して海軍連合艦隊司令長官の人格を懸念している広池博士のことであるから、近衛公爵についても独自の見解があったのであろうか。

昭和4年に司令長官となった山本英輔大將はもとより海軍の偉材であり、また稀に見る精神家とも伝えられたが、広池博士としては更に一段の修養を求めたかたに違いない。後日いよいよ開戦となったときは、英輔大將はすでに予備役であつて、同姓の山本五十六大將が司令長官であつたが、この不幸にして戦争指導中に死を遂げた五十六長官は実は開戦に反対であつたと伝えられている。開戦時の新聞雑報に海戦をトランプのブリッジ遊びに譬えたといふと伝えられたこの長官の心事は、曾っての東郷元帥のそれとは些か類を異にするのではないかと感じた経験の有する筆者は、後日、広池博士の此の日誌の記事を見るに及んで、三嘆せざるを得なかつた。まことに、事が起つて後に知るの凡人の業である。

註 斎藤子爵は翌年、いわゆる2・26事件で、兇刃に斃れた。筆者は弔問と見舞を兼ねて未亡人を訪ひ、その事と、更に未亡人を学園にお迎えしてはという博士の発想を伝えたことがあつた。余談ではあるが、筆者は東京へ送つてゆく車に同乗しているとき、車が東京へ入る向島あたりで突然理由なき警戒心を心中に覺えたのを記憶しているが、今願れば当時の時勢がすでに緊張していたのであろう。

四、現代に生きている広池千九郎博士の平和論とその実践

広池千九郎博士の歿後、世界の勢力関係は大いに變化した。広池博士の時代には全体主義はまだ勃興期だつた。原子力兵器はもちろん存在しなかつた。日本は全体主義の二国と手を携えて同床異夢と出てみたが、見事に失敗して原子爆撃で止めをさされた。日本敗戦の原因を物量の差に帰する声はやがて精神面の後れだといふ反省によつて修正を受けた。自由国家群の勝利、すなわち自由主義の勝利だといふ見方は、結局欧米に関する限りのことであつて、現在、社会主義的民主主義を称する全体主義国家群と自由主義的民主主義を称する資本主義国家群とは、何らかの壁を隔てて反目と協調の谷間を行く綱渡りの利己主義の政策に熱中してこれを冷戦とか雪融けとか呼んでゐる。何事か期待させるようにも見えないではないが、自らの平和を世界の平和と考える大国間の覇権争いのようにも見えるのである。しかも事実において鉄と火と血の使用に必ずしも吝かでない。思想・宗教・人種のわだかまりと、資源と生産と経済と政治にからむ思わくとは、依然として利己的であるから、半ば原子力の威嚇のもとに、利害の平衡を保つに過ぎない。平和の実現は正義の兵力の行使かあるいは妥協による停戦によつてでなければ覺えないという思想は少しも改っていないようだ。解放は侵略の別名となつた。防衛さえ拡大解釈されて侵略の異名となることがある。それはあたかも独裁僭主的覇権政治を思わせるものがある。そういう世界の権力争いの中で、名目はともあれ事実上は戦犯として処罰され爪牙を抜かれた日本は、自由と人権の保証を得て義務と責任を抛棄したかの如く、そこでは個人の利益が常に国家の利益に優先するのかとさえ疑われる。平和の保障たる国防はすべて軍

国主義への復帰であるかのように批判する傾向があるが、義に懲りて繪を吹く愚を犯すものである。しかも、平和を脅す動機に立つ闘争そのものはむしろ奨励されているかに見える。自由主義的民主主義の根が浅くて一貫した平和理論を持たない上に、現代の全体主義であるところのいわゆる社会主義的民主主義との混同もあるのだろう。自由を信奉しつつ自由の意味を知らぬ者もあるのだ。

いま、人類共通の難問累積の時、どのようにすれば人類が平和に安全に生きて行けるか、冷静な計画を立てなければならない。しかしどのような計画を立てようとしても、また立てたとしても、根本に於いて真の平和思想の確立と、最高道徳的实践に踏み切らなければならないことは、50年以前と少しも変わらないことであるばかりか、一段とその必要が具体性を帯びてきたと言えよう。平和を脅すことが真の平和への道ではないのである。筆者は、広池博士の平和思想が一層深く理解されて、学者も政治家も経済人も、各の領域で全力を尽してこの問題の根本解決案を講ずるようになってよい時、むしろ遅きに失する位だと考えている。

人は、あるいは言うであろう。広池博士の平和論、それは本当の平和論でないばかりか、些かも平和論ではない、道徳論に過ぎない、勿論、それも必要には違いない、我々が平和論と言うのは、国際間に規約を設けて具体的に戦火を防止し、領土問題とか、勢力範囲とか、軍縮とか、民族自決とか、そういう政策が無ければ、それこそ百年河清を待つようなものである、広池博士は常に具体策が私にはあるから、いつでも聞かせると言いながら、そのような事に殆んど意見を述べていないではないかと。しかし、広池博士は既に答えているのである。百年河清を俟つとは、全くその謂わゆる具体策の方であると、それこそ平和以外の問題であると。軍備とか条約とか、凡そその場かぎりの事を論ずるのは極めて抽象的でしかない。具体的なのは、そういう人たちの頭を切り換えて、人類そのものを平和に適し平和に堪え平和を愛するものに仕立てなければならないのであると。人間そのものをそのままにしておいて、軍備武器の全廃とか制限とか、言ってみても何にもならない。一

時的、部分的に考えるよりも、平和を脅やかすもの自体を退治しなければならない。平和を脅すものは銃でなく、いわば銃後の人である。また帝国主義が平和を脅すというが、平和を脅すのは主義でなく人である。いかなる美名の主義を標榜していても、その牽ずるものの中に利己主義が充満している以上、本当の平和にはならないのである。

そこが広池博士の平和論のはじまるところであり帰結するところでもある。しかも、その論と実践とは今も生きている。今もその論拠は、残念ながら、基本的に正しい。従って平和の処方また確かである。その実践、すなわち道徳教育による立德の平和活動は、不幸にして日本の災禍を未然に防ぎ得なかった、また将来に於て全人類を救済するまでには、実に遙かな遙かな道を行かねばならぬ。とは言えモラロジーは、すでに多くの人々に対して多大な影響を及ぼして来たものであり、また現に与えつつあるのである。且つ広池千九郎博士の事業を継承した広池千英所長は平和運動の実践者としてその一生を貫き、特にその晩年に於ては講演遊説に寧日なく、為に病を得て遂に不帰の客となった。またその後を受けた現広池千太郎所長は、遍般ソウル明知大学から人類平和に貢献の故を以て名誉文学博士を贈られた。かくの如く、モラロジー研究所に於ては、所長はじめ所員一同がその創立者の遺志を継いで研究と実践に努めているほか、数万を数えるその維持員は世界の各地にあって日夜平和の傾向の助長に努力しているのである。何をもって効なしと言うことが出来ようか。広池千九郎博士ののち、モラロジーが普及するにしたがって、現代世界には少数かも知れないが基本的に同意を示す有力な道徳の研究者たちが居ることがわかってきた。

そのことは些かでも我々を鼓舞するに足る。思考と社会生活の習慣を異にする個人の間、歴史と政治を異にする諸国諸民族の間に、最高道徳的同意を獲得することは、我々のと言うよりは、人類そのものの使命であろう。

Dr. Hiroike Chikuroo's Contribution to World Peace, in Theory and in Practice

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I. Dr. Hiroike's Attitude towards Peace

1. What is Peace?

In his *Treatise on Moral Science*, which Dr. Hiroike Chikuroo intended as his first public appeal for the establishment of Moralogy as a new science, he listed five items as conditions for human happiness. These are: ease of mind, good health, long life, improvement of fortune and the everlasting prosperity of one's family.

It was the logic of Dr. Hiroike that in order to recommend people to do good it was necessary to establish the authority of morality. It was his hope to prove that doing good makes the agent himself happy not only by giving him the satisfaction of having done good but also by giving him happiness of a tangible kind. He had to describe happiness in concrete terms and then prove that the practice of morality fulfils the terms.

Dr. Hiroike considers that a man who has ease of mind is happier than a man who has unrest, hence, to promote one's happiness it is necessary to make one's mind more at rest. This ease of mind, or security as it is sometimes interpreted, may be founded either mentally or materially.

Dr. Hiroike considers that a man who is in good health is happier

than a man who is in bad health; it is important, therefore, to keep oneself in good health.

Dr. Hiroike considers that a man who enjoys a long life is happier than a man who does not, so it is important to be endowed with a longer life. Then Dr. Hiroike also considers that it is necessary to be endowed with a good fortune or destiny, so that it is important to improve one's fortune or destiny.

Dr. Hiroike also considers that human happiness consists in the everlasting succession and prosperity of the family through generations. Of those five items or conditions for happiness, some, especially the last, would strike with wonder any person who has not been acquainted already with Dr. Hiroike's past course of study and the whole system of his science.

Apart from the first item which is principally of the mind, and apart from the last item which may appear to be too imaginary, the other three items are more or less comparable and, therefore, to a great extent objectively acceptable—though no absolute standard can be set at the moment. Long life may be of great concern for older people, but a young man would not feel it to be so urgent a question. He will, however, think again if most of his close relatives should die young. We may, perhaps, count on future achievements in genetics, physiology or hygienics for further development of the idea.

Fortune or destiny has been generally considered fortuitous or a matter of faith. Some people do not believe in fortune, and even for those who do, how to improve one's fortune would require much consideration before one approves it as subject matter for science. Apart from personal experience, it would require careful study before it is established as a scientific truth, not only because it is a difficult prob-

lem but also because it is very important in order to explain moral causality.

Ease of mind, mental rest, spiritual peace, or sense of security, as it may by various terms be called, is essential to the enjoyment of happiness. It can be obtained through mental training, supported more or less often by objective conditions. Dr. Hiroike sees in this sense of security a condition for happiness, and as a condition for security and happiness he mentions peace. His concept of peace denotes both a mental state and a social condition without war or strife. He considers that the latter is after all a result of the former, originating fundamentally in the mental state of individuals. The fundamental condition for peace, therefore, is sought in the mental state of individuals rather than in the social condition. Even those more material conditions of health, longevity and fortune are treated by Dr. Hiroike with emphasis on their mental causes, apart from their spiritual aspects. His idea here is connected rather with the biological ideas of existence, development and evolution.

Dr. Hiroike who endeavoured to understand the laws of nature exactly as they worked naturally refused to be prejudiced in his basic attitude. He therefore tried to express everything as a harmonic whole, as monistically, inclusively, comprehensively and impartially as he could.

His view of equality is practical and proportionate, for he avoids one of an indiscriminate kind, regarding as truth 'distinction within equality' and 'equality in distinction', placing the standard of distinction in quality first and then in quantity. This proportionate view of equality is well expressed in a maxim of his—"Esteem liberty but first secure order". Then he says; "Esteem generosity but exclude the dust", followed by another saying—"Do not abandon the dust, but

guide them according to their deserts". His criteria, therefore, are distinctive and gradational, having a structure with two poles, which are quite real, representing existence and extinction, with axes running between them either for development or for degeneration, and along these axes lie criteria of moral evaluation, of good and evil, of right and wrong, of construction and destruction, of love and hatred, of peace and strife, placed according to their quality and quantity.

Dr. Hiroike who started as a scholar of the Chinese classics and as a historian, and established himself as a scholar of ancient far-eastern laws, naturally had his starting point in the belief that "Where there is a thing, there is a rule", and "Fact is truth". The marvellous discoveries in his time in the field of natural science added to his confidence. His view of fortune or destiny is neither the skeptical one, entertaining doubt in providence or causality, nor belief in vicissitudes, that ups and downs come in turn, nor the absolute fatalism of "there-is-no-choice" type. He is more at one with "Heaven is fair and favours the good". He positively recognized moral causality and supported the possibility of the renovation of one's destiny. Like a scholar of Chinese classics, Dr. Hiroike expressed his idea of moral causality, which he studied from the teachings of the world sages, by means of the two phrases that "the good goes far and profits", and that "The desisting dragon needs be sorry", and called one "the principle of evolution", and the other "the principle of degeneration", taking his idea, perhaps, from biological theories. On the other hand, like the jurist that he was, he set importance on the acquisition and maintenance of rights by means of the performance of the precedence of duty.* He used to

* The Principle of the Precedence of Duty over Rights is one of the main principles of Supreme Morality.

enlighten business people as to the sense of duty employing the conception of repayment of debt. This conception of repayment may have been linked with his idea of redemption of sin and that of conversion which he obtained from his own religious experience.

Dr. Hiroike tried to solve the most fundamental problems of mankind by combining science and morality. He studied the laws of natural phenomena and the secrets of human existence.

In his letter to Baron Yuasa, Minister of the Imperial Household, Dr. Hiroike wrote: "According to the teachings of the sages, this Earth changes by human power".

He did not mention in this remark in what way could men change the Earth. I do not know whether he had in mind engineering on a great scale or the invention of atomic power, but since he quoted there an old passage on the system of government saying that the prime minister must be a man of virtue, an example set for the world, who governs and preaches on morals and harmonizes the natural laws, it is clear that he hinted that the virtue of a distinguished person would change not only his own fortune but also through the change of his personality would move the world and move the divine at last to modify the phenomena of the universe—as Dr. Hiroike explains in his *Treatise* (Chapter 12).

Now, in the last quarter of the 20th century, we are faced with difficult problems of world-wide scale, which we mankind must endeavour to solve by co-operation, and also it is certain at this stage of civilization that we shall have no spiritual rest nor happiness unless world peace is ensured. Dr. Hiroike thought that so long as there was such a thing as war or strife, no "good" or "invention", however striking, would be of any use. This was why Morality aimed at

“giving security and happiness to mankind” and at the same moment he entertained it as “a special science basic to the realization of permanent world peace”. Dr. Hiroike maintained that the principles and methods for Moralogy were no other than the principles and methods for the realization of peace.

2. Dr. Hiroike's Methods for the Realization of World Peace

Dr. Hiroike's method of laying the foundation for permanent world peace is to teach mankind supreme morality, which is taught by the sages, in a scientific way, to enlighten them and lead them to salvation, giving each individual peace of mind, improve his conduct and let him obtain a new destiny. How can peace of mind in each individual be a step towards the peace of the world? Dr. Hiroike explains it in the following way:—

The understanding and practice of supreme morality makes a man's mind and deed work in accordance with the laws of nature, and so leads him to security, peace and happiness. Apart from this, a single case of the practice of supreme morality means a renovation of one man's spirit and destiny, namely a reconstruction of a part of the world, which is one step nearer the peace of the world. “The number of enlightened men and the depth of their enlightenment” will determine the serenity or the degree of peacefulness of the said society. The security and happiness of the inhabitants will be determined greatly by the serenity of the society to which they belong. Next, the peace and happiness of mankind requires the unity of organizations, which is only possible through supreme morality, because, Dr. Hiroike says, such things as harmony, unity, control and peace are related to the activity of the human spirit, and can be attained not by knowledge

but by morality; especially, a thoroughgoing solution of the fundamental problems of human life, such as peace, can only be made possible by means of the enlightenment of the human spirit by means of education through supreme morality.

3. What Endangers Peace

Dr. Hiroike thinks that one threat to peace is militarism or so-called imperialism. It is based on the selfishness of man, which is inherent and lives in the mind of each individual.

Patriotism based on selfishness becomes chauvinism, tends towards expulsiveness or vengeance causing war at a moment of collision of interests. If a war arises, all cares in hygiene, practices of thrift and nurture over many years will turn to ashes:—all in a single act of stupidity. Sometimes a financial circle or a political party will act against the national interest by pressing its selfish demands. The most urgent need of the day, therefore, is to cure the human mind of its selfishness.

Humanism, cosmopolitanism, liberalism, democracy and socialism appear to stand against militarism, having a different birth. Are these effective for the realization of peace or are they after all inutile? Are they, on the contrary, as bad as militarism, destructive to peace? Dr. Hiroike commented as follows:—These isms or principles made their appearance in the course of history because they had to, and duly fulfilled their historic and more or less moral mission. They are, therefore, not wholly bad, but so long as they are based on selfishness or involve selfish elements, they are more injurious than beneficial, and indeed, often very harmful. Isms are naturally various because they represent part, and not the whole, of the truth or the law of nature, and, therefore, one ism would collide with other isms. That is why isms do

not bring about security, peace and happiness. It is only a superficial view that one or some of these isms are really useful to peace.

4. Essentials and Trivialities of Peace Policy

When he compiled his *Treatise on Moral Science*, he gave to the first part of the Ninth Chapter the title "The errors of people today concerning the methods for securing peace and happiness".

In the first section he describes how people of today overlook the importance of morality and depend instead on political or formal artifices. In other sections he maintains that political methods are not the normal type of controlling organizations; that innovations in politics and laws alone cannot achieve the national or social stability, and that none of the following—imperialism, militarism, conservatism, socialism, democracy and revolution—is the right method for bringing about happiness.

(a) Dr. Hiroike's Criticism of Various Isms Based on Modern Thought

Dr. Hiroike criticised various isms based on modern thought. Commenting on socialism he says that it arose in opposition to imperialism, militarism, capitalism and nationalism which are extensions of individualism with the aim of bringing about happiness to society as a whole, but that the socialism of the day (about 1920) is class-conscious and attempts at social revolution.

Referring to communism, Dr. Hiroike says that the study of history and related sciences reveals how communism is no other than the way of life all human races of the world employed in their primitive days and that only superficial people advocate it now. In the first edition (1928) of his *Treatise* he left out explanations of communism

simply because he thought them unnecessary and communism irrelevant. In the second edition, however, he commented on it in an additional note, because communism had become so rapidly fashionable. Dr. Hiroike's criticism runs chiefly like this. Firstly, communism is wrong in its theory concerning the nature of capital and labour. Secondly, the study of law by communists is not thorough, lacking, for instance, the knowledge of the principle of duty precedence. Thirdly, communism overlooks the need for moral education for individual capitalists, mixing up the defects in the individuals, those in the economic systems and those in moral education. Fourthly, communism points out the defects of the capitalists, neglecting the defects that might accompany socialism and communism when those isms are realized. Fifthly, the communist theory is not purely scientific, because it includes sentimental and reactionary elements, and is, therefore, revolutionary and destructive. Further, Dr. Hiroike says, in his introduction to the second edition of his *Treatise*, that communism is easily taken up by shallow people because accepted economic theories are established also on the basis of human desires.

Of democracy, Dr. Hiroike acknowledges that it has corrected the evil of despotism, and especially what it has done to establish the system of constitutional government and to defend human rights in private laws. On the other hand, he points out that it is far from the golden mean and especially that its principle of unqualified equality and its system of decision by majority are open to criticism. Dr. Hiroike also acknowledges the merits of cosmopolitanism and humanism for spreading universal views. In his *Origin of the Japanese Constitution* (1916) he recommends people to encourage humanism after having established nationalism and so to realize cosmopolitanism which is the

ultimate objective of the human race, though of course he recognizes the harms of these thoughts in actuality, especially when all these modern thoughts of liberty, equality and philanthropy are based upon selfishness and not upon the teachings of the sages. Dr. Hiroike says that those thoughts are even like temporary doses to cure a dark society. His view is that restraint and inequality form the outlines of both the natural and artificial laws, liberty and equality being no more than certain laws within the outlines, and that the ideas of unrestricted liberty and equality contradict the principle of duty-precedence while so-called philanthropy as an expression of selfishness violates the ortholinon principle.*

Dr. Hiroike refers to those so-called modern thoughts grown out of their common cradle of selfishness in his preface to the second edition of his *Treatise*, depicting briefly the important points of "modern mistakes" in politics, laws, economy, industry, learning, religion and education. Again, in the second part of the Ninth Chapter of the *Treatise*, he takes up labour problems, public utility work, welfare work and other so-called social problems in general, pointing out the errors in the methods of their solution which are formalistic, materialistic and sentimental, appealing at the same time the need for true moral education which is neglected.

Basic to all the opinions of Dr. Hiroike is the idea that all evils originate in human selfishness, and that the past remedies have been pointless. His conclusion is that every means would be futile without a fundamental extrication of selfishness by means of enlightenment according to supreme morality.

* A fundamental principle of social composition established by Dr. Hiroike mainly consisting in respect for the benefactors, the word ortholinon being coined by him to denote an authentic line of succession.

(b) Dr. Hiroike on Various Institutions for Promoting Peace

Naturally enough, Dr. Hiroike respected as products of human sincerity such institutions as the League of Nations, Disarmament Conferences, Antiwar Pacts. He did not, however, trust these as fundamental means for promoting peace.

Dr. Hiroike highly appreciated the idea of international law put forth by Hugo Grotius, the view of Peace by Kant and Wilson's proposal for the League of Nations, which he acknowledged as a product of sincerity unlike the mostly political Peace Conferences. Even those, however, did not satisfy Dr. Hiroike as fundamental. The fact was that the sincerity of those people followed by the devoted efforts of distinguished people did not bear fruit, prevented by selfishness of the nations of the world.

After the decease of Dr. Hiroike and after the Second World War, the United Nations are playing great roles in the maintenance of peace. The United Nations, taking lessons from the failure of the League of Nations, brought forward various institutions including troops and educational measures. In order to find effective solutions for international problems, the United Nations must still endure much difficulty, with its theory of the natural rights of man, as perceivable in her Declaration, and with her majority principle.

Dr. Hiroike says that conferences, treaties and laws are temporary and partial and neither permanent, comprehensive nor infallible. Wise people from old times have been trying to maintain peace but have not attained satisfactory results.

(c) Justice and Benevolence as Measures for Peace

Dr. Hiroike maintains that it is a great mistake to regard justice as a means for realizing peace. The reasons are: that there is no standard in human justice, each person having a different idea, that any conflict of interests will prevent peace, because selfish people will clash with each other, following their own methods of justice. According to Dr. Hiroike, even the laws of a nation are inevitable, but not ideal, conventions of forcibly deciding between right and wrong.

There are, of course, universal justice and human justice, the former being represented in the laws of nature while the latter is determined by human decision. All will be well if men can represent universal justice, but not when many people hold different opinions according to their own ideas of justice, for it prevents peace from being realized. Dr. Hiroike maintains that justice is the ideal end of morality, while benevolence is the basic idea of moral practice; that is to say, we employ our benevolence as a means of realizing social justice, which is our aim. The basic idea, as well as the fundamental measures for realizing peace, lies with the benevolence of men who have learned and who conform to the spirit of God.

The method for realizing peace as entertained by Dr. Hiroike is to make people fully understand the benevolent mind of God and then to appeal to the benevolent mind of men, so that true and eternal peace will be realized either in the minds of individuals, or among families, organizations and nations. Justice is the compass, so to speak, that shows the standard to regulate the degree and amount of benevolence so that we may employ benevolence adequately.

Dr. Hiroike teaches us that true peace can only be obtained by love, not by justice, the fundamental principle being the activation of man's benevolent spirit. If two parties, possessed of equally well-developed

moral minds, should find any problem to be solved between them, by mutual concession they will reach justice which is the standard for a solution. Only by so doing they can bring about true and lasting peace.

Dr. Hiroike showed particular interest in the labour problem, that is, the labour-capital problem. He thought that material well-treatment on the part of the capitalist and the offer of labour on the part of the labourer should both be accompanied by the spirit of enlightenment according to supreme morality. He showed no less interest in the problem of international peace, expressing a similar view for its solution. He preferred enlightenment according to supreme morality to any kind of conference and institution.

5. How to Achieve Permanent Peace

In the days of Dr. Hiroike, Japan wanted first of all to solve the vital problem of being a narrow over-populated resourceless country. She sought outlets in emigration and overseas concessions which always tendered her extension policy. Dr. Hiroike says that the national concern for residents abroad, apart from her reasonable responsibility as a sovereign nation, is connected with a selfish, merciless notion of sacrificing the majority of her own people in the case of war.

In this present article, I am not referring much to Dr. Hiroike's too obvious criticism of militarism. Fundamentally, he was in complete opposition to war. How could he support expeditions? He did not, however, openly criticize Japanese militarists. On the other hand, he criticized as absurd those socialists and others who acknowledged the strife and refused to see the necessity of war or expedition as inevitable for the survival of the nation.

He was not in opposition to armament. He declared that supreme

morality respected armament as surety for peace. He also saw the merit in the right sort of military education since it helped create a sound mind. He deemed that suitable armament was necessary for the development of individuals, nations and societies.

As for the employment of military force, he was extremely prudent, almost negative. I heard him one day refer to several university professors who at the time of the Russo-Japanese War advocated waging war, finishing with the story of their unfortunate later lives. In his *Treatise* he wrote: "At a time of disorder in a foreign land or extravagance by a foreign army, the dispatch of the forces for the protection of the residents is by no means unreasonable, but it needs utmost prudence from the viewpoint of humanity", because, "an expedient measure of one country against another would make both peoples suffer at the same time and also leave a menace to the residents for the future". "For extreme injustice, however," he says, "the punitive measure should be thorough and complete".

He further advises that in case of international or class strife it is not moral to subdue or put to shame the other party for no other reason than policy or calculation but that loss or conciliation will not assure a future victory. "It is a great vice to ill-treat a foreign country or people by means of severe laws, extravagant taxes and boycott and other industrial or commercial hazards".

Dr. Hiroike generally does not consider as morally sound any profit-making enterprise favoured by the state or a public organization, for, he says, dependency upon power is antagonism, and in the future a man should rely on his own moral character. In the case of residents abroad, the ideal is that no protection of the state is necessary, for it is the rule for them to live in harmony with the natives of the land

by virtue of the morality of each person.

Dr. Hiroike advises residents abroad "to make one's moral mind and moral deeds, as at home, the basis for one's way of living, for one's way of intercourse with the citizens of the land and for the method of trading with foreigners and to adapt and assimilate oneself to the customs, practices, laws and the national traits of the land". He does not necessarily recommend naturalization. "In all cases", says Dr. Hiroike, "one should follow one's spirit of benevolence and act so as to suit every occasion". It is, therefore, necessary to cultivate beforehand a pure spirit of benevolence in oneself, which works suitably to meet the time and case, unrestricted by form and condition. Nothing, after all, is reliable except one's own perfected character. This, however, does not mean mere individualism. Perfection of character as well as cultivation of benevolent spirit comes to mean "respecting virtue and ortholimon", which is Dr. Hiroike's key to his Eternal Peace of the World.

II. Dr. Hiroike's Practical Deeds to Illustrate His Theories for Peace

1. Consciousness as an Apostle of Peace

When he came of age, he is said to have vowed: "After fifty, I will devote myself to national welfare; I will not regret it if I should die for it", and, indeed, he began practical activity concerning national problems by himself, visiting people of fame and extending his opinions, writing, talking in public, and sometimes solving public disputes. On October 10th, 1921, at fifty-five, he wrote in his Diary that he determined "first, as a scholar to complete my study on morality,

and secondly, as an actual apostle of peace, to work for the spiritual salvation of men”.

After the rapid development in the Meiji Era, Japan entered a period of stagnation, followed by one of fluctuation, though from the First World War she emerged victorious. In the Shoowa Era (1926—), the social unrest became so great that several leaders of political and financial circles were killed by radicals until in the midst of world-wide turmoil, Japan plunged into World War II. Dr. Hiroike, dying in 1938, did not witness the Great War. He expected a crisis coming on and taxed his brain a great deal to save his country and the world. He was a great diarist, and kept a diary throughout his life. We can learn from it what he actually did but did not tell everybody. Culminating in 1931, his Diary keeps among many comments on national affairs some copies of his letters addressed to people in important positions. These letters bear his sincere love and anxiety for the country. I will, therefore, introduce in this article some of those letters together with notes on relative matters. I will try to summarize them, except for several important letters which I hesitate to summarize. I have introduced some unconnected accounts which might be of use as reference. These articles are not all in his own hand.

2. Dr. Hiroike's Plan for Solving the Sino-Japanese Incident

In September, 1930, the Manchurian Incident occurred. Dr. Hiroike's Diary notes:

- (1) Suspension of the gold standard
- (2) Suspension of specie payment

This temporary boom will lead to a great panic.

“I determined to rescue the country from the dangerous waves by

giving proper guidance of thought to the business circles on the one hand, and urge some reliable statesman carry out Moralological politics and Moralological economics on the other.”

He wrote a letter to Ex-premier Wakatsuki concerning this.

In 1931, Dr. Hiroike went to Oosaka for “reforming the industry and economy of Oosaka”. His diary of January 8th shows the curriculum of lectures on 9th, 14th and 16th.

January 21st. Dissolution of the Lower House.

January 28th. Japan and China clash at Shanghai.

February 1st. (Letter addressed to Admiral Suzuki Kantaroo, Grand Chamberlain—abridged): “The papers report interference by America and England. The Japanese claim in South China will invite a clash with Britain and America. If Japan fights and is defeated, she will almost ruin herself. If she wins in the end, the war will be long, and the result will be as good as ruin. Japan will win the last battle, if for the moment Japan declares by the issue of an imperial order that the Emperor loves peace and security, and then withdraws all soldiers and resident people in China, and then the whole country lives a life of morality and of unity, and gradually emigrates to South America and Mongolia. You will please show this privately to the authorities of the army and navy. If you take up my idea I will at once come back to Tookyoo and see you at your house, though at present I am resting myself.”

Feb. 2nd. (Letter addressed to Suzuki Kantaroo—abridged): “I wrote to you only last night, but this is urgent. Human sentiment, as a rule, is an expression of selfish instinct. It has not the later consideration of loss. All wars in history began like that. The sages say that armament is a surety of peace and not a weapon that kills.

The present situation is not the same as of old; you cannot expect such results as of the Sino-Japanese War or the Russo-Japanese War. The misery of the killed, the consumption of money, and the fatigue of the people cannot be redeemed by any concessions in China—especially now we have more profitable peaceful means. It is time to wait and see. What to do next is what I have studied for years. I have concrete plans for government, diplomacy, education, migration and industry. Please listen to me. Be a real helper to His Majesty. A letter or a wire, and I will come and see you.”

Feb. 3rd. Morning. (Letter addressed to Admiral Suzuki Kantaroo):

“Dear Sir, I believe you have read my letter of yesterday and that of the day before yesterday. If after the third answer for the protest of the British, American and French Ambassadors, the Majesty's intention of peace is known, all people, home and abroad, would be deeply impressed with gratitude.

“Please be well advised to withdraw all Japanese forces, trusting all Japanese residents in South China in the hand of the army of the third power. If this chance is lost, it will be too late to regret. The safety of His Majesty and that of all the people is more important than the Japanese property in China. The judgement on this matter is the real pivot of loyalty on the part of your excellency and other officials of His Majesty's direct appointment.

“I will come back to Tookyoo at a line or wire from you.

“Morning, Feb. 3rd.

“Yours truly,
Chikuroo.

“P. S. You may show this letter to anybody.”

“This letter is sent by air mail.”

There must have been difficult circumstances, but even so it is regrettable that Dr. Hiroike's idea was not realized. The word “anybody” in the postscript is very suggestive.

Feb. 29th.

“My fear is becoming true. Is the Japanese army really determined to fight against America or England and America? If so, they will invite a national disaster. Is there no other way to interpret rightly His Majesty's mind? What about the sufferings of the people? What about the war-torn world?

“I have peaceful means for the Japanese people to prosper in the world. To wage war against powers in order to maintain the concessions is against the trend of the time. I will think hard about it and tell the authority and leading people.”

Feb. 8th. (Dr. Hiroike knew by the radio news at 7 a. m. that His Majesty ordered Admiral Suzuki to ask the opinion of Prince Saionji. He wrote the following letter to Admiral Suzuki.)

“I have studied for many years the relative circumstances of England, America, China and Japan, and I have long been in fear. My *Treatise* on Moralogy is being translated now. I wanted to go abroad upon its completion and try to promote peace among those nations. The translation was not yet half completed when this affair occurred. The Japanese people are not fully acquainted with the general current of the world and the whole aspect of our country.

“Things in Manchuria and Mongolia could not be helped, but our attack on South China will invite the antipathy of all the

world, which is true whether it is right or wrong. In this case, it is necessary to be benevolent and tolerant and examine ourselves according to the lesson left by the Imperial Ancestress. It is reckless to send armies to the vast land of China. The Americans have the strategy of carrying aircraft to China by boat and bombing the whole length of Japan. Russia will agitate the mind of the Chinese. If so, it is a real crisis for our nation. Even if we should win, the aftercare would be a tremendous task. Of course I believe in the favour of the ancestral spirit of the nation, but what can we do with the disastrous condition that accompanies the casualties?

"I know peaceful measures by which we may tide over the difficulties and adequate means to rectify the future conditions. As you know, I follow the teachings of the sages, and naturally I observe the virtue of discretion. You need not fear lest I should let out confidential matters.

"My plan is this. Stop, at this very moment, the advance of the Japanese armies, by virtue of Imperial rescript, and according to circumstances, withdraw all the Japanese nationals in South China and withdraw also the armies, and completely abandon all interests in China; trust all affairs in China Proper to England, America, France, Germany and Italy, and make a great concession. If so, the glory of His Majesty will shine through the world, and the people will be saved at once from their distress. The merit of this will be even greater than that of the King of Yüeh who surrendered to the King of Wu to save his people. The next thing to do is to spread among the people a moral education by virtue of the Imperial Ancestress and His Majesty the present Emperor, and Japan will prosper twice as much as before.

"I am now engaged in a work which I cannot neglect as you will learn by the printed matter in another envelope, but the grave affair of the nation cannot wait, so please command me if necessary. I will then come up to Tookyoo immediately for a short stay.

"The important point is to stop the advance of the army, to withdraw the army, and to leave the whole matter to the care of the western nations. Of all other things I hope to come and speak to you after the present work in Oosaka is over. Written, Feb. 28th, Night.

"P. S. As I have already written to you three times, on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of this month, the chief reason for the withdrawal of the armies from South China lies with His Majesty's graceful concern for world peace. There are besides many accompanying reasons, but this is the point, and it is, indeed, an act of displaying the same great spirit in which the foundation of the Japanese state was laid. It is more important than thousands of Geneva Conference. A Grand Chamberlain waiting on the sovereign will be found everywhere and at every time. A Grand Chamberlain serving as full-time advisor to the sovereign on national affairs will be rare in history. I ask your excellency to pay full attention to this fact at this critical moment which comes once in thousand years. Through private intimation to the throne, he could achieve great results. I shall never break the rule of silence, or disclose any secrets. Please rest assured on that point.

"Oh, the great exploit of safely passing on to eternity this perfect national polity! May Heavenly favour descend on the Suzuki family.

“Written on the night of Feb. 28th. Chikuroo.

“It is only human to know what has happened. To foresee and prepare for a future event can be called divine. I served the Shrines of Ise for nineteen years. Even today I wholly depend on the divine wisdom.

“P. S. My scheme is not so simple as merely abandoning our influence in South China. I have a device that ensures a great development of the Japanese people by peaceful steps.”

There is a copy of another letter written on the night of the 29th. The purport is this: “According to an extra of the Mainichi Press, it seems as if the situation has become milder, but after all Japan will clash with the world powers; it is necessary to intimate the world that the Japanese people have a mild nature, and not to give to the world the impression we are jingoists.”

That night, however, Dr. Hiroike felt unwell, having a slight fever, and so put off posting it for the time. It is not clear whether this letter was posted or not.*

3. Dr. Hiroike's Proposal for Stabilizing Home Administration

In 1931, Dr. Hiroike held in Oosaka a fortnight's Course in Moralogy, opening on Feb. 8th.

On March 1st, Manchoukuo State was born in Manchuria.

* After his severe illness in 1926, Dr. Hiroike abandoned himself to the will of God; he believed that he felt unwell when his intention was not acceptable to God, so when he felt anything wrong with his condition, he often postponed or abandoned his intention.

Dr. Hiroike's diary on March 29th says that the new kingdom in Manchuria declares the principle of establishing a rule of virtue, that Dr. Hiroike is acquainted with one of the government leaders of the state, and that Dr. Hiroike has presented a copy of his *Treatise on Moral Science* with the aim of strengthening the basis of the country by means of Moralogy and Supreme Morality. The fact, however, was that the Japanese militarists borrowed the name of virtue as a policy. Probably, Dr. Hiroike had known it; hence his remark in the letter of Feb. 8th to Adm. Suzuki that things in Manchuria and Mongolia could not be helped.

On March 5th, Baron Dan was assassinated. He was a great figure in the financial circles of Japan, representing the Mitsui group.

The Diary keeps a note by a follower that Dr. Hiroike made a remark concerning the death of Baron Dan as he also did in the case of the death of Viscount Inoue. It appears that Dr. Hiroike had the habit of foretelling the destiny of famous people as a lesson to his personal attendants.

On May 15th occurred the so-called 515 Incident. Prime Minister Inukai was shot through the head. His last remark to his killer—“You'll understand if we talk”—was fashionable for some time after.

Dr. Hiroike's Diary carries the following comment:—

“Prime Minister Inukai has been killed. Finance Minister Takahashi has become the interim Premier.

“Mr. Inukai's radio talk the other day in its main purport simply flattered the mass. He uttered such anti-moral words as if he meant that anybody may steal if he is poor. His luck was already at its end, so he was shot in the head though he wore a bullet-proof jacket.”

His diary also keeps a note which he wrote on May 1st at night.

"May 1st, at night, 1931.

"Radio speech by Inukai Takeshi.

"1. He sympathized with the poor. He flattered the lower class saying that he sympathized with the poor, and declared that he would try to make it so that there were no poor people.

"2. He encouraged theft saying that theft is the result of poverty, and anybody will steal if he becomes poor.

"3. He sympathized with the Chinese people saying that the main cause of the anti-Japanese movement in China lies in the fact that young Chinese politicians are hasty; he, too, was hasty when he was young on account of extraterritoriality in Japan.

"4. He said his financial policy is to invigorate agricultural, industrial and commercial circles by providing them with abundant funds, etc.

"He never once, however, referred to morality. My first thought was to send him a word of admonition, but thought better of it since it seemed useless."

Dr. Hiroike came back from Oosaka on May 17th. In the diary dated May 18th, his attendant noted that Dr. Hiroike during his stay in Oosaka at a study meeting of Moralogy referred to human destiny and said: "Fortune opens by morality and closes by policy; so that even Premier Inukai, for instance, who I hear is wearing a bullet-proof jacket, must die at once if his fortune is exhausted and a bullet goes through the head", and immediately after the Premier was shot at the head in the Japanese room of his official residence: those who heard his speech were struck newly with Dr. Hiroike's foresight.

Owing to the death of Mr. Inukai, Viscount Saitoo was appointed Prime Minister.

Dr. Hiroike's Diary has the following article on May 23rd:—

"Viscount Saitoo Makoto was appointed Premier. I sent him the following letter.

"To Viscount Saitoo. Night, May 23rd, 1932.

"Dear Sir,

"You have been appointed Premier by His Majesty after this unprecedented crisis, owing to your virtuous past. Now you must be considering whom to recommend for your cabinet members, and, of course, I do not mind which persons you may choose, but I should like you to choose them from among those who have never once been suspected by the people but who have been caring about their character-building, so that you will with their sincere co-operation achieve faithful service solely for His Majesty and the people. The abolition of parliamentary vice-ministers, a one-third voluntary reduction of the salary for one year for all officials above the rank of imperial appointment, declining the free first-class railway pass, and many other things to be carried out. It is hoped to educate morally not only the townspeople but also the agricultural population, and to improve industry and economy on the basis of the culture-first principle. Especially the Education Minister should be a man of morality and not such a man addicted to sports (much opposition from serious farmers)."*

* Dr. Hiroike had been insisting that it is absurd for children of farmers to play ball games with their teachers when they should be helping their parents' hard labour. The Education Minister to the Inukai Cabinet was Mr. Hatoyama Ichiroo, who remained at the same post in the next Saitoo Cabinet. He was the so-called Sports Minister according to the press.

"After my serious disease of December 1912, I completely withdrew from worldly concerns, but from a moralological standpoint I harbour immense designs concerning the four issues—politics, industry, economy and education. I already have a mind to carry them out one by one. I feel, however, first of all, the need of bringing up useful persons and am engaged in preparatory work such as a course of lectures. In this connection I have matters to tell you personally. Will you please invite me in June, so that I can tell you of my ideas?

"I neither care for office, nor fame nor reward. My only wish is to be of service to the Imperial House and to the people. I hope you will understand this well.

"The English translation of my book will soon be completed. The day is approaching nearer and nearer when I shall be appealing to the highest intellects of the world about the coming high tide of supreme morality.

"I have just mentioned the above out of my anxiety about the country.

"Yours sincerely,
Chikuroo."

"I am now staying at the hot spring, the address of which is on the envelope, owing to that old nervous debility of mine.* That is why I am not paying you a visit now.

"I am going to tell you my idea, because if you do not educate the people especially in the spirit of supreme morality which has been the morality of the Imperial House, your new determination as premier

* This is not what people call neurosis or nervous break-down.

would after all be ineffective. It is not your shame if you hear my idea. Real control cannot be achieved by means of trivial heterodox learning or morality.

"The present business of your cabinet is how to give a new turn to economy and finance and how to stabilize the spirit of the people. These can only be attained by encouraging morality. The previous cabinet took a very simple view of these problems and thought the resumption of gold would be enough to establish a national policy. The present depression cannot be attributed only to the nature of the monetary system. It owes more to deterioration in the national morality which underwent so rapid a change after the beginning of the twentieth century, so that it is very complicated. Scholars, politicians, businessmen and educators of today are not aware of this fact. I have long been keeping an eye on this matter and am planning the reconstruction of the whole world. Though I am not in good health now, if you send me a letter in your own hand to demand my presence, I will come up to Toogyoo and tell you all particulars and do my best for the country.

"Chikuroo.

"All amounts to the reconstruction of finance, economy and industry and the promotion of moral education."

4. Dr. Hiroike's Plan for Conquering the National Difficulties and His Hope of Realizing World Peace

Dr. Hiroike's Diary for the latter half of 1932 has few remarks about national affairs. At the beginning of 1933, he wrote a letter addressed to General Oosako, which is full of remarkable opinions.

"January 1st, 1933.

"Dear General Oosako,

"I wish you a happy new year.

"I am sorry I have remained silent for such a long time. I was so tired after the course of lectures in Oosaka that I went to Kyuushuu, staying at several hot springs, and welcomed in the new year in Kumamoto Prefecture. The social aspect is turning worse; especially foreign affairs are presenting difficult features. I feel the approach of a national crisis. The moralization of the human mind has become more and more necessary, for there is no other effective means.

"I will go home to Tookyoo at the end of this month and the course of lectures in Tookyoo will begin on Feb. 13th. I will see you then and there and will tell you all particulars seeing you face to face; but I want you to speak to Admiral Yamamoto Eisuke. At the very moment of the coming crisis, his personality will have much to do with the welfare of the country. I feel that he should possess an even greater personality than that of Admiral Toogoo. However excellent the material machines may be, however brave and loyal the officers and men, the war will be lost without the protection of Heaven. From old days, a loyal subject often lost his war, not because he deserved the lot, but because the thoughts and deeds of the leading members of the party erred from the way of Heaven. Besides, the loyal man himself was not great enough in personality to make up for their faults. From this I say that in the future if any national crisis comes, the person who bears on his shoulder both the Imperial House and the State must needs be a person of such great personality as would atone for all the present social defects. All the naval and military officers and all the political leaders that follow after him

must also have such determination. As it is, the present situation is very disheartening. In spite of my inaptness, I am leading a life of pure sincerity with my mind and heart clean to the bottom, and, determined to atone with all my sincerity the defects of all people by the protection of Heaven, I am now striving for the enlightenment and salvation of the human mind.

"In this connection, I want your further effort and co-operation through your great personality during the coming year both for the security of the Imperial House and for the well-being of the people.

"Yours sincerely,
Chikuroo."

Dr. Hiroike's Diary has the following article on Feb. 25th:—

"Notes

"1. The crisis will not come this year but in the following years. It is necessary, therefore, to explain to the people in a scientific way what their first duty is as members of the nation, prudently and deeply, rather than instigating people to fanatic emotional activity.

"2. Politics, economics, ethics and other mental sciences are all imperfect and unscientific. They cannot rival the theories of Marxism, communism and democracy. On the contrary they share the same basis as those theories and tend to introduce dangerous thoughts.

"3. Fortunately, however, Moralogy, a new science which I planned in my young days, was completed in 1928. I am introducing it to all people through courses of lectures.

"4. If, at this time, many people under the jurisdiction of the War, Naval, Education (teachers and young men's associations) and

Home (agricultural volunteers) Ministries receive moral education at these courses together with the students of my private enterprise, it will do a great deal for the benefit of the nation.

"5. Of course the staff of my Institute of Moralogy will work without reward ; neither is any donation necessary.

"6. The minister of the state is responsible for the national management, and for relieving the anxiety of His Majesty and leading people to security and happiness, according to the orthodox teachings. His responsibility does not lie in devoting himself to temporary office work or busying himself to satisfying the insatiably numerous demands of private interests. This is what everybody knows. If, ignorant of this, a minister of the state should rush about on earthly errands, he would not be fit for a time of emergency. Confucius would refuse to take note of such a man.

"7. He would be a fool if anybody expects success in controlling a nation or an organization by monetary or material means. It needs, instead, the enlightening of people's minds by educational means according to the morality of the sages.

"8. You will please understand the outlines of my enterprise by the pamphlet I brought today.

"I leave Tookyoo on Feb. 28th for Oosaka and Kyuushuu and will come back in April.

"Please do not regard Moralogy in the same light as those mental sciences of the past, and please do not regard my Course of Moralogy in the same light as enterprise of self-interest."

Feb. 27th. "In company with General Oosako, I visited the Premier, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Education. The Premier had gone home, so I met Secretary Irumano. I saw Minister

Araki at his official residence and told him he could collect about one hundred men of the Personal Imperial Appointment class so that I could give them five lectures of two hours each. (This I told him according to the opinion of General Oosako. I also saw the Minister of Education at the official residence and asked him to consider introducing Moralogy into the educational system."

In March, 1933, Japan seceded from the League of Nations.

On April 21st, Dr. Hiroike sent a proposition to the Prime Minister.

On May 9th, Dr. Hiroike saw Premier Saitoo and expressed his opinion.

On May 11th, Dr. Hiroike saw Ex-premier Wakatsuki.

On June 10th, Dr. Hiroike dispatched a long telegram on the right method of making a budget severally to Premier Saitoo, Finance Minister Takahashi, War Minister Araki, Imperial Household Minister Yuasa, Grand Chamberlain Suzuki and Chief Secretary Futagami.

The Diary of Dr. Hiroike on July 31st has a copy of a letter to War Minister Araki on moralization connected with the General Mobilization of the Nation, saying that the morality to be aimed at should be "supreme morality" and advising him to open a course on Moralogy in the War Ministry. In the letter he said that the contemporary morality and bushidoo of the past both stand on a basis contradictory to the teachings of the sages and are therefore useless.

"I have already told you again and again, but you do not seem to understand what supreme morality is, taking it in the same light as ordinary morality. It is by no means disgraceful for you to listen to a humble scholar. Supreme morality is what the sages practised

the effects of which I only have proved in a scientific way. If you disregard this great teaching and undertake anything useless, relying on your own intellect and knowledge and depending on your heterodox learning and morality, you will be made a laughing stock, etc. etc. etc."

On Aug. 15th, a column in Dr. Hiroike's diary has a copy of a letter addressed to the War Minister, which is a proposal for the abatement of penalty concerning the 515 Incident.

During the first half of October, Dr. Hiroike sent a pamphlet to Baron Iwasaki, Baron Mitsui, Count Sakai Tadamasa and Mr. Matsuoka Yoosuke recommending attendance to his course of lectures.

In 1933 and 1934, Dr. Hiroike instituted many courses of lectures at various places in Japan. The campus of his academy had been decided on, and his efforts for establishing his school continued.

On June 21st, 1934, Dr. Hiroike visited Imperial Household Minister Yuasa at his official residence presenting a Memorandum to the Throne, and then, visiting Grand Chamberlain Suzuki, gave him the information. The presentation of a Memorandum to the Throne was then rather rare in spite of frequent antecedents in the Meiji Era.

On July 4th, the Diary notes the appointment of Prime Minister Okada.

On July 28th, the Diary keeps a copy of a letter addressed to Viscount Saitoo and dated July 30th, in which he wrote that he was presenting him with a copy of the Second Edition of his *Treatise*, that he wanted to breathe a new life into the current usage among the high officials of carrying out national affairs only as a business and that he was establishing a school of Moralogy. In the postscript he wrote that he had presented the book with a Memorandum to the Throne so that the book could reach the hands of His Majesty without fail,

saying that the procedure was completed on June 27th.

The Diary of Aug. 2nd records that Dr. Hiroike presented his book to the present head of the Confucian family.

Early in September, Dr. Hiroike noted in his Diary "starvation in China. General strikes in America and in Japan."

On September 14th, the Diary records the death of General Oosako on the 12th.

On September 23rd, the Diary records a copy of Dr. Hiroike's letter addressed to Imperial Household Minister Yuasa in which he explains the relation between moral education and national welfare, especially the security of the Imperial House. I have referred to this letter in a previous page.

The Diary of Nov. 20th carries the Asahi news of the 17th that the Nanking Government decided to favour the descendants of Confucius and Mencius.

On Nov. 28th, the Diary notes that Dr. Hiroike visited the Chinese Embassy and presented a copy of his *Treatise* to the Nanking Government.

On Dec. 14th, the Diary keeps a copy of Dr. Hiroike's letter addressed to Foreign Minister Hirota to whom he presented his book, saying that the book explains the principles and practical method of realizing true security and peace for mankind. In April, 1935, Dr. Hiroike opened his College of Moralogy. In May, he invited to the College Mr. Kung Chao Jun, who was in Tookyoo attending the Confucianists' Meeting representing the House of Kung. In November, he invited there Ex-premier Admiral Viscount Saitoo.

In 1936, on Jan. 15th, Japan seceded from the London Disarmament Conference. On 16th, Dr. Hiroike visited the Shrines of Ise and

prayed for the happiness of mankind, international peace and national safety.

On Feb. 26th, the so-called 226 Incident happened : several leaders of the nation were killed or wounded. The death of Viscount Saitoo must have grieved Dr. Hiroike no less than the death of General Oosako.

On July 6th, Dr. Hiroike invited to his College Ex-premier Baron Wakatsuki.

In April, 1937, T. I. H. Prince and Princess Kaya visited the College. On April 21st and May 4th, Dr. Hiroike gave a lecture to the prince at the palace. The Prince and Princess visited the College on October 24th for the second time and Dr. Hiroike went and lectured on Dec. 19th. In 1938, Dr. Hiroike lectured at the Palace three times, on March 13th, 21st and April 15th.

Soon after that, Dr. Hiroike's disease showed a rapid turn, and on June 4th, he breathed his last at Ooana, near Tanigawa, in the detached annexe of his Institute.

Dr. Hiroike once discussed the failure of restoration in the Kemmu Era in Japan. Once the restoration was achieved, the retainers were satisfied and began merciless administration which invited people's grudges and after a short while the tables were turned. In connection with this failure, most contemporaries of Dr. Hiroike showed sympathy towards Kusunoki and criticized the courtiers. Dr. Hiroike wondered why Kusunoki who was so distinguished a strategist besides being brave and loyal had not availed himself of the short time and prepared for the coming crisis by enlightening and awakening people to the subjects' first duty to the sovereign and strengthening the spiritual defence among local leaders and warriors.

I have tried, by drawing upon his Diary, to make clear how Dr. Hiroike who, in spite of his infirmity, tried to defend and promote peace by telling people the importance of moral education and spreading Moralogy among the leaders of the nation.

III. How Dr. Hiroike Received Viscount Saitoo and Baron Wakatsuki

As I have already introduced, in 1935, the year he established his College of Moralogy, Dr. Hiroike invited Ex-premier Viscount Saitoo to the Campus. He also invited Ex-premier Baron Wakatsuki the next year. On both occasions, I witnessed all the scenes of Dr. Hiroike's reception of those two men.

So far as I remember, Dr. Hiroike and his visitors did not refer to confidential matters. Apparently, their talk went on rather indifferently. Probably they were so wise that they could exchange their views unuttered. Probably Dr. Hiroike had already intimated his opinions, and it was only their determination on the critical problems that he wanted to confirm.

Dr. Hiroike had known Viscount Saitoo for many years. He looked full of joy to see his old friend, while Viscount Saitoo appeared somewhat grave.

Viscount Saitoo arrived at 12:20, and left at 2:20. He was thus at the College for two hours. It was rather a familiar visit reflecting the personality of the visitor, but apart from the inevitable police business that accompanied the movement of an important person, it was not without a tense atmosphere as if the visitor's person was in danger. It may have been my imagination, but all the while he

was at the College and especially after in the car, in which I escorted him back to his house in Tookyoo, I felt as if anybody might attack suddenly from nowhere.

Admiral Viscount Saitoo was a man of peace; as Governor-General of Korea he tried to put a period to the military tendency in the administration of preceding governors. As premier, he set up the motto of Self-regeneration, advocating sound economy and peaceful diplomacy. As his car approached the lecture hall, Dr. Hiroike was waiting at the entrance and the moment the admiral got out of the car, Dr. Hiroike speedily approached him with a gesture as if he were embracing him to carry him into the hall.*

Dr. Hiroike introduced the admiral to the professors and students, and under the pretext that as an expert of the English language the admiral might please give a word of advice he made one of the students say the words of welcome and another boy read an English message. This latter, which was composed, of course, under the direction of Dr. Hiroike, referred to a piece of old Chinese history that the Lord of Chou, posthumously called Dai-wang the Great King, practised successive concessions to the demand of the notorious King Chou of Yin. The metaphor was only too clear that Japan should prudently and patiently bear everything and strengthen herself without rashly taking to strong measures. The admiral did not, however, show any immediate reaction, but since Dr. Hiroike had wanted his advice he simply said that in the study of English, pronunciation was very important, and hoped that the student might make further efforts in his study. Then the admiral made a short speech. He said that it

* Dr. Hiroike knew that Viscount Saitoo was once wounded in the leg owing to a political incident.

was a very difficult time and briefly proposed Self-regeneration. It appeared as if he were afraid of making unnecessary commitment. Dr. Hiroike then showed him to the Guest House where they took a meal. I shared their table. The talk chiefly concerned the method of education at the College, and the admiral supposed that the College might be suitable for his niece. Dr. Hiroike remembered this, and soon after the unfortunate event of the next year, Dr. Hiroike sent his word of lament through me and indicated the lady in woe the late admiral's word about his niece and that the lady herself might stay at the College, too, to pass her days of sorrow.

What I remember clearly now about what passed between the philosopher and the admiral is the word of the former concerning his *Treatise*. He said, "I presented my book to the Throne. I wonder in which place my book is kept. I wonder if His Majesty might sometimes read my book." The admiral looked somewhat perplexed and owned his ignorance about that matter. This unexpected question of Dr. Hiroike of course was an expression of his anxiety and sincere wish that the Imperial Family would develop the fortune of the State by means of supreme morality which her ancestry practised, to establish the State.

Baron Wakatsuki was a distinguished financier. He was also famous for composing Chinese verses. He visited Dr. Hiroike at his College in 1936. After his speech in the lecture hall, Dr. Hiroike showed him the library. At the entrance of the library where there was a tablet of his writing of four characters "Expound Text* With Text", Dr. Hiroike half jokingly said: "I hear you are distinguished

* Generally Confucian.

on the literary side (of the Chinese classics). I belong to the moral side (of the same study)." During the meal, Dr. Hiroike did most of the talking and Baron Wakatsuki listened carefully but with a look as if he were listening to a strange story.

Dr. Hiroike wrote in the prospectus of his College that from time to time he would invite men of fame for the students' sake, give them dinner and hear them talk. He had no time, however, to invite many people. Strictly speaking, he expressly invited none other. Later he thought of inviting Prince Konoe, but he did not.

Some time before, a few young men among the peers raised a question as to the meaning of the peerage system. The question was why peers had to be the guards of the Imperial House while all the people were alike expected to be loyal subjects of the Emperor. They had an opportunity to meet Prince Konoe and asked his opinion concerning the question. Prince Konoe said that peerage was a kind of decoration. I remembered this when Dr. Hiroike thought of inviting Prince Konoe, and told Dr. Hiroike about his opinion. Dr. Hiroike appeared disappointed to hear it. Later, Prince Konoe was appointed to the responsible position of Premier at the most critical moment for the State. Mine is a question as to whether he was a man Dr. Hiroike should have invited or not. Dr. Hiroike was not a man to be affected by mere hearsay, but I do not know whether I should have kept silent or not.

Dr. Hiroike who concerned himself about the personality of the Fleet Admiral nine years before the actual war, might have had some special reason concerning the invitation of Prince Konoe.

Admiral Yamamoto Eisuke had early distinguished himself among the naval officers, and was reported, too, to be a rare spiritualist,

but Dr. Hiroike must have had good reason for expecting him to undergo more self-discipline. When the war began, Admiral Yamamoto Eisuke was already in the reserve force and Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku was the head of the fleet. This admiral who met his unfortunate death while directing the battle is reported to have been against war. At the beginning of the War, however, I chanced to read in the paper that Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku compared a sea battle to playing bridge and I thought his personality was somehow different from that of Admiral Toogoo.

Later, I read Dr. Hiroike's Diary and marvelled at his insight. Truly, it is human to know after what has happened.

IV. Dr. Hiroike's Theory concerning Peace and What he did Accordingly

The balance of power greatly changed after Dr. Hiroike died. When he was alive, totalitarianism was still beginning to rise, and atomic weapons did not exist. Japan, then, tried to avail herself of the two totalitarian countries but failed to achieve her end and received the coup de grâce in the form of the atomic bombing. The voice that the Japanese defeat was due to material odds received correction by the reflection that it was due to spiritual lag. That free states won, that is, liberalism won, is true so far as Europe and America are concerned. The capitalist nations advocating liberal democracy and the totalitarian nations advocating socialist democracy are opposed though smiling sometimes to each other across a deep valley of diffidence. The so-called cold wars or thaws look like promises of peace. Their peace, however, consists in their supremacy over others. Many nations do not hesitate in employing iron, fire and blood, if indeed it

is profitable. Difference of thought, religion and race, speculation over natural resources and products are as selfish as ever, so that nations are keeping balance under the threat and fear of atomic power. They still consider the advent of peace is only possible by the use of forces and by armistice in compromise. Invaders call themselves liberators, or act under the pretext of defence. They are despotic, tyrannical, dictatorial at heart.

In the midst of these punic competitions for power, Japan was punished as a war criminal, and after that for more than a quarter of a century her people have been in fear of being called nationalists not to speak of chauvinists. They look as if they have secured their liberty and human rights at the price of duty and responsibility; a visitor to Japan may wonder if among the Japanese people every personal benefit was given precedence over the national interest. The national defence as the security of peace is being criticized as steering towards militarism, while strife motivated against peace looks like defending freedom. Liberalist democracy has not taken root, and socialist democracy which is the new look of totalitarianism has not been revealed as threat to liberty. People believe in liberty but not everybody understands it.

Mankind, in the face of mortifying common problems, should be planning for their own survival in peace and order. If, however, we endeavour to form a good plan, or have succeeded in making one, it remains as true as ever that we have to establish a real spirit of peace and determine on the practice of supreme morality. The situation is fundamentally the same as fifty years ago when Dr. Hiroike wrote his *Treatise*, only it has become more urgent and pressing. Shouting aloud "Peace, Peace, Peace!" is not the business. It is high

time that the purely unselfish idea of peace should be understood widely and deeply so that men can co-operate unselfishly for the establishment and maintenance of real peace.

One may probably say that Dr. Hiroike's theory of peace is no theory of peace at all but that of morality, that morality might be very well and necessary but what we need most are concrete rules and treaties for the prevention of war, disarmament, territorial integrity, self-determination of people, and so forth, and that Dr. Hiroike who promised to present concrete plans did not show them after all. Yes, he did. He would answer that those solutions which 'one' would call concrete and practical are far from being so; at least they are other problems than peace. Armament or treaties are just temporary and therefore abstract; what he would call concrete is to reorient people by fundamentally changing their way of thinking. It is creating a new man out of an old one, *homo pacifica* from *homo sapiens*. If we leave man as he is, any effort for disarmament would be useless. Rather than taking to temporary and partitive measures, we had better do away with the threateners of peace. What threatens peace is not the gun but rather the man behind the gun. Not imperialism nor any ism but the man himself endangers peace. Whatever good name your principle would bear, if you harbour selfishness in your mind you will never be encouraging peace.

This is the starting point of Dr. Hiroike's theory of peace and also its conclusion. His proposal is, unfortunately, still alive and still too true.

His practice, namely the peace movement consisting in establishing virtue through moral education, could not prevent the disaster of Japan. Nor in the future will it soon succeed to bring salvation to

all mankind. Even so, our moralogical education has already had a great influence on many people.

The late Mr. Hiroike Chibusu, son and heir of Dr. Hiroike Chikuroo, succeeded to his father's work in 1938. He was a devoted defender of world peace. He died in 1968 and his son Hiroike Sentaroo succeeded to his office. President Hiroike, the staff of his Institute and its associate members are working with one mind to strengthen peace in many parts of Japan and elsewhere.

It is not only the mission of those moralogians but also the noble errand of all mankind to obtain consensus for the acceptance and promotion of Supreme Morality and its education among individuals having different ways of thinking and living and among nations and races having different histories and forms of government.

Dr. Hiroike often said in his later years that he would be inviting Stalin, Roosevelt, Hitler and Chang Kai Shek to his College for a World Peace Conference in the Guest House, and that he was willing to offer them well-flavoured curry with rice. Most students were pleased to hear it and laughed, thinking he was joking, but now I am sure he was in earnest.

NOTE: I have, in this paper, adopted a form of spelling whereby "long vowels" in Japanese are represented by double vowels—this being nearer to the original forms in Japanese. The order of persons' names is also in accord with the Japanese system, that is, surname first, given name second.