

# Nichiren and Nationalism

## The Religious Patriotism of Tanaka Chigaku

by EDWIN B. LEE

IN STARK CONTRAST to its nondescript surroundings in the flat factory district of Edogawa-ku, Tokyo's easternmost precinct, rises the handsome headquarters of the *Kokuchūkai*<sup>1</sup> (Pillar-of-the-State Association). Above the main entrance, at the center of the long, low rectangular building, and at each end, sudden upswings of the concrete roof create the steep *gasshō*<sup>2</sup> triangles of traditional Japanese architecture. These are symbolic of hands pressed together in prayer, attitudes frequently observed in the principal center of a religious organization which encourages the Indian-style greeting amongst its members.

Twenty miles to the west, in the pleasant suburban town of Musashino, in a plain, somewhat large, building in a middle-class neighborhood, is the *Satomi Kenkyū-jo*<sup>3</sup> (Satomi Research Institute). Nothing about the structure suggests its purpose, although one might surmise from its size and lack of ornamentation that it is more likely to be a secular educational institution of some sort than a private home or religious edifice.

In fact, the Musashino enterprise does have its religious aspects, and the Edogawa-ku institution its secular. While their emphases are different, each can claim to be a continuator of the work of a man who, though a layman, exerted considerable influence upon the Buddhism of his day and, through a Buddhist-based nationalism of his own devising, upon a number of persons prominent in modern Japan's social and political history. The man was Tanaka Chigaku<sup>4</sup> (1861–1939), a name familiar now only to conscientious scholars of Nichiren Buddhism, but deserving of attention by any student of modern Japanese history who seeks to understand the part played by Buddhism in developments often regarded as Shinto-imbued, if not totally secular.

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1 國柱會

2 合掌

3 里見研究所

4 田中智學

*Tanaka's Life*

Born in Edo just seven years before the transfer of the imperial capital from Kyoto was to change the city's name to Tokyo, Tanaka Chigaku was the third son of a physician named Tada Genryū<sup>5</sup> and his second wife. Tada Genryū died in February 1870, a few months after the death of his wife, but his influence upon his youngest child seems to have been considerable. He was a Buddhist, in early life a devotee of the Amidist Pure Land sect and later a convert to Nichiren, and he is reputed to have instilled in his children a deep commitment to Nichiren doctrine and, concomitantly, an ingrained distrust of the established church.<sup>6</sup> Apparently an enthusiastic tippler, Genryū, in his cups, once exclaimed, 'If you want to write good poems, don't become a poet; if you want to understand Buddhism, don't become a priest. *Miso* that smells like *miso* is not good *miso*.'<sup>7</sup>

Yet the Nichiren priesthood seemed precisely the career for which Genryū's third son was destined when young Tanaka, in a move presumably viewed by his half-brothers as a means of obtaining an education, was enrolled, two months after his father's death, as a novice in a Nichiren temple in northeastern Tokyo.<sup>8</sup> What was to be a relatively short academic career thus began in the spring of 1870, and during its course Tanaka moved successively from scholar to scholar and from temple to temple, mostly in the northern part of Tokyo and nearby Chiba prefecture, until finally, in 1874, he entered the Daikyō-in,<sup>9</sup> the newly opened Nichiren academy, a predecessor of Risshō University.<sup>10</sup>

By this time he had adopted the name 'Tanaka Chigaku', the surname as a result of government order (Tada Genryū's original family name had been Tanaka) and the sobriquet 'Chigaku' ('Wisdom and learning') in honor of an early teacher, Chikyō-in Nisshin.<sup>11</sup> According to his biographers, within two years of his enrollment in the academy, Tanaka became disillusioned by what he regarded as the discrepancies between the accommodating views of Nichiren sectarian leaders, caught up in the problem of preserving their institutions in the midst of the government's support of Shinto, and the absolutist doctrines of Nichiren himself. It is not inconceivable, however, that Tanaka, like many other students, simply became frustrated with the stiff requirements of formal education and, consciously or not, began to seek an excuse for dropping out. At any rate, he fell victim to pneumonia in December 1876 as he began to prepare for his graduation examinations, and the next two years were marked by recurrences of illness whenever he seemed ready to resume his studies.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> 多田玄龍

<sup>6</sup> Satomi Kishio, *Nihon no Shihyō, Tanaka Chigaku* 日本の師表田中智学, Kinseisha 錦正社, 1968, pp. 16–21.

<sup>7</sup> Tanaka Hōkoku 田中芳谷, *Tanaka Chigaku Sensei Ryakuden* 田中智学先生略伝, Shishi-ō Bunko 師子王文庫, rev. ed., 1974, p. 10. *Miso* 味噌 is bean paste.

<sup>8</sup> Tanaka Chigaku Sensei Seitan Hyakunen Kinen Shukugakai 田中智学先生生誕百年紀年祝賀会, ed., *Tanaka Chigaku Sensei Eifu* [Eifu] 田中智学先生影譜, Shishi-ō Bunko, 1960, p. 109.

<sup>9</sup> 大教院

<sup>10</sup> For comments on Nichiren educational institutions, see Kageyama Gyōyū 影山堯雄, 'Nichiren-shū Kyōdan no Tenkai' 日蓮宗教団の展開, in Mochizuki Kankō 望月敏厚, ed., *Kindai Nihon no Hokke Bukkyō* 近代日本の法華仏教, Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, Kyoto, 1968, pp. 101–2 & 104–7.

<sup>11</sup> 智境院日進. For an explanation of the complicated business of names, see Tanaka Hōkoku, p. 4, and Satomi, p. 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Eifu*, p. 109; also, Satomi, p. 19.

These were not, however, years of idleness. Tanaka continued to study on his own the Lotus Sutra, the works of Nichiren, and some of the ancient texts of Japanese history. He read voraciously, and by the time he finally determined to renounce his priestly vows early in 1879, he had most likely acquired an understanding of Buddhist fundamentals deeper than that of students whose education followed the ordinary course. A short, unsuccessful venture as an adoptive son of the Tanuma<sup>13</sup> family then followed, at the instigation of his half-brothers, but by the late spring of 1880 Tanaka had determined to embark upon a career as a lay propagandist of 'true' Nichiren Buddhism.<sup>14</sup>

Tanaka had moved to Yokohama, where one of his half-brothers lived, to recuperate from his illness, and it was there that he began his activities with the formation of the *Rengekai*<sup>15</sup> (Lotus Society) on 28 April 1881, the anniversary of Nichiren's proclamation of his religion to the world. One wonders whether Tanaka at this time foresaw the shape his work would assume; several factors indicate that he did not. Money, for example, was always a problem. In his first year or two in Yokohama, he tried to make ends meet by tinting photographs in a German-owned shop, selling ice and kites, and setting up a roadside tool shop.<sup>16</sup> None of these enterprises prospered, and Tanaka very early began to derive his income, such as it was, from contributions from his followers. Precarious financial circumstances most likely inhibited long-range plans, and changing emphases in Tanaka's speeches and articles also suggest that his approach was basically empirical and pragmatic.

In 1884, Tanaka shifted his operations to Tokyo, where a son, Hōkoku, was born to him and his wife, Mine, in February. Married since 1881, the young couple had lost their first child, also a son, in late 1882. Mrs Tanaka seldom appears in the various Tanaka biographies, and usually only when the birth of a child is recorded. Such subordination is, of course, in keeping with Japanese custom, but in this case it is probably also an indication of incompatibility between Tanaka and his wife. The marriage, in fact, ended in divorce, a rarity in those days, sometime before 1893, the date of Mine's death in her hometown near Yokohama.<sup>17</sup> Tanaka's second marriage was apparently happier, but a stable, close family life was never characteristic of the Tanaka household.

A major reason for this was Tanaka's incessant activity. Once in Tokyo, he began to lecture frequently, sometimes twice a day, on topics then of great concern to Nichiren Buddhism, often exegeses of the Lotus Sutra, but also, and increasingly, on the life and doctrines of Nichiren himself. Symbolic of this shift was Tanaka's decision in 1885 to rename his group the *Risshō Ankokukai*,<sup>18</sup> the embodiment of Nichiren's admonitions to the government of Japan concerning the 'establishment of righteousness' (*risshō*) and the 'security of the country' (*ankoku*). Some of the lectures were delivered at temples, but as Tanaka became ever more outspoken in his denunciation of the established Nichiren order, his

<sup>13</sup> 田沼

<sup>14</sup> *Eifu*, p. 109.

<sup>15</sup> 蓮華會

<sup>16</sup> *Eifu*, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> *Eifu*, pp. 110 & 113.

<sup>18</sup> 立正安國會

meetings were frequently held in rented halls. His audiences varied in size, but were often large, sometimes numbering over a thousand. And when a printing enterprise was begun in 1886, Tanaka's fame spread beyond the immediate Tokyo area. September 1887 found him in Ibaraki prefecture, north of Tokyo, speaking on topics such as the stupidity of Amidism, the evils of Christianity, and the true faith of Nichiren. From then until 1893, Tanaka's activities, while still based in Tokyo, spread throughout a good portion of the country, and long lecture tours became routine.<sup>19</sup>

For reasons which remain somewhat obscure, Tanaka decided in 1893 to move his headquarters to Osaka. Perhaps the success of his meetings there and in cities such as Nagoya and Nara suggested a center closer at hand. By this time, furthermore, the *Risshō Ankokukai* was solidly established in Tokyo, and the districts west of the capital may have looked more challenging to this zealous evangelist. In any event, Tanaka moved to the Kansai area in late 1891, living first in Kyoto and later, from 1893 on, in Osaka.<sup>20</sup>

For the next several years Tanaka's activities were centered in Osaka, and they were, to say the least, prodigious. Speeches, often two hours or more in length, were almost daily occurrences, their themes increasingly concerned with what was to become Tanaka's most important contribution to Japanese thought: the Buddhist-Shinto synthesis which provided a basis for nationalism. Publications, ranging from tracts to newspapers to full-length books, rolled off presses in Osaka and Tokyo, and, at least among the Buddhist reading public, Tanaka Chigaku became a well-known figure.

His most significant work from this period was a treatise, *Bukkyō Fūfu Ron*<sup>21</sup> ('Treatise on Buddhist Married Life'), which was presented to Emperor Meiji and his consort on the occasion of their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary in 1894. Certain statements in the tract, forerunners of Tanaka's patriotic emphases, deserve analysis, and this will be done later in the present article. But it should be noted also that hortatory remarks phrased in Buddhist terms are, in this essay, made about a subject, family life, thitherto dealt with almost exclusively in a non-religious, principally Confucian, context.<sup>22</sup> Buddhism, as it groped its way through its early decades of independence after 1868, was rapidly becoming in the eyes of the layman little more than a cult of death, indispensable for funeral or memorial services but unconcerned with everyday life. Tanaka claimed otherwise and in eloquent language analyzed what he deemed the Buddhist foundations for domestic happiness.

These sentiments were anti-establishmentarian, and they were at the same time paradoxical, coming as they did from a man whose marriage had ended in divorce. It seems likely, however, that Tanaka took to heart the theme of his essay, for his second venture into matrimony, in 1896, turned out more success-

<sup>19</sup> *Eifu*, p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Watanabe Hōyō 渡辺宝陽, 'Tanaka Chigaku no Shūkyō Undō ni tsuite' 田中智学の宗教運動について, in Mochizuki, pp. 130-1.

<sup>21</sup> 佛教夫婦論

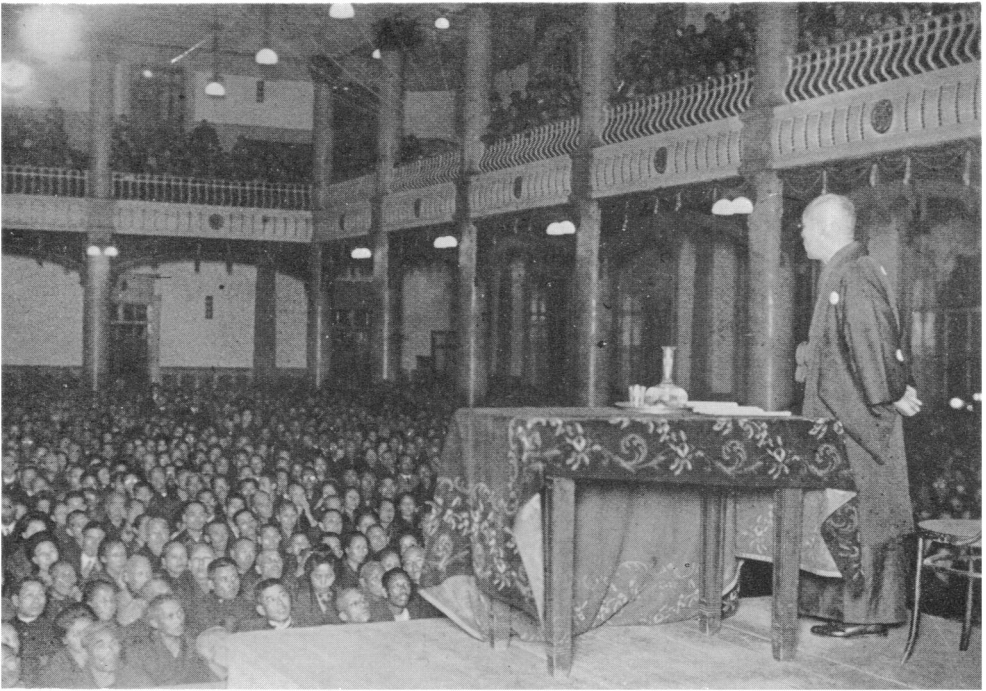
<sup>22</sup> The complete text is given in Shishi Ō Zenshū Kankōkai 師子王全集刊行會, ed., *Shishi Ō Zenshū* [sz], 師子王全集, Shishi-ō Bunko, 1937, part II, vol. 8, pp. 25-34.



*Tanaka Chigaku: above left, Tokyo, 1890, aged 28; above right, Mino, Shizuoka, 1916, aged 54; below, in Harada Kansekien, Fuji City, 1932, aged 71.*



Photographs courtesy of Mr Tanaka Kōho



*Tanaka Chigaku addressing audiences : above, in Nakanoshima Hall, Osaka, 1922, aged 61 ; below, in Yoyogi Park, Tokyo, 1935, aged 73.*



fully than his first. The second Mrs Tanaka, born Ogawa Hiroko,<sup>23</sup> was a granddaughter of a well-known Nichiren scholar. Aged seventeen when she married Tanaka, she was only a few years older than her husband's eldest son, and she was destined to live until 1955, sixteen years after her husband's death.<sup>24</sup>

Shortly after his second marriage, Tanaka moved his family to a modest house in Kamakura. This storied city, the political center of Japan in the thirteenth century and the scene of much of Nichiren's most important work, was to be headquarters for Tanaka's organizations for the next twenty years. Around his house Tanaka laid out a garden which ultimately became so famous for its beauty that it attracted a visit from the Crown Prince (later Emperor Taishō) in the spring of 1911.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, Tanaka had also built a villa in the picturesque village of Miho, in Shizuoka prefecture, about eighty miles to the southwest. Famed as the locale of one of Japan's best-loved noh plays, *Hagoromo*,<sup>26</sup> Miho, on a peninsula jutting eastward into Suruga Bay, is noted also for its magnificent view of Mt Fuji across the water—a vista that would have been reason enough for this fervent patriot to select Miho as the site for the summer institute he was planning. The building itself he dubbed the *Saishō-kaku*<sup>27</sup> ('Tower of the greatest victory', a phrase derived from Nichiren's writings), and it served as a sort of auxiliary center for Tanaka's various enterprises for several years. It was here, in November 1914, that Tanaka established the *Kokuchūkai*, the Pillar-of-the-State Association (Nichiren said, 'I am the pillar of the state'), an amalgamation of all his followers which continues today as the principal organization devoted to Tanaka and his work.<sup>28</sup>

While it is possible to deal with Tanaka's life in terms of where his organizational headquarters may have been at any particular time, it is wrong to think of him quietly residing in Osaka, Kamakura, Miho, or wherever. He was constantly on the move. Lectures, ceremonial observances, instructional classes and the like took him back and forth from western to eastern Japan, until, every now and then, sheer exhaustion or illness would send him to bed. Eye trouble and neuralgia, bothersome since young manhood, became increasingly debilitating as Tanaka grew older, and from time to time he was forced to cease his travels and speech-making for periods of two or three months.<sup>29</sup> Even so, he continued to write for his various publications at such times, and the result was an ever-mounting bibliography of monographs and articles on Nichiren Buddhism and, increasingly, as time went on, on nationalistic themes as well.

Subsequent shifts of headquarters brought Tanaka back to Tokyo in 1916, at first to Uguisudani, near Ueno Park, and eventually, in 1930, to Ichinoe, Edogawa-ku, where he had begun his study of Buddhism some sixty years earlier.

<sup>23</sup> 小川泰子

<sup>24</sup> Satomi Kishio, *Tōkon Fūsetsu Shichijūnen* 闘魂風雪七十年, Kinseisha, 1964, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> *Eifu*, p. 116.

<sup>26</sup> 羽衣

<sup>27</sup> 最勝閣

<sup>28</sup> Kokuchūkai Kyōmubu 国柱会教務部, ed., *Kokuchūkai Gojūnen no Ayumi* 国柱会50年の歩み, Shinsekaisha 真世界社, 1964, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Satomi Kishio, *Tanaka Chigaku Kōji Ryakuden* 田中智學居士略傳, Shishi-ō Bunko, 1940, p. 24.

Advancing age slowed Tanaka down a little, but in the summer of 1935, at the invitation of the Commandant of the Kwantung Army, he embarked on a lecture tour of Manchukuo and Korea, his only journey overseas. Not long afterward, he fell ill. Able occasionally to give speeches and to write, he carried on reduced activity until the spring of 1938 when he suffered a stroke. Death came, finally, on 17 November 1939.

### *Tanaka's Teaching*

An interesting life, spanning as it did the Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa periods, but what was there special about it? Why is Tanaka Chigaku not to be thought of as a kind of Carl McIntyre of yesteryear whose place in the history of Japanese Buddhism, like McIntyre's in that of American Protestantism, should be accorded condign treatment by the theologian and left undisturbed by the general historian? One reason for not neglecting Tanaka is that in some ways the *Kokuchūkai*, as a Nichiren-related organization, was a precursor of the *Sōka Gakkai*<sup>30</sup> which came to prominence in the 1960s. Professor Tokoro Shigemoto of Kanazawa University, perhaps the leading critic of Nichiren Buddhism in present-day Japan, has asserted that the *Kokuchūkai* played much the same role in pre-war Japan as the *Sōka Gakkai* does today.<sup>31</sup> Both groups emphasize the aggressive (*shakubuku*)<sup>32</sup> admonitions of the Lotus Sutra, and both are estranged from the mainstream Nichiren establishment. While it would be too much to say that the *Kokuchūkai* provided the model for the *Sōka Gakkai*, it is certainly true that understanding the role of the former in Taishō Japan may help one appreciate something of the way in which the *Sōka Gakkai* has achieved its success in recent days.

But the political, rather than the purely religious, implications of Tanaka's work account for much of its importance to the student of Japanese history. 'Political' may not be so just a description as 'intellectual'. Although Tanaka himself once ran for a seat in the Diet (in 1924) and the political organization set up for this campaign, the *Rikken Yōseikai*<sup>33</sup> (Constitutional Party for Fostering Righteousness), still exists, nothing so significant as the *Kōmeito*<sup>34</sup> (Clean Government Party), which began as the political arm of the *Sōka Gakkai*, ever emerged from Tanaka's organizations. Regardless of which rubric seems more appropriate, consideration of Tanaka's steady move from purely religious to mostly secular themes should probably begin with a speech he made in 1886.

In November of that year Tanaka delivered a lecture on Buddhist married life which included comments somewhat different from his usual exegetical remarks. Edited and refocused somewhat, the speech became the basis of the treatise which Tanaka presented to the Emperor and Empress on their silver anniversary in 1894. While Tanaka's principal theme was the Buddhist context

<sup>30</sup> 創価学会

<sup>31</sup> Tokoro Shigemoto 戸頃重基, 'Henkaku Shisō to shite no Hokke-kyō' 変革思想としての法華經, in *Chūō Kōron* 中央公論, LXXXVI, 10, July 1971, pp. 37–8.

<sup>32</sup> 折伏

<sup>33</sup> 立憲養正會. Satomi, *Nihon no Shihyō*, p. 296.

<sup>34</sup> 公明党



for the male-female relationship that imbues the entire realm of existence, he introduced a new element: the role of Nichiren Buddhism in Japan's destiny. His sources are the pronouncements of Nichiren, and he reiterated the founder's warning that Japan must be remade according to the tenets he proclaimed. Indeed, Nichiren came to earth and established his church for the sake of Japan; Japan must, accordingly, spread the faith for the sake of the world. The two, Nichiren Buddhism and Japan, were inseparably linked (in the same manner as man and wife), each essential to the other; and it was the combination of the two, each acting through the other, that would cause the whole world to become a vast Buddhaland.<sup>35</sup>

Although Tanaka did not in this document explain precisely, as he did later, the connections between Nichiren Buddhism and Japan's traditional cosmogony, he suggested that there were such ties. He argued that world unification was both a Japanese and a Buddhist goal; he noted that Nichiren's appearance in Japan was a step in the process of world unification; and he implied that, inasmuch as the goal had not yet been reached, it was the duty of modern-day Nichiren Buddhists and the state, working together, to bring this about. This may be interpreted to mean that if the reigning Emperor Meiji were to adopt such a course his task would be hallowed not only by tradition (mainly Shinto), but by Nichiren Buddhism as well.<sup>36</sup> There was, in short, at least a hint as early as 1886 of the Buddhist apologetics for the imperial mission to unify the world which ultimately became Tanaka's major theme. It is significant that Tanaka concluded the 1894 essay with two valedictions, both the *Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō*<sup>37</sup> (Hail to the Sutra of the Lotus of Perfect Truth) of Nichiren Buddhism and a patriotic rallying cry, *Nippon Teikoku Ban-banzai*<sup>38</sup> (Imperial Japan Forever and Ever!).

Shortly afterwards, in the summer of 1889, as the result of research into Buddhist traditions during the Latter Days of the Law, Tanaka managed to lay to rest any final misgivings he may have had about his role as a lay religious leader. While monastic discipline remained a hard and fast rule for every branch of Buddhism, he said, in the Latter Days of the Law this was a moot point, for in effect there was no monastic order. Priests and monks were no longer set apart

<sup>35</sup> sz, II, 8, pp. 32, 44–5 & 46.

<sup>36</sup> In his *Kindai Nihon no Shūkyō to Nashonarizumu* 近代日本の宗教とナショナリズム, Fuzambō 富山房, 1966, p. 76, Professor Tokoro Shigemoto includes what he terms a quotation from Tanaka's 1894 essay to the effect that Nichiren called upon the faithful to include as objects of adoration both the Sun Goddess and the God of War, Hachiman; the same quotation also appears in Professor Tokoro's 'Nichiren no Shūkyō to Tennō-sei Nashonarizumu' 日蓮の宗教と天皇制ナショナリズム, in *Hōzōkan Henshūbu* 法蔵館編集部, ed., *Kindai Bukkyō: Kōza* 近代仏教講座, *Hōzōkan*, Kyoto, 1961, v, pp. 106–7. A careful perusal of Tanaka's treatises has not located the wording that Tokoro attributes to

Tanaka; its source is presumably something other than the document under consideration.

<sup>37</sup> 南無妙法蓮華經

<sup>38</sup> 日本帝國萬萬歲. sz, II, 8, p. 54; see also Satomi Kishio, *Tanaka Chigaku no Kokutai Kaigen* 田中智學の國體開顯, Kinseisha, 1940, p. 42. There is no way of knowing whether or not Emperor Meiji ever saw Tanaka's essay, but some members of the nobility were certainly aware of it. At the request of Princess Mieko 實枝子, daughter of Prince Arisugawa Takehito 有栖川宮威仁, Tanaka provided a copy shortly after the Princess' marriage to Prince Tokugawa Yoshihisa 徳川慶久: Satomi, *Nihon no Shihyō*, p. 139.

from the citizenry at large; they were all laymen. Hence, inhibitions against meat-eating, marriage, and the like did not apply, for there were no priests. Tanaka's own status was thus justified. He was a layman who pretended to be nothing else, while those who called themselves priests and monks were involved in deception.<sup>39</sup>

It was not until the spring of 1901, however, that Tanaka formulated a complete picture of what he had in mind, when, in a monograph entitled *Shūmon no Ishin*<sup>40</sup> ('Reform of Religion'), he advocated the transformation and, by implication, unification of Japanese Buddhism into a great Nichiren organization—a kind of state church. In the Latter Days at hand, said Tanaka, Buddhism was in a sad way, the result of its long subservience to the Tokugawa regime and the subsequent doleful influence of Westernization on Japanese life. Buddhism, indeed, had sunk to so low a condition that its sole function was to bury the dead.<sup>41</sup>

But Buddhism, on the contrary, should be a militant, revolutionary force, a staunch ally as Japan went about its task of uniting the world for righteousness' sake.

Nichiren is the general of the army that will unite the world. Japan is his headquarters. The people of Japan are his troops; teachers and scholars of Nichiren Buddhism are his officers. The Nichiren creed is a declaration of war, and *shakubuku* is the plan of attack. Faith provides courage; doctrine provides logistic support. The army to unify all the nations of the world is to be set up in such a way. . . . The faith of the Lotus will prepare those going into battle. Japan truly has a heavenly mandate to unite the world.

Tanaka continued:

Army regulations must be strictly enforced. Civil war really began in 1253<sup>42</sup> and is not yet finished. . . . No matter what the circumstances, war is aggressive. War should not be leisurely; it should be swift as the wind. War should not be rash and noisy; it should be quiet as a forest. War should not be frivolous; it should be firm as a mountain. . . . Aggressively believe! Aggressively preach! Agitate! When you feel weak and tired, say, 'The Lotus Sutra is my sword.' . . . Do not pray for righteousness. Do not pray for yourself. Do not pray for your father and mother. Do not pray for your teacher. Pray only for conquest! . . .<sup>43</sup>

In what may be its most salient chapter, as far as Tanaka's developing nationalism was concerned, the *Shūmon no Ishin* said of 'Aggression':

. . . . Everything is aggressive. Animals are aggressive by nature. If one is aggressed upon, one will be aggressive in return. The cat is the aggressor of the mouse; it is aggressed upon by the dog. Men, too, are aggressive or aggressed upon according to their strength or weakness, their wealth or penury, their wisdom or stupidity. Saints, models of virtue, legalists,

<sup>39</sup> *Eifu*, p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> 宗門之維新

<sup>41</sup> sz, II, 3, pp. 2-4.

<sup>42</sup> The year in which Nichiren proclaimed his doctrines 'to the universe and to mankind'.

<sup>43</sup> sz, II, 3, pp. 15-7 & 18-21.

scholars—all possess such a contrary aggressor/aggressee spirit. Aggression is the way of the world.

However, there is good aggression, inferior and superior aggression, mundane and spiritual aggression. What we have termed ‘Lotus Sutra aggression’ is superior, good, spiritual aggression. This kind of aggression will irrigate the fields of the spirit and nurture the seedlings implanted therein; it is medicinal, not poisonous. It is universal justice, religious righteousness. . . .<sup>44</sup>

While it is probably too much to say that Tanaka here sanctioned military aggression, it is easy to understand how such an inference could be made, especially in light of his ideas concerning cooperation between state and religion in modern Japan. As long as aggression could be rationalized as ‘good’, it was acceptable, and all aggression on behalf of the Lotus Sutra, it seems, was ‘good’.

Accompanying this disquisition are diagrams, some quite complex, which detail the way in which Buddhism should be reformed so as to make it a potent quasi-military force. At first glance the charts appear to be highly scientific and systematic, but closer scrutiny reveals, for instance, that evangelization within the military establishment is accorded the same weight as evangelization at hot-spring resorts. In a series of numerical projections, furthermore, Tanaka provided data which make one question at least his grasp of practicalities. Within a year—that is, by 1902—Tanaka foresaw 800 students, 500 instructors, and three million adherents. Fifty years later, he predicted, there would be 19,900 students, 19,200 instructors, and 23,033,250 adherents (the result of world-wide proselytization). Similar projections were made for annual income, expenditure, and capitalization, and for the number of seagoing vessels necessary to keep the whole vast enterprise operating. There followed a minute listing, country by country, of the cities into which the reformed religion was to be spread, the order in which the countries and cities are listed constituting a fifty-year timetable. When Wellington, New Zealand, had been converted, in fifty years’ time, the task of unifying the world would have been completed.<sup>45</sup>

It is obviously an easy matter to seize upon sections of this lengthy essay and use them to make the total scheme appear the work of a fool. The temptation should be avoided, for the document as a whole is grand in scope and language, and is, especially, a clear summation of Tanaka’s changing theory of religion’s role in the modern state. It sets forth the premises which would underlie his arguments thenceforth: Nichiren Buddhism and the Japanese state shared a divine mission—world unity—the achievement of which demanded unceasing militancy.

His essay, with its apologia for aggression (albeit clothed in the garments of religious evangelization), was written after Japan had become a sort of adjunct member of Western imperialist circles. The Sino-Japanese War had inspired Tanaka, and through him his followers, to patriotic fervor. Soon after its outbreak, in August 1894, the *Risshō Ankokukai* erected a special pavilion in Osaka to be used for patriotic assemblies, prayers for victory, and the like. Throughout

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 9, 102–11 & 131–4.

the war, in fact, Tanaka's activities were as often patriotic as religious—leading his followers to Osaka Station to bow respectfully before the railroad car in which Emperor Meiji was traveling to Hiroshima; dedicating a sword and sending it off to Manchuria by special emissary as a talisman of victory; and conducting scores of flag-waving meetings.

Within a decade, with the onset of the Russo-Japanese War, Tanaka's patriotic fervor was rekindled. Immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in February 1904, for instance, he instituted a special three-week period of prayers for the nation. In June, he dispatched emissaries, including his eldest son, to Korea to bid godspeed to troops departing for the front.<sup>46</sup> In July 1905, he exclaimed, 'The war with Russia is divinely inspired to make Japanese citizens aware of the heavenly task of their country.'<sup>47</sup>

Of greatest interest and importance, though, is a speech, subsequently published, which Tanaka delivered in November 1903, before the Russo-Japanese War was underway. For the better part of a year, he had been conducting a series of meetings in Osaka devoted to the study of the Lotus Sutra. As the climax, he led the 200-odd participants on a pilgrimage, not to a site hallowed in the lore of Nichiren Buddhism, but to the mausoleum of Emperor Jimmu, not far from the city of Nara. There he delivered a four-hour lecture, *Kōso no Kenkoku to Hōge no Taikyō*<sup>48</sup> ('The Founding of the Nation by the Imperial Ancestors and the Great Teachings of Nichiren'). In April of the following year, two months after Japan's attack on Port Arthur had set off the war with Russia, the lecture was published and widely distributed as *Sekai Tōitsu no Tennyō*<sup>49</sup> ('The Heavenly Task of Uniting the World'). As the titles suggest, Tanaka was by this time well along in the process of reinterpreting, 'Nichirenizing', Japan's traditional mythology. Earlier steps in this direction had been the treatise on Buddhist married life in 1894 and the *Shūmon no Ishin* in 1901. The statements of 1903-4, however, constitute a sort of watershed in Tanaka's intellectual development and therefore deserve a fairly detailed examination.

Tanaka found the inspiration for his syncretism in the *Nihongi* rather than in the *Kojiki*, the basis of Motoori Norinaga's<sup>50</sup> rediscovery of Japan's native traditions in the middle of the Tokugawa period. Both of these tendentious eighth-century works deal with Japan's mythological past as history, but the *Nihongi*, in its third chapter, emphasizes the role played by the first emperor, Jimmu,<sup>51</sup> in the conquest of the aboriginal population of the Japanese islands as the 'Yamato' people pushed their way eastward from Kyushu.

From the date when our Heavenly Ancestor descended until now it is over 1,792,470 years. But the remote regions do not yet enjoy the blessings of Imperial rule. Every town has always been allowed to have its lord, and every

<sup>46</sup> *Eifu*, pp. 113 & 115.

<sup>47</sup> Satomi, *Tanaka Chigaku*, p. 374.

<sup>48</sup> 皇宗の建國と本化の大教

<sup>49</sup> 世界統一の天業; see Satomi, *Nihon no*

*Shūhyō*, p. 140.

<sup>50</sup> 本居宣長, 1730-1801.

<sup>51</sup> 神武

village its chief, who, each one for himself, makes division of territory and practises mutual aggression and conflict.

Now I have heard that in the East there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. . . . I think that this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task, so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the centre of the world. . . .<sup>52</sup>

Using these words of Emperor Jimmu as the subject of his exegesis, Tanaka explained that Heaven has appointed one person, Jimmu, to unify the world.<sup>53</sup> The process would not, could not, be aggression therefore, for it was in reality merely the expression of the imperial will, and the Emperor could not under any circumstances be counted an aggressor. In the end, peace would prevail, as the boundaries that divided men fell and all mankind would come to live in unity under the beneficent rule of the Emperor of Japan.<sup>54</sup>

A little later in the third chapter of the *Nihongi*, Emperor Jimmu declares:

Moreover, it will be well to open up and clear the mountains and forests, and to construct a palace. Then I may reverently assume the Precious Dignity, and so give peace to my good subjects. Above, I should then respond to the kindness of the Heavenly Powers in granting me the Kingdom, and below, I should extend the line of the Imperial descendants and foster right-mindedness. Thereafter the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof. . . .<sup>55</sup>

A four-character Chinese compound, pronounced in Japanese *hakkō-ichiu*<sup>56</sup> ('eight cords, one roof'), bears the sense of the last phrase in the quotation, and its interpretation caused Tanaka some trouble. The bald meaning of the final sentence suggests that imperial rule should cover the world and that 'everywhere' (the eight cords) should be united into one universe (a variant meaning of the word 'roof'). In the written version of Tanaka's 1903 lecture, *hakkō* is replaced by the phrase *tenchi*<sup>57</sup> (heaven and earth; the universe; the world), an attempt, perhaps, to simplify the concept for the benefit of readers of limited sophistication. The resulting term, *tenchi-ichiu*, can be interpreted as 'to put the universe under one roof' or 'to unify the world', a fairly straightforward call for territorial expansion. Eventually, in a long, involved explanation of Emperor Jimmu's founding of the nation to which Tanaka devoted a series of addresses in 1912 and 1913, he reverted, almost offhandedly, to the phrase *hakkō-ichiu*, his succinct version of the *Nihongi* wording.<sup>58</sup> This is the origin, it seems, of the slogan adopted by the ultra-nationalists of the 1930s and 1940s, but the phrase was more an expropriation by them than a gift from Tanaka.

<sup>52</sup> W. G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A. D. 697*, Oxford U. P., London, 1956, pp. 110-1.

<sup>53</sup> Watanabe, p. 129.

<sup>54</sup> Satomi, *Nihon no Shihyō*, p. 173; see also

Watanabe, p. 129.

<sup>55</sup> Aston, *Nihongi*, p. 131.

<sup>56</sup> 八紘一字

<sup>57</sup> 天地

<sup>58</sup> sz, I, 1, p. 199.

In his 1903–4 explications of the *Nihongi*, Tanaka made certain other analyses deserving of some comment. In the same paragraph in which the phrase ‘heavenly task’ appears, the *Nihongi* says:

In this gloom, therefore, he fostered justice, and so governed this western border. Our Imperial ancestors, and Imperial parent, like gods, like sages, accumulated happiness and amassed glory.<sup>59</sup>

The casual reader will find little meaning in the phrases ‘accumulated happiness’, ‘amassed glory’, and, from the penultimate sentence in the paragraph, ‘foster rightmindedness’. Tanaka, however, chose to regard them as essential actions in the primordial establishment of *kokutai*,<sup>60</sup> an ethnocentric concept meaning something like ‘national essence’, ‘national polity’, or ‘national structure’. *Kokutai*, in turn, was the fundamental principle upon which Emperor Jimmu accomplished the founding of Japan.

The founding of Japan, however, was not the ‘heavenly task’ (*tengyō*) mentioned in the *Nihongi*. The ‘heavenly task’, i.e., the Emperor’s task, was to spread and unite, as noted above, toward the goal of peace in a world devoid of national boundaries. Peace was impossible as long as the world remained fragmented, and the first step toward the achievement of peace should be the unification of the world.<sup>61</sup>

As Tanaka’s explanation continued, he suggested for the first time the connections between Buddhism and the ‘heavenly task’ described in the *Nihongi*. The analogy, he said, was similar to the role of the historical Buddha in India. Just as Buddha was a manifestation of the *Chakravartin*, the ‘Wheel-turner’, sent to earth to ‘set the wheel of the Law in motion’, so was the imperial line of Japan established to lead the world into the unity that is peace. That the imperial line of Japan should be the instrument of unification was part of the whole world-scheme in which the process of unification moved in a general easterly direction. And the fact that the ruling family of a small country at the far reaches of civilization should be so designated only emphasized that unity was to be realized without aggression, without pillage, theft, and robbery—that it was, indeed, to be unification by righteousness.<sup>62</sup> Tanaka’s reasoning at this point may be questioned in light of earlier comments about ‘aggression’ and the impossibility of any action of a Japanese emperor being anything other than righteous.<sup>63</sup> It is well, nevertheless, to understand that at the very outset of Tanaka’s espousal of nationalism he specifically rejected aggression, whatever its meaning to him, as a means of accomplishing unity and therefore peace.

All the same, Tanaka maintained, it was necessary for Japan to be armed in order to preserve the righteousness which would be the principal weapon of unification. For example, Russia’s ambitions to unite the world were selfish and for the benefit of that country alone, not for the sake of international peace. Further-

<sup>59</sup> Aston, *Nihongi*, p. 110.

<sup>60</sup> 國體

<sup>61</sup> sz, 1, 1, pp. 87–8.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 86–7 & 97.

<sup>63</sup> Satomi, *Nihon no Shihyō*, p. 173.

more, 'Germanism' and imperialism aimed at spreading Christian culture—white culture—and were not true expressions of righteousness. Righteousness, at least in the world of the early twentieth century, was Japan's alone.

The word 'righteousness' has a religious ring to it, but while religion does have the quintessential role to play in the achievement of unity and peace, it could not be Christianity or even traditional Buddhism. The world was in the period of the Latter Days of the Law, and it was already fully evident that the only faith suitable for the times was that of the Lotus Sutra, that is, Nichiren Buddhism.<sup>64</sup> But not, it should be understood, the religion of the Nichiren temples. What the times demanded, and what Tanaka had already called for, was a reformed Nichiren church. Now, for the first time, Tanaka suggested that the new faith should be *Nichirenism* (*Nichiren shugi*)—the principles of Nichiren Buddhism in the context of Japanese nationalism.

This phrase is of great importance, for it became the accepted identification for Tanaka's religio-political theories. *Nichiren shugi* has a somewhat more 'scientific' ring to it than the phrase generally used to designate the established Nichiren order, with its overtones of faith and piety, and it conveys fairly accurately Tanaka's interpretations of the teachings of Nichiren in a context of nationalism. If the nuances are appreciated, *Nichiren shugi* can be said to epitomize Tanaka's thought. The word appears constantly in all of his works after about 1906, and it continues in use today as the official definition of the religion of the *Kokuchūkai*.<sup>65</sup>

Nichirenism, then, was the means of binding Tanaka's patriotism and religion into a logical entity. When Nichiren spoke of Japan's role as the savior of the world (through assertive proselytization of the true faith), he was amplifying and clarifying goals and methods already set forth in the *Nihongi*; his call for an aggressive policy of expansion was a reverberation of the earlier rallying cry of Emperor Jimmu as he headed eastward to subdue the barbarians and spread the culture of the Yamato civilization.

These pronouncements of 1903–4, and especially the first use of 'Nichirenism' to define Tanaka's thought, mark the dividing line, according to the late Satomi Kishio, son of Tanaka Chigaku by his second wife and head of the Satomi Research Institute, between his father's career as an advocate of religion with strong nationalistic emphases and his career as a devotee of a nationalism rooted firmly in religious principles.<sup>66</sup> Thenceforth, Tanaka in almost every speech associated the principles of *Nichiren shugi* with the concepts of *kokutai*, and a clearer understanding of what he meant by the latter may be useful as we attempt a final assessment of his ideas.

What is *Nippon Kokutai*? It is the national substance, national principles, the national form. It is a fundamental social idea, a *Gemeinschaft*, on which the political state and the social system depend for ultimate authority. It is the

<sup>64</sup> sz, I, 1, pp. 87–8 & 90–1.

<sup>65</sup> sz, I, 1, pp. 87–8; see also I, 4, pp. 359–64.

<sup>66</sup> Conversation between Dr Satomi and the author in June 1971. For a discussion of the relationship between Tanaka's religious and

nationalistic impulses, see Shioda Gison 塩田義遜, 'Tanaka Chigaku Koji no Gyōseki to sono Kyōgaku' 田中智学居士の行蹟とその教学, in *Ōsaki Gakuhō* 大崎学報, 112, December 1970, pp. 50–4.

moral path which enables Japan alone to transmit universal justice to posterity.<sup>67</sup> It is not a form of government. A country without *kokutai* is an unfinished country; it is founded on no principles, its basis is military or industrial power, and its people live parasitic lives which are totally dependent upon arms and money. But the case of Japan is quite different. Japan is a unique country, for alone among the nations it is based upon *kokutai*. It exemplifies ideal peace, and its heavenly task is to spread the truth of *kokutai*.<sup>68</sup>

The substance of *kokutai*, Tanaka asserted, could be divided into three constituents: 1. Happiness (the sum of national blessing accumulated by ancestors); 2. Wisdom (the sum of national wisdom amassed by ancestors); and 3. Right (the sum of national loyalty cultivated by the imperial descendants).<sup>69</sup> ('Glory' is sometimes used in place of 'wisdom', 'righteousness' in place of 'right'.) These ideas, amplifications of Tanaka's interpretation of the *Nihongi*, suggest that by and large his basic nationalistic inclinations were probably fixed as early as the 1903 speech in which he alluded to the same three principles.<sup>70</sup>

Japan's 'heavenly task' was, Tanaka declared, from the outset not limited to the islands of Japan alone; the departure of Emperor Jimmu for the east marked the beginning of Japan's movement into the world at large. The country was, indeed, founded for the benefit of the whole world, and it was not too much to say that Perry's arrival was a call upon Japan to distribute abroad the blessings of its unique moral qualities. The world began and ended with Japan, and if the country were truly understood, mankind would exist in peace and harmony.<sup>71</sup>

Tanaka then went into considerable detail concerning the idea of the 'Way', as in Taoism. Confucius spoke of the concept as meaning little more than 'the way men go', but in much of Chinese philosophy and in Chinese-influenced Japanese thought, the word bears metaphysical implications. Tanaka's interpretation had to do with the mystical *ōdō*,<sup>72</sup> the 'Kingly Way', which, Tanaka asserted, had become manifest fact in the imperial rule of Japan, the 'Way of the *Tennō*'. It was the former 'way' which Japan had to explain and expound, for the Way of the Emperor was unique and unexportable. An example of the Kingly Way in action, maintained Tanaka in 1935, was the establishment (in 1932) of the state of Manchukuo, and from there the Kingly Way was to expand, first into China and then throughout the world. The moving force and model should, of course, be Japan, with the Way of the Emperor a perfect, if unreach-able, example of the Kingly Way. Just as anyone who followed the Buddha could become a Buddha himself, so any country could become a land of 'peace and ease' if it followed the Kingly Way as exemplified by Japan.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup> This summation of Tanaka's interpretation of *kokutai* is based upon the English translation (by Satomi Kishio, among others) of a series of articles published in 1935 designed to present the full range of Tanaka's thoughts on the subject. Presented by the *Kokuchūkai* as a gift to major libraries throughout the world, the volume is titled *What is Nippon Kokutai?*

*Introduction to Nipponese National Principles*, Shishi-ō Bunko, 1936.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 6, 10-11, 23-4 & 27.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>70</sup> See above, pp. 000-000.

<sup>71</sup> *What is Nippon Kokutai?*, pp. 48-54 & 56.

<sup>72</sup> 王道

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73-7 & 79.



But Japan had to be more than a model; she had also to take positive measures. Expansion there had to be, for this was the country's heavenly task. It had to take place step by step, beginning with Japan's near neighbors. The annexation of Korea, for instance, was a prelude to that movement into Manchuria for which Japan was 'naturally destined'. And once Manchukuo had been securely established, China was sure to request Japan to share with it the peace which Manchukuo exemplified. From there it was but a matter of time before England, Russia, France, and America would emulate China and enroll themselves as followers of Japan's enlightened leadership. Japan was, after all, founded to guide the world to peace, and the world was dutybound to fall in line.<sup>74</sup>

The actual work of bringing the nations of the world to the day of peace involved two stages: the first, 'spiritual absorption' (the extension of *kokutai* in order to enlighten the minds of men); and the second, 'military pacification' (a sort of negative guarantee of justice through Japan's control of the 'lawless and disobedient' people of the world). The peace which was the final goal called for the submission of the entire planet to the beneficent overlordship of the Emperor of Japan. To this end, every country save Japan should be disarmed, and only the exemplar, the one region already enjoying the sublimity which was the Way of the Emperor, could be allowed to make decisions affecting the rest of mankind.<sup>75</sup>

### *Assessment*

What is one to make of this epitome of Tanaka Chigaku's nationalism? Can a modern man, sophisticated in a way and certainly aware of the general trend of international developments, seriously suggest, as Tanaka did, that Japan's role is to expand, that such expansion amounts to the spreading of 'peace', and that force might be used to accomplish this end if the ignorant nations did not voluntarily seek out Japan's guidance? The answer is affirmative, but makes sense only when Tanaka's nationalism is placed in the religious context from which he never removed it. Like other outspoken Japanese patriots, Tanaka accepted without serious question the sacerdotal nature of the state, its uniquely inspired leadership, and the justice of its claim to absolute authority over Japan. Like a good many followers of Nichiren Buddhism, Tanaka furthermore found in his faith satisfactory rationalization for acquiescence in (or support of) his government's policies.

Tanaka's claim to originality as a thinker lay in his positive attempts at syncretism: the Shinto and Nichiren Buddhist backgrounds of modern Japan's secular policy were so intertwined as to be inseparably bound together. They had to be regarded as a duality, each part of which was dependent upon the other. *Kokutai*, then, was as much dependent upon Japan's unique form of Buddhism as upon Shinto for its philosophical underpinnings, and while Tanaka never deprecated those whose religious inclinations comprised Shinto alone (witness his

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 204-6 & 294.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 328 & 321-4.

eneration of Emperor Meiji), he offered in *Nichiren shugi* widened horizons within which Buddhists might fully share in their uniquely Japanese (Shinto) heritage. What is *Nippon kokutai*? It is what modern Japanese authorities were involved in as they established footholds on the Asian mainland, planned further expansion, and, in general, attempted to spread the glory of the Kingly Way. And, Tanaka asserted, all of this was as fully justified by Nichiren Buddhism as it was by Shinto.

It is doubtful whether Tanaka would have seen his most important achievement as something as nebulous as a kind of religio-political synthesis of Shinto and Nichiren Buddhism. He might rather have taken more pride in his successful efforts to have 3 November set aside as a national holiday honoring Emperor Meiji.<sup>76</sup> And as far as personal gratification goes, nothing, surely, could have pleased Tanaka more than the 1935 invitation to visit Manchukuo and lecture before Emperor Pu-yi.<sup>77</sup>

One might well argue that Tanaka Chigaku's principal importance lies not so much in what he said but in whom he influenced. Although most of his followers were humble folk, rather far down on the ladder of success, however it might be measured, a fairly large, and surprisingly varied, group of important people counted themselves among his disciples: Takayama Chogyū,<sup>78</sup> who though tragically short-lived is now reckoned to have been one of the Meiji period's pre-eminent scholars; Anesaki Masaharu,<sup>79</sup> perhaps Japan's most influential interpreter of Buddhism to Western readers; Miyazawa Kenji,<sup>80</sup> a farmer-poet of sublime genius; Inoue Nisshō,<sup>81</sup> a radical terrorist active in a number of ultra-nationalist plots in the 1930s; and Ishiwara Kanji,<sup>82</sup> an army officer who regarded the Mukden Incident, which he helped plan, as the first stage in the spreading of the Kingly Way throughout the world.

But what inspired these people and led to the achievements in which Tanaka took pride was Nichirenism, and so we return to the paradoxical fact that what makes Tanaka, basically anti-intellectual, important derives from his scholarship. Like other Buddhists, Tanaka was able to find in the teachings of Nichiren, with their chauvinistic overtones, ample support for the secular government of Japan. But he went beyond this, and it was in his ideas of syncretism, his reinterpretation of Nichiren Buddhism in Shinto terms, that he made his unique contribution to modern Japanese life. He imbued Buddhism with a nationalistic bias that made it possible not only for an individual believer to support his political leaders unswervingly, but for the Buddhist church itself, as a vehicle to facilitate the achievement of political ends, to assert itself positively in the secular world from which it had long been excluded. The impact of Nichirenism upon mainstream Nichiren Buddhism cannot be accurately measured, but it was certainly felt.

<sup>76</sup> *Eifu*, pp. 121–3.

<sup>77</sup> 溥儀. Satomi, *Nihon no Shihyō*, p. 194; see also *Eifu*, p. 26.

<sup>78</sup> 高山樗牛, 1871–1902.

<sup>79</sup> 姉崎正治, 1873–1949.

<sup>80</sup> 宮澤賢治, 1896–1933.

<sup>81</sup> 井上日召, 1886–1967.

<sup>82</sup> 石原莞爾, 1889–1949.

During the course of his last illness, Tanaka rallied sufficiently one day to address a youth meeting at the *Kokuchūkai* headquarters. What he said was to be one of his last public utterances:

I am not equipped to be anyone's teacher. I am neither a scholar nor a man of character. Nor am I a modern Nichiren. For more than fifty years, day and night without pause, I have been expounding *Nippon kokutai*, but this is something that any citizen could do. Moreover, the things I have done to spread Nichirenism could be done by any Nichiren believer. From the time I was nineteen years old I have been involved with things as they were, removed from both academics and scholarship. From the time I was nineteen years old I have made no advances in either scholarship or virtue; I have no qualifications at all to be anyone's leader. The one who is speaking to you takes you by the hand and teaches you nothing. Yet you look upon him as a matchless teacher. . . .<sup>83</sup>

The quotation provides a touch of humility and humaneness rarely encountered in Tanaka's voluminous bibliography. His education was, as he says, inadequate; his scholarship was, in its lack of critical analysis and urbanity, inexact and one-dimensional. But Tanaka was a man of his times, and his contribution to modern Japanese life, measured against contemporaneous standards, should assure him a secure position within that group of men who helped in an important, if indirect, way to provide the context within which the leaders of government were able to achieve many of their goals.

<sup>83</sup> Yanagida Shōmaro 柳田捷磨, 'Seika-kai no Seiritsu to Shimei' 精華会の成立と使命, in | Ōdō Bunka 王道文化, 272 (1949), p. 55.