

FUKUZAWA YUKICHI AND AHMET MITHAT EFENDI:
***A Comparative Study of the Two Leading Figures of Modernization
in Japan and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century***

İbrahim Öztürk
B.A. in Economics. Boğaziçi University, 1992

***Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
History.***



Boğaziçi University
1995

To the memory of the "Broken Bridges" in Bosnia, 1994

***"Lakin kalacak doğduğumuz toprağa bizden
şimşek gibi bir hatıra nal seslerimizden."
Yahya Kemal Bey'atli***

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank Selçuk Esenbel, my thesis supervisor, my teacher and source of guidance and vision.

My deep gratitude goes also to Zafer Toprak for his encouragements in his earlier lectures and in the course of this study.

My special thanks are also due to Hakan Erdem for many valuable discussions, contributions and comments.

Finally, It should express the best of my feelings due to my wife's continuous support, encouragement and, particularly for her patience.

ABSTRACT

The subject matter of this thesis is a comparative study of the two prominent figures of the modernization attempts of the nineteenth century Japan and the Ottoman Empire, namely Fukuzawa Yukichi and Ahmet Mithat Efendi respectively. From the view point the current research agenda, their thoughts on the concepts of civilization, progress, science, economics, independence and freedom was examined. Besides their critical approach to their civilizations, their related prescriptions for the existing backwardness were also discussed.

ÖZET

Bu tez, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Japonya ve Osmanlı devletlerinin geçirmiş oldukları tecrübelerin öncü isimleri olan Fukuzawa Yukichi ile Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin mukayeseli analizini içeren bir entellektüel tarih çalışmasıdır. Bu çalışmanın içeriği sözü edilen yazarların Batı ve kendi medeniyetlerine bakış açılarını, değerlendirme ve eleştirilerini içermektedir. Bu konuyu açıklığa kavuşturmak üzere diğer ilgili kavramlar olan gelişme, modernleşme, iktisat, bilim, bağımsızlık ve özgürlük gibi çağın modernleşme gündemini yoğun olarak oluşturan konular da ele alındı. Çalışmada sadece onların kendi medeniyetlerine olan eleştirel bakışları ile Batı'yı değerlendirmeleri analiz edilmemiş, aynı zamanda kendi toplumlarının geri kalmışlığı üzerine geliştirdikleri projeler de mukayeseli olarak tahlil edilmiştir.

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgement</i>	III
<i>Abstract</i>	IV
<i>Kısa Özet</i>	V
<i>Table of Contents</i>	VI-VII

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION..... 1-10

CHAPTER II: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON JAPAN..... 11-24

2.1. <i>Prelude to Modernization: Tokugawa Heritage</i>	11
2.2. <i>The Meiji Restoration</i>	13
2.2.a- <i>Charter Oath: The Principles of Modernization</i>	14
2.2.b- <i>Organization of Government and Reform Movements</i>	14
2.2.c- <i>Resistance to the Imperial Order</i>	15
2.2.-d- <i>Reconsolidation of the Order and the Era of Unequal Treaties</i>	16
2.3. <i>Intellectual Environmet</i>	17
2.3.a- <i>Modernization Or Westernization</i>	17
2.3.b- <i>Westernization Versus Japanism and Asianism</i>	19
2.3.c- <i>Iwakura Mission (1871)</i>	20
2.3.d- <i>Meirokeisha (Meiji Six Society)</i>	22

CHAPTER III: FUKUZAWA YUKICHI AND HIS THOUGHTS..... 23-54

3.1.a- <i>A Short Biography of Fukuzawa</i>	25
3.1.b- <i>Major Books of Fukuzawa</i>	27
3.1.c- <i>Fukuzawa's "True Mission" in Life</i>	28
3.2. <i>THE PHILOSOPHY OF FUKUZAWA</i>	29
3.2.a- <i>The Copcept of CiviliZation in Fukuzawa</i>	31
3.2.b- <i>The Role of State in the Progress of CiviliZation</i>	36
3.2 <i>Education</i>	38
3.2.d- <i>Learning and the Virtue of Agent's Independence</i>	40
3.2.e- <i>Economics as aPart of "Heaven Made Laws"</i>	44
3.2.f- <i>Community of Nations</i>	47
3.2.g- <i>Back To Japan and Nationalism</i>	48

CHAPTER IV: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE OTTOMAN	
EMPIRE	55-65
<i>IV.1. The Classical Structure of the Ottoman State.....</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>IV.2. Economic Doctrine: Regulated and Restricted Accumulation Regime...56</i>	
<i>IV.3. Surroundings of Modernization.....</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>IV.4. Tanzimat: Period of Modernization (1789-19089).....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>IV.4.a- The Anglo-Ottoman Treaty (1838).....</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>IV.4.b- The Tanzimat (New Order).....</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>IV.4.c- Ottoman Public Debt Administration.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>IV.4.d- Meşrutiyet (The First Constitution) and Abdülhamid II.....</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>IV.4.e- Young Ottoman Movement.....</i>	<i>63</i>
 CHAPTER V: AHMET MITHAT EFENDI AND HIS THOUGHTS.....	 66-97
<i>V.1. A Short Biography of Ahmet Mithat.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>V.1.a- Life in Balkans: Early Experience of the Real Politics.....</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>V.1.b- Life in the Middle East: Encounter With Eastern Civilisation</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>V.1.c- Back to Istanbul: Towards the Synthesis of the East and the West...68</i>	
<i>V.1.d- Ahmet Mithat's Major Books and Novels.....</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>V.2.e- Ahmet Mithat's Mission as an Intellectual</i>	<i>72</i>
V.2-PHILOSOPHY OF AHMET MITHAT.....	73
<i>V.2.a- Civilization.....</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>V.2.b- Progress, Science and Technology.....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>V.2.c- Nationalism of Ahmet Mithat</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>V.2.e- Education and Learning.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>V.2.f- Constrained Freedom.....</i>	<i>86</i>
<i>V.2.g- The Nature of Economics and the Ottoman Economic System.....</i>	<i>88</i>
 CHAPTER VI: A COMPARISON OF FUKUZAWA AND AHMET MITHAT..	 98
 CHAPTER VII: CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	 111-113
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	114-118

I. INTRODUCTION

The efforts to compare Turkish and Japanese processes of modernization already undertaken by several scholars provide us with a lot of valuable information¹. However, there is yet space for comparative studies on intellectual history in both societies, as such a comparison has crucial importance for the understanding of the nature of their drives for modernization.

In this study, therefore, I will try to focus upon the ideas of two leading figures namely Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Fukuzawa Yukichi in the Ottoman and Japanese Empires respectively. This study is based on the belief that the situations of the Ottoman Empire and Japan are comparable because of the fact that both countries were obliged to make modernizing reforms for the sake of evading the threat of Western imperialist ambitions during the nineteenth century, though with highly practical purposes.

The rationale for my preference of choosing these two intellectuals is that both of them were the authors of voluminous books and articles. They also made good use of the most effective means of communications of their times. They wrote columns and became even the publisher of their own newspapers and periodicals. They lectured at several adifferent universities or high schools. Both of them were also known as the pioneer of private education in their countries. Furthermore they did not hesitate to make journeys in their countries or abroad, to make speeches in public during ceremonies and inaugurations, whenever they were given that chance. Since both of them preferred to write the simplest possible way, their books were sold and read by hundreds and thousands of people. They, thus, could reach all the social strata with the purpose of illuminating them about the newer agenda and outcomes of the Western civilization.

In fact, in this sense both Ahmet Mithat and Fukuzawa became the teachers of their nations. The most effective writers and thinkers of the late modernization era were guided by their lectures and books. In sum, their lives enable us to understand the nature of change and transformation in both societies from a wider perspective.

The main concern of this study is to analyse the views of these intellectuals on the grounds of their perceptions of modernization, civilization and thus transformation in this order. Since the focus of attention is on the notion of civilization associated with the enlightenment period in the West, we preferred to highlight the background and the

nature of modernization process and of The Industrial Revolution as a driving force behind modernity.

1.1-The Industrial Revolution and Modernization

Modernization is a process by which historically evolved institutions are adopted to the rapidly changing function that reflected the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution. Intellectually, "modernization involves a new way of looking at the self and the world or environment and concerns the application of science to the practical affairs of man in the form of technology"². As Roger puts it modernization is a process by which individuals become "psychologically nontraditional"³.

A proper conceptualization of the term "modern", for Huffman, requires to involve two factors. "First, a modern (or modernizing) society values *secular rationality* and the *scientific approach* to learning and other. In other words, the *accumulation of knowledge* and the *ordering of institutions* in the modern society depend on *empirical observation* and the exercise of rational thought rather than on uncritical acceptance of divine revelation or tradition. In such societies people generally *control nature* rather than the reverse. Education is basically *secular*, scientific, and empirical"⁴.

In short, a broad specification for modernization encapsulates such qualities as rationality, rise of productivity, higher levels of living, social-economic equalization, improved institutions and attitudes (which include such characteristics as efficiency, diligence, orderliness, and productivity), national consolidation and independence, and political democracy. Sometimes, the concepts of modernization and Westernization overlap each other and thus used interchangeably. The initial theory of modernization might be called "the theory of convergence" in the sense that its proponents argues that the ultimate end of any project of progressive modernization will end up with Western type of organization, institutions, social structure and even the same individual patterns. The modernizationist theory since the second World War however emphasized structural changes instead of cultural or normative ones toward the Western model. Esenbel criticizes this convergence that was set forth by the proponents of modernization as follows:

Here the emphasis has been trying to “unravel the more internal or covert structural processes of the emergence of modernity in any given society regardless of the differences of political ideology or culture... The use of the term modernization frequently ended up again seeing as modern only that which was explainable in terms of structural similarities to the idea of industrial society and the nation-state...The underlying assumption of this argument is that modernizing societies and the West will share a universal historical agenda but will not necessarily share the same cultural outlook...The structuralist approach of the term usually ended up placing secondary importance to issues of ideology such as individual rights and democracy as a part of modernity"

It would not be considered an exaggeration to argue, thus, that the modernization project proposes a deterministic chain for the convergence to the Western type of societies, mostly, as an ideal quest of human being, as being firmly advocated in Comptean positivism. It should be important research agenda to discuss to what extent attempts of modernization would allow the survival of the subjective elements of a nation.

1.2-Impact of the The Industrial Revolutionon the Rest of the World

The heritage of the the Industrial Revolutionwas a set of interrelated concepts that characterized that era and the preceding developments all over the world. These concepts constitute the characteristic of the current practice and related literature as well. These are modernity, positive science, private ownership of the means of production factors, world-wide market transactions and the like. A combination of these factors resulted in worldly capitalism. We mean by capitalism an economy-wide or national system in which private ownership of the means of production and market transactions of labor, resources and products are integrated with all production process and sectors; that is they are the dominant or prevailing modes of ownership and transaction. In such economies, the price mechanism is the pivotal mode of allocating resources, outputs and incomes.

"The core of the Industrial Revolution, *machine technology*, and *national market integration*, affected all sectors of life, both private and public, domestic and foreign, spiritual and secular, the family and society, politics and the professions. The social and political consequences of machines and markets were as profound as their material consequences. Though material benefits of the developments initiated by The Industrial Revolution were enormous in terms of economic output, incomes, consumption is explicit, its damaging consequences were also enormous. Machines and markets produced massive urbanization and its cultural, psychological damages, sporadic unemployment, the vastly increased destructiveness of war and the less tangible nastiness one nervously calls *alienation*"⁵.

Impact of the Industrial Revolution on the rest of the world was not a uniform and unidimensional process but rather resulted in different structures. Most of the countries' traditional structures of family, culture, religious attitudes, economic and political structures changed deeply. Economically, some countries made a great push in international conjuncture whereas some countries of the periphery were integrated with the center countries of the West. Some revolutionary political change had taken place in several countries. In the second half of the 19th century, the Ottoman, Russian and Japanese Empires which were militarily weak compared to the now industrialized powers of Western Europe and America, intensified their efforts of industrialization. One consequence of the first The Industrial Revolution, was to induce the Russians, the Ottomans and the Japanese to intensify their economic development in response to the threats of military importance and colonial domination. Another consequence was a new wave of imperialism throughout the 19th century.

1.3- Modernization Efforts in Japan and the Ottoman Empire

By the turn of the 19th century both the Japanese and the Ottomans Empire had realized the necessity of change. The main impetus behind the movements to modernize Japan and the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, however, was purely practical. It was the need to master the Western scientific techniques in such a way as to make both countries strong and wealthy enough to stand up to the threat of the Western aggression and exploitation. For that reason modernization efforts had taken place in the military rather than in other sectors such as education or social realm. The reasonable thinking behind such an attitude towards modernization was that if both societies were to avoid the humiliating fate of being the slaves of Western imperialism they should have had large guns, and large ships. With the passage of time, however, they came to realize that for a full-fledged modernization it was also necessary to have social organization other than the traditional system which had existed in the past. In general, both the approaches of Japan and the Ottoman Empire to the agenda of modernization were not the same concerning the contents of reform packages, their implementation including timing and sequence for the reasons to be explained in the following sections. The initial attitude of states to the need for change was described by Tonybee as follows;

"Whenever a weak and inefficient society comes suddenly in close contact with a society that is strong and vigorous and effective, there are two alternatives and contrary lines along which its members may react towards this dangerous and nervously distracting situation. Either they may fortify themselves in the citadel of their own past and thus attempt to break contact with the disturbing intrusive forces and withdraw into isolation, or else they may accept the fact that the alien civilization is more potent than theirs and has come to stay, and make up their minds to meet a situation which they can not avoid by attempting to adjust themselves to it and reach a *modus vivendi* between their own tradition and the new order which is taken their kingdom by storm. The latter is the rational course and it was this on the course that the Ottoman reforms embarked from the movement they resolved to Westernize their military system (a step which involved the eventual Westernization of their life as a whole). However, the rational attitude is not characteristics of mankind in the mass, and even of most leaders of men, except for brief periods in the history of progressive societies. In a sudden crises men tend to act on instinct colored by emotion. They take refuge in the religion of their fathers and call on the God of their fathers to save this servant who keep his law..."⁶

Generally, the need for modernization was realized and accepted both in the Ottoman and Japanese states. The most disputed point, however, was not on the agenda to change or not, but presumably on the direction, speed and scope of change. What were the ultimate objectives of that change? Some important scholars began to declare that guns, battleships and a new form of government organization were not enough. It was also necessary to understand the idea which in the West had led to the appearance of these things and institutions. For the proper understanding of the disputes and the nature of modernization process we have chosen the two most prominent figures of modernization efforts in Japan and the ottoman Empire. As Esenbel puts, "their decisions throughout the 19th century had a lot to do with creating the eclectic world which shaped the general public in the elitist character of decision-making for the top down reform experiences of Japan and Turkey..."⁷.

1.3.a- A Short Outlook of Japan

During the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), due to more than two hundred years of domestic peace, not only feudal class differentiation had begun to lose its originally-expected function but also could established the ground for modernization in the country. First of all, the samurai, originally warriors were forced to live in the big cities, leaving their provinces, and they engaged themselves in bureaucracy as a sort of civil servant.

Second, in the period of isolation Japan with the only door left open to the outside world in the port Nagasaki where the Dutch and the Chinese were allowed to trade with Japan for more than two hundred years. In this city, Fukuzawa could find the chance of realizing that the world outside Japan itself was changing and Dutch studies also contributed to this end very much. They understood well the necessity of Western learning even before the change in international politics of the Far East brought by the Opium War between Britain and China in 1838 to which Japanese attention was first directed officially. In the period of isolation, furthermore, a nation was created and their characteristics are based on *conservatism*, *loyalism*, and *subordination*. In this period, national *harmony* increased, a *homogenous* society emerged which constituted the very bases of a strong nation state, as one of the preconditions of Capitalism.

In 1868 the Tokugawa rule was overthrown by the people who had been militantly opposed to the capitulationist attitude of the Shoguns toward the foreigners in 1858 when Japan had been forced to end isolationist policy due to Western pressure. The new government was decisive in establishing a modern state with the full application of Western civilization. This event is called the Meiji Restoration because the responsibility for administration was returned formally to Emperor Meiji, although the young leaders were clearly in command. The organization of a Western-style administrative system, abolition of feudal domains, land tax reforms were the first tasks of the new government. There were a lot of other reforms to be made for the creation of a modern Japan. Among them was the establishment of modern educational system. Training of able bureaucrats who would support the new administrative organs and the spread of general education throughout Japan by which the spirit of national solidarity would be nurtured were among the urgent businesses for the new government.

As a result of her modernization process, by the end of 19th century Japan ranked among the foremost powers of the world.

1.3-b A Short Outlook of the Ottoman Empire

Unlike Japan, in the Ottoman system there was no radical class differentiation in the sense of mid-century Feudal Europe or the Japanese caste system⁸. Ottoman Empire was a completely heterogeneous country inhabited by a lot of non-Muslims. This was the result of continuous territorial expansion which was the driving force of the Empire⁹. The

people of conquered lands were allowed to remain non-Muslims on the condition that they paid the required extra tax for non-Muslims. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Empire had been a powerful and efficient state.

The Ottoman army, which had been feared by the West, had gradually displayed its weakness before the modern military technology of the Westerners, who had in the meantime gained a great amount of wealth since the discovery of the new international trade routes passing through the Atlantic and Indian seas. By the second half of the eighteenth century the superiority of the Western military technology had become so obvious that the Ottoman Empire had to accept this and decided to undertake first measures for reforms. they tend to question even the most fundamental criteria of values and institutions. The most explicit symptom of the Ottoman decline was the series of defeats before Russia, and other European countries.

In this failure both internal and external factors played a mutually reinforcing role. During the 19th century Ottoman society attached special importance to the Western values as a part of its reform process that linked its historical experiences to the history of West. Both terms Westernization and modernization emphasize the role of Western culture in the general transformation of societies for the achievement of an industrial state, the emergence of capitalism, the establishment of centralized nation state, a secular educational system , and the assimilation of secular law and legal reforms¹⁰.

1.4-Merits and Demerits of Modernization in Japan and in the Ottoman Empire

When we consider Japan, it is obvious that Japan had three major advantages in realizing modernizing reforms. These could be named as, *first*, the uniformity of Japan's population which enabled it to be a nation state, contrary to the heterogeneity of the Ottomans due to the *millet system*. That is, whereas nationalism provided the Japanese state with an integrative and directive ideology, this was impossible for the Ottoman Empire and in fact the winds of nationalism emanating from Europe had already caught the heterogeneous Empire in a precarious balance of competing aspirations. *Second*, geographical insularity and thus the chance of pursuing autonomous and independent development trajectories, the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, was burdened with the "infrastructure of dependency"¹¹. And, *thirdly*, political isolation of Japan from the outside world; whereas the history of the Ottoman Empire had been intricately

interwoven into the shifts and vagaries of international politics from the very beginning.

The Japanese economy had attained maturity to a certain extent during the two hundred years' of peace, whereas the Ottoman Empire's military expenses required for incessant wars were among the central factors of its decline. Being an insular country, people living in Japan were almost homogenous and so the formation of national solidarity was far easier than the case of the Ottoman Empire where the nationalistic movements of the non-Muslims became an obstacle to the foundation of a modern nation. Being situated in the far east part of Asia, Japan was the last country that reached the imperialist ambitions of the Western Powers. Therefore Japan was allowed some time to observe what had happened in other Asian countries and sought some countermeasures. That was why the new government was able to concentrate itself upon internal reforms soon after the Restoration. For the Ottoman Empire wars against the European countries had been an inevitable affair and when the Empire began to be decline it became one of the best targets for Western imperialism¹².

1.5- An Overview of the Study

After this introductory chapter, the *second* chapter analyses the heritage of the Tokugawa period to illuminate the sort of environment faced by the modernizing Meiji leadership. While analyzing the major modernization efforts during the Imperial restoration, particular emphasis is given to the developments in intellectual cycles with the purpose of a proper understanding of the nature of Fukuzawa's environment. The *third chapter*, thus, analyses Fukuzawa with a particular emphasis on his views of civilization both in Japan and the West, needs for modernizing education, government, science, learning. In this chapter his thoughts on economic, community of nations and nationalism was also examined.

The *fourth chapter* highlights the ground in which the ideas of Ahmet Mithat were shaped. Before shifting our attention on the views of Ahmet Mithat Efendi, a summary of the classical Ottoman Empire is given, and a short perspective on the nature of problems and reformation attempts in the Ottoman Empire is given. The *fifth chapter*, analyses the philosophy of Ahmet Mithat. In this study I have also tried to confine my attention to the similar texts that both Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat Efendi emphasized.

For example, Ahmet Mithat's central arguments did not concern the political affairs of his day. Thus Fukuzawa's political analyses and views were omitted.

Constraints of the Study: It should, also, be worth noting the major constraints I faced in the course of this study. Although the majority of Fukuzawa's writings were translated into English and available in most of the European libraries, it is difficult to say the same about Ahmet Mithat's writings. Perhaps, for this reason there are not enough studies on Ahmet Mithat while several detailed studies are available when Fukuzawa is considered. Eventually it was unfortunate for me not be able to get any help or direction from any studies on Ahmet Mithat. Needless to say that this situation has both pros and cons. The major difficulty is that Ahmet Mithat's language was the early 19th century Ottoman Turkish. This means that he was writing before the attempts of simplifications in the language and thus is difficult to understand and translate into English.

The *sixth chapter* of the study gives a comparison of both Ahmet Mithat and Fukuzawa with a particular emphasis on the texts that were included in the previous chapters. The *final chapter* concerns the major conclusions that I reached in the course of this study.

NOTES

¹ Ward, R.E. and Rustow, D.A. (eds.) , *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* , (Princeton Un. Press, Princeton, 1964), Trimberger, E.K., *Revolution From Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development In Japan, Turkey, Egypt, And Peru*, (Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ, 1978); Esenbel, Selçuk, "The Anguish of Civilized Behavior: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century", in *Japan Review*, 1994, 5, pp.145-185

²Hane, M.(1983) "Agrarian Japan and Modernization" in Wray and Conroy (eds.) *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Un. Of Hawai Press, Hondolulu), pp.26-34.

³Huffman, J. L. (1983) "Take of Time for Modern Japan" in Wray and Conroy(eds.), pp. 18-26.

⁴Huffman, p.23.

⁵Clough, S. B., *European Economic History: The Economic Development of Western Civilization*, (London, McGraw-Hill, Inc.,1968).

Dalton, G., *Economic Systems and Society*, (New York, Penguin Education, 1975).

⁶ Arnold J.Toynbee and Kenneth D. Kirkwood, Turkey, quoted in Mardin, Ş. *The Young Ottoman Movement*,Dissertation proposal, (Xerok University, Michigan, U.S.A., 1958),p.85.

⁷Esenbel, p.147.

⁸The ongoing debate among the social scientists on the issue of the existence of classes in the Ottoman society is not our concern in this study. However, it might be convenient to underline that it depends on the purpose and definition of scholar. For instance, Kemal Tahir firmly reject the idea of class structure in the Ottoman Society. In his view, Ottoman society was a monolithic order with a full reconciliation and compromise from the upper to the lower segments of the society. Divitçioğlu , on the other hand, assert that class structure was one of the realities of Ottoman Society, though it differs from its conventional counterparts in the history of the Western Europe. His definition of class structure based on the appropriation of value added. For these analyses see, Kırbaş D., *Osmanlı Toplum Düzeni ve Kemal .r (Ottoman Social Order and Kemal Tahir)*.(Istanbul, Arba, 1987); Küçükömer, İdris, *Düzenin Yabancılaşması (The Alienation of the Order)*, (Istanbul , Alan Yayıncılık, 1989)

⁹ In the Islamic dominated terminology this goal was called as "ıla-yı kelimetullah" meaning the expansion and propagation of Islamic message in all over the world.

¹⁰ This definition is due to Esenbel, p. 146.

¹¹ İnalçık, H., "The Nature of Traditional Society" in Rustow and Ward, p.62.

¹²Ward and Rustow, *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, p. 438.

II. A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON JAPAN

II. 1. Prelude To Modernization: The Tokugawa Legacy

The pre-modernization period of Japan could be named as the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). Tokugawa was the Shogun, that was the head of the Japanese feudal hierarchy. Actual political power was totally in the hands of Shogun and yet the Shogun was formally a military servant of the emperor who was responsible for the peace and security of the whole nation. And so it was the emperor who was the formal sovereign. Of course the emperor's sovereignty was merely a symbolic one but it had been the Japanese political practice to maintain this symbolic status of the emperor. During the Tokugawa period, Japan was governed by feudalism. The whole nation was divided into four classes, the samurai class ruled as the leading social class with top ranking privileges while farmers, artisans, and merchants were at the bottom of the social hierarchy. However due to more than two hundred years of domestic peace this class differentiation had begun to lose its original function. The samurais, originally warriors, were forced to live in the big cities, leaving their provinces, and they engaged themselves in bureaucracy as civil servants.

During the early seventeenth century Japan's rulers had decided to isolate their country from the outside world, aiming at omitting all the foreign elements that might have threatened domestic political stability. Not only the wars against foreign countries but also foreign merchants who would penetrate the Japanese economy or religious missionaries who would threaten the moral unification were considered disadvantageous for domestic peace. Thus Japan became an isolated country with the only door left open to the outside world in the port of Nagasaki through Dutch books. Therefore the integration of Japan to the world was banned since the beginning of the Tokugawa period due to "seclusionist" policies of feudal sovereignty, which came to end by the end of the Tokugawa period and the Meiji Restoration in 1868. It worth noting that during this period of isolation quite a few scholars and several feudal lords were informed of the changing atmosphere of the world. They understood well the necessity of Western learning even before the change in international politics of the Far East brought by the

Opium War between Britain and China in 1838 to which Japanese attention was first directed officially.

During the Tokugawa period some fundamental changes had occurred in the Confucian belief system as well as other fields such as economic and political relations. Japanese Confucianism that was originally adopted from China reinforced an ideological support for the existing system through the *loyalty* to the ruler. More important than this was the creation of new Japanese style Confucian doctrine. This is known as the 'Land of Gods' doctrine. This was a radical nationalistic reaction to the Chinese doctrine of "Center of the World"¹. Japanese style Confucian doctrine eventually turned out to stress “ (1) loyalty to the state, (2) filial piety to one's parents, (3) faith towards friends, and (4) respect towards one's elders. As a result of this transformation in Confucianism, a doctrine was established with the major principles of *conservatism*, *loyaltism*, and *subordination*. In the long duration of Tokugawa reign, social integrity was achieved, national *harmony* increased within the country and thus a *homogenous* society was created which constituted the very bases of a strong nation state.

In 1844, King William II of Holland dispatched a letter to the Shogun of Japan warning him that the quickening pace of world events made continuance of the Japanese policy of national seclusion both unwise and untenable. The development of the steam navigation, for one thing, now enabled the ships of the Western countries readily to penetrate the most distant waters of the world. Therefore, Japan could not expect to remain aloof from the world affairs much longer.

Facing the overwhelming military superiority of the West, treaties were signed with Western countries and trade resumed in the period 1853-1858. In the immediate aftermath of messages from the Western countries, the agenda both among the leading elites and intellectuals concentrated on to what extent the country should be open to the foreigners. In 1854, the U.S. fleet or the "black ships" anchored off Uraga, a port near the capital Edo (today's Tokyo) under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry. Japan was forced to abandon seclusionism which had lasted for two hundred years. Perry achieved the first objective through the signing of a *Treaty of Friendship (1854)*. According to this "unequal treaty" (or enforced concessions) Japan would open its two ports to American ships and permitting a certain amount of closely regulated trade. An

American consul was also permitted to reside at Shimoda, and it was stipulated that any new concession granted to other Western countries would automatically apply to the United States as well. This provided for an exchange of consular officials between Japan and the United States. Americans' main mission was opening diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan. Eventually, in 1858 this treaty was reviewed and extended².

The final chaotic years of the Tokugawa period might be explained by both internal and external pressures simultaneously and this period has several clues for the ultimate route of the nation. For some decades behind the facade of the shogun-daimyo political structure, knowledge and technology, introduced from the west had increasingly been put to use. And prior to that, for a century or more of development largely unaffected by western influence traditional culture was undergoing changes which were to have some bearings on the rapid pace of modernization after the Meiji Restoration³. Therefore, the cultural level and degree of national consciousness people attained when their countries experienced the impact of the west constitutes an important consideration for their ability to manage the new situation⁴. In the case of Japan there was the maturity of the legacy of Dutch studies; the wide diffusion of education and the spiritual self-discipline the masses had developed were combined with the patriotic spirit that they came to share. The Meiji Restoration was carried out on such an heritage.

II.2- The Meiji Restoration

" Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature". Charter Oath, 1868

In 1868 the Tokugawa rule was overthrown by the new young leaders whose origins were mainly from the Satsuma and Chōshū domains (today's Kagoshima and Yamaguchi) and who had been militantly opposed to the capitulationist attitude of the Shoguns toward the foreigners in 1858. The Meiji Restoration, named after the Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) who ascended to the throne in 1867 at the age of fifteen, was a political revolution from above carried out by younger, enlightened members of Japan's ruling samurai class.

The new government was decisive in establishing a modern state with the full application of Western civilization. This movement is called the Meiji Restoration because

The new government was decisive in establishing a modern state with the full application of Western civilization. This movement is called the Meiji Restoration because the responsibility for administration was returned formally to Emperor Meiji, although the young leaders were clearly in command. The organization of a Western-style administrative system, abolition of feudal domains, land tax reforms were the first tasks of the new government. There were a lot of other reforms to be made for the creation of a modern Japan. The establishment of a modern educational system, the training of able bureaucrats who would support the new administrative organs and the spread of general education throughout Japan by which the spirit of national solidarity would be nurtured were among the urgent businesses for the new government.

Meiji leaders were by and large pragmatic men who respected the material superiority of the west and wished to emulate it by undertaking modernization without losing the independence of the country. This was the well-known ideology of “Enrich the country and strengthen its arms” (*fukoku-kyōhei*)⁵. In 1868, however, the new Meiji government stated its intention to abandon the outmoded traditions and to borrow extensively from the West.

The devotion of the Meiji leaders to modernization can also be seen in the brief, five-article Charter Oath they issued in 1868 in the emperor’s name. This was considered as a very broad statement of purpose by the new regime. Since this constitutes a very special place in the Japanese intention towards modernization, it will be enumerated here.

II.2.a- Charter Oath: The Principles of Modernization

- Article 1. An assembly shall be established and all matters of state shall be decided by public discussion
- Article 2. All classes high and low shall unite in vigorously promoting the economy and welfare of the nation.
- Article 3. All civil and military officials and the common people as well shall be allowed to fulfill their aspirations, so that there may be no discontent among them.
- Article 4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature
- Article 5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule”⁶.

II.2.b-Organization of Government and Reform Movements

Even an initial glance through the articles of the Charter Oath will reveal the intention that Meiji Restoration was an explicit commitment to modernization. Following the spirit

and established basic legal equalities for all people. In large part this was an attempt to reassure the domains about the attitudes and objectives of those who carried out "Restoration". In fact this declaration included some keywords of modernization. According to this notification, all the privileges will be eliminated and people will be given the chance of upward social mobility only by using their personal qualifications. This was one of the basic ways of realizing human aspirations. In that sense an assembly will be established so that people will be able to transmit their ideas and thoughts to the wider scale of social strata. Opinion will be consulted and action will be based on the general view, not the private interest of a particular faction. To a larger extent this was a declaration in behalf of individual liberty, equality and freedom.

In short, this implied that the country's ultimate destiny seemed to be the achievement of the Western "civilization and enlightenment" (*bummei-kaika*). More radically, the appreciation of the Western civilization and enlightenment became so preponderant in the early period of Restoration that some of the more fervent of them went so far as to suggest that Japan should adopt English as its national language. But the most extreme suggestion was that the Japanese should intermarry with the "Caucasians", that is members of the white race, as quickly as possible in order to acquire their higher ethnic qualities⁷.

With the progress of reforms, outward signs of modernity began to appear throughout the country, but particularly in the metropolitan centers like Tokyo and Yokohama: steamships, railroads, telegraph lines, a national postal service, industrial factories, gas-burning street lamps that "made the night as bright as the day". Although the Meiji Restoration had been carried out under the enthusiastic slogan of a "return to antiquity", in fact, with the passage of time, the Japanese by the early 1870s had in general abandoned their dreams of restoring the past and were caught up in an overwhelming urge to join the march of Western progress.

II.2.c-Resistance To The Imperial Order

The Restorationists do not appear to have had any concrete political plan other than to overthrow the existing power. The slogans that the new Meiji government adopted were the independence, freedom, and individual rights concepts that are taken from British

liberal democracy. But not one of them seemed to accept the right of people's right to select their own government. This, however, is not difficult to understand because the majority of the new government came almost entirely from the samurai class; and, attacking the evils of Tokugawa feudalism, they retained the feudalistic attitude that the masses were by nature inert and stupid. In the final analysis, this was the nature of revolutions from above⁸. It was their purpose to enlighten the people, not to make them politically active but to enrich the country and thereby strengthen it vis-à-vis the nations of the west. Even the radical and utilitarian-minded Fukuzawa the subject of this thesis, was not prepared to encourage a critical attitude on the part of the people towards the government.

As can be expected, these modernization attempts were not accepted among a great portion of the population. One reason of this resistance came from the opponents of the old feudal order in the post Restoration period. The second group composed the people who dissatisfied with the reforms because modernization movement was not associated with democratization in the sense that democratic participation was not allowed and individual freedoms of speaking, publishing, and meeting were not allowed at all. As a result of accumulated discontents, under the well-known slogan of the earlier period, a strong movement began. They were praying for the expulsion of foreigners and return to the rule of the *daimyo* (feudal lords).

II.2.d- Reconsolidation of Imperial Order and The Era of Equal Treatments:

Finally the smoldering discontent broke out into a serious rebellion in the great Satsuma uprising of the samurai clan in 1877, which was suppressed after an epidemic and bloody struggle. The implication of this repression had crucial importance. As Dower puts, "it was the last in the series of threats to the new order, the last forceful attempt of the declassed *samurai* to drag Japan back to feudalism..."⁹. By the promulgation of the 1889 constitution, the oligarchs of the Meiji government could consolidate their own vested interests and privileges and to subvert the democratic aspirations represented by the people's right (*minken*) movement.

Japan's full-fledged intercourse with the world affairs coincided with her defeat of China in the war of 1895. After this victory, Japanese feeling for the end of the unequal

treaties was improved. Particularly Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 encouraged the Japanese governors to believe that they could resist European power and establish a ground for equal treaties. These wars marked a definite turning-point in Japanese foreign policy along the path of expansion, and enormously strengthened the position of the advocates of such a policy. The full recognition of Japan as a power on equal terms with the other nations automatically followed. With the signature of Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, Japan entered the world of great powers as one of the experienced empire builders and imperialists¹⁰.

II.3- Intellectual Environment

In pursuing such a goal, the writings of Rousseau, Mill, and other western political theorists had been translated into Japanese and were widely read and admired both by the Meiji élite and other intellectuals. In intellectual circles, the great national quest for civilization and enlightenment in early Meiji gave rise to a number of study and discussion groups devoted to the question of transforming Japan into a modern state. In that respect, an important journey was made to the Western world which contained the seeds of the later developments. This was the journey of Iwakura Tomomi (1825-83) and several of his young friends most of whom believed that one could not become a real human being without going abroad. This is important in the sense that their interpretation and understanding of the Western reality will illuminate the key questions in our mind concerning the quest of modernity. These questions are that; what kind of perceptions of the western threat formed in the mind of the key figures who took the helm in Japan's history?, how did they intend to confront that threat, and how did they envisage Japan's grand plan for the century to come?

II.3.a-Modernization Or Westernization

It should be clear from the preceding passages that in the early Restoration period there was no common and clear understanding of and compromise on the nature of the optimal path to be pursued in the way of modernization and/or westernization. This was evident not only among the leading elite but also among most of the intellectuals of society. As it was put in Shiveley's editorial note, "within a few years after the Restoration there was

nearly universal and generally enthusiastic acceptance of the concept of progress and the necessity to modernize. Differences of opinion were limited mainly to the question of what modernization meant in specific measures, that is what were the things that needed to be reformed and according to which model or plan should they be changed"¹¹ Reischeuer argues, however, that at least some Japanese realized the differences between modernization and Westernization, no matter some elements of both may overlap. These Japanese became aware that the more advanced Western Countries had become "modern" only a few decades earlier, and there were European countries which could not yet be called modern. As the distinction between modernization and Westernization became better understood, there was more concern in some quarters as how Japan could modernize without losing the qualities of Japan's unique values. That is, some of them proposed to take Western technique and keep eastern ethos at the same time. In other words, this was a quest to take the outward signs of the Western civilization while leaving its spiritual possessions. Leaving aside the ongoing disputes whether such a project would become possible, it might be enough to note the conclusion that Reischauer reached in his study; "it is seem that Japanese have benefited modernization, and thus seen in this light, it seems more reasonable to describe Japan's great changes as a process of modernization rather than Westernization"¹²

Generally, four elements of modernization can be mentioned. These elements are the self, democracy, capitalism and nationalism. These elements had to be recognized as soon as possible if Japanese wanted to be a modernized nation in the Western sense. These are all complementary to each other and the simultaneous fulfillment of them constitutes the condition of a consistent, full-fledged modernization project. When self and democracy were unable to mature because of the suppression of the movement for people's rights, the growth of capitalism and of nationalism became distorted.

Government, however, believed that it was too early to give people a voice in political affairs. That is why the response of government to the people's right (*minken*) movement was to issue the press law in 1875. It could, however, be claimed that the Meiji oligarchs were extraordinarily capable and farsighted men who took a strongly pragmatic approach to problems. Once secure in power they indeed tended toward the authoritarian in accordance with their samurai background. One advantage of their

functioning as oligarchs was that, immune from the every day strife of elected politicians, they could concentrate on the pursuit of the national goals for the betterment of Japan¹³. They were committed to making Japan into a truly modern state, and national constitution were an integral part of modernist thinking everywhere in this age. With the pace of modernization attempts, however, an anti-Westernization movement developed, namely Japanism.

II.3.b- Westernization Versus Japanism and Asianism

As underlined earlier, the transformation of Japan can be interpreted as a first case of Westernization in the non-western world outside of the Ottoman orbit. The advocates of Westernization meant that it was possible to find, within the West, elements that were not necessarily in conflict with the Japanese value system. But, naturally, every dynamic of change leads to a certain degree of resistance. As noted by Nagai, "the impact of the West and the pressures of modernization on underdeveloped societies brings about an initial break with the past and a leap into the future, but unless a system appropriate to the particular underdeveloped society is found, sustained growth cannot be assured"¹⁴. Therefore in Japan, as in other non-Western societies, efforts aimed at total Westernization faced serious difficulties. This resistance in Japan is known as Japanism.

Particularly, after 1872, with the declaration of Fundamental Code of Education(*Gakusei*), resistance to Westernization was magnified in complex ways with a search for a distinctively Japanese approach to modernization. The Fundamental Code of 1872 represented a positive and radical response to Westernization so that it became very difficult to swallow it. In that sense, it could be argued that Japanism was a sort of internal response to the path and mode of modernization¹⁵. Nevertheless, both line of arguments, both in theory and practice, might have some overlapping processes.

What is important at this point is to clarify is that Japanisation should not be interpreted only in terms of its resistance to Westernization. In fact, Japanisation movements contributed to the efforts of modernization due to the fact that it was, at the same time, a nationalistic movement. As it was underlined earlier, nationalism was a quick way to national unity and its natural corollary is that elements such as national consciousness and patriotism were necessary conditions for modernization¹⁶.

Asianism, on the other hand, can be interpreted as an amalgam of nationalist sentiments and this was motivated by the strategy against the expansion of imperialism in the whole Asia. Many Japanese nationalists were conscious of themselves as Asians who must help other Asians to resist the menace of the Western imperialism Asia's only hope was a common effort against the West, and Japan by virtue of its successes in modernization was best equipped for leadership.¹⁷

II.3.c- The Iwakura Mission (1871)

For the proper assessment of these and other related questions, one has to follow the major missions to the Western countries by the mid-nineteenth century. Among the most influential of these key figures Prince Iwakura Tomomi, foreign Minister, as Ambassador Plenipotentiary; Kido Takayoshi, Councilor of State are the very important participants of the first mission adventure to the western world. Iwakura and Kido are taken as the representative of government side and Fukuzawa as the only intellectual outside the government circles.

The Iwakuro Mission was examined in detail by Soviak¹⁸. The specific objective of the Iwakura Mission (1871) were to establish friendly relationships, treaty revision negotiations, and most importantly a learning expedition. In that respect they broke up into small groups often went their own ways, some visiting iron mines, others the public school systems, some of them visited exhibitions. Their findings were published in an official report *Jikki*. The basic theme pervades in *Jikki* is summarized as follows; According to *Jikki*,

"Western countries are all struggling for wealth and power with some significant regional and national differences. Progressive nation is industrious. They also underlined that climatic conditions, topography, and natural resources have a direct influence on the national character. They have also realized that western industry was driven by the huge factories. Efficiency in operating such a vast and complex system depends on sophistication in industrial techniques, banking, finance, management and so forth. Furthermore, communication and transportation facilities are also necessary to that efficiency. Soviak argues that that they invented the importance of the key term *efficiency* in production and management. *Jikki* puts also that the development of industry and commerce is a relatively recent phenomenon even in the history, and key to these development and efficiency of mass production was associated with the emergence of constitutional governments. All of these developments are closely related to the developments in "social technology" including minute planning as well. As an

important component of Western case, indigenous development, utilization and conservation of natural resources and human energies are other remarkable factors in explaining the Western modernization"¹⁹.

What is important to realize, however, is that the West's progress is due to cumulative characteristics of all these factors. If one studies the basic causes of a country's development, one learns that it is not a sudden thing. There is always an order. Those who learn first transmit their knowledge to those who learn later. By progress, says Jikki, it is not meant merely throwing away the old and planning the new. Explicitly the report underlines the importance of tradition and suggests that Japan may lack the proper tradition and historical background for modernization along Western lines. The policy conclusion that Iwakura and his fellows had drawn is very important. Therefore, it is worth to repeat these conclusion in a nutshell:

"Historical evidence suggest that there are dangers in sudden radical alterations of traditional patterns, and social dislocations. Thus, choosing to join the western march of progress would require great caution, adaptation, and selectivity in adopting western techniques...These differences are remarkable. The western people developed spirit of individual competition. The occidental is acquisitive and assertive, in contrast to the self-denial of the Eastern world, so to call....On a larger scale, the concept of competitiveness develops into the philosophy of nationalism and the unending struggle of countries to attain national independence and autonomy....Furthermore, family structure in eastern societies based on moral principles and the sovereign's benevolence and affection for the people, to the Western governments designated to protect individual property and rights....Western legal systems are primarily concerned with protecting the life, liberty, and property of the individual whereas in oriental societies moral training is the principal concern of government, and ethics the means of controlling the people...It should be apparent that East and West have different views of the nature of man. For Western view man is basically corrupt. Religion tries to minimize these corruptions"²⁰.

With the emergence of positivism, however, the belief for the goodness of human kind began to prevail. The members of the the Iwakura mission also came to understand that not just in the major powers but also in the smaller countries of Europe, national education in large-scale mechanized factories, a constitutional form of government, and a modern military system were the things that supported the political, economic, and social forces²¹. What is explicit in the Jikki is that the breadth and depth of the nonmaterial foundations of the west's opulence and power highlights the fact that there is no ready-made solution for any modernization project. The greatest caution and gradualism was one of the lessons that they had drawn. These interpretations of the Western civilization was based on, to a larger extent, official understanding, with the exception of Fukuzawa

as the sole civil member of the mission. In the following section one of the most influential group of intellectuals will be examined for the purpose to understand the current agenda from a more wider perspective.

II.3.d- Meirokusha (Meiji Six Society)

The most influential line of thought outside government was known as Meirokusha or “Meiji six Society”. This society was founded in the sixth year of Meiji, 1873, by Mori Arinori and other prominent Westernizers of the day²². Most of the society’s thirty-three members were samurai intellectuals. This unique group of men, born and educated in Tokugawa Japan, served as an important intellectual link between traditional society and the new. Actually, they strongly promoted modernity. Their thoughts and understanding have crucial importance because these intellectuals affected their times profoundly. Also these men opened the path toward a degree of self-confidence rarely found among their predecessors. Despite the Meirokusha’s diverge ages and social background they shared a very similar intellectual background. All these members, with possibly three exceptions, had studied both Confucian studies (*jūgaku*) and western studies (*yōgaku*).

The central view of the Meirokusha was that promoting civilization and enlightenment was prerequisite to build a strong and independent nation, and virtually every Meirokusha member believed that the most essential element in furthering civilization was education. The members of the Meirokusha met twice a month to discuss such subjects as politics, economics, education, religion, the Japanese language, and women’s rights. In 1874, they began publication of the Meiji Six Magazine for the purpose of publishing articles on their views. A large percentage of the Meirokusha members were comprised of men who had engaged in Western learning before the Restoration and had been employed as translators and teachers. Hence, the Meirokusha had as its legacy the venerable tradition of Dutch Studies begun nearly a century and a half earlier in Japan²³. With the passage of time some disagreements emerged among the Meirokusha members. Some of them argued an active participation in the Meiji government. This was one of the requirements of citizenship and intellectuals must not escape from such a crucial role in these trouble and chaotic times. Fukuzawa, one of the most influential of the Meirokusha, on the other hand, believed that this is not the most

efficient way of contributing to the new civilization efforts due to fact that new leading elites are the students of early feudal order and they will apply autocratic and oppressive policies in favor of their regime. This is a movement from above. Civilization, however, can be progressed by the middle class of the population. As the general intellectual capacity of people in the country is too low, it is naive to expect such a movement from the middle class.

Therefore, Fukuzawa declared his task as a teacher, journalist and writer. He decided not to join any official circle. By the early 1882, several intellectuals, including Fukuzawa was arrested and punished by the government for their civilizing views. His newspaper called *Jiji Shimpō* could not be published. In the following section the emphasize will be on the analysis of his philosophy concerning the fundamental issues of modernization such as education, the principles of learning, and civilization.

NOTES

- ¹ Morishima, M., *Why Has Japan Succeeded: Western Technology and the Eastern Ethos*, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 60
- ² Varley, H.P., *Japanese Culture: A Short History*, (Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1973), p. 160
- ³ Shiveley, D. H. (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, (Princeton, Princeton Un. Pr. 1971)
- ⁴ Daikichi, I., *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Translation edited by Marius B. Jansen, (Princeton, Princeton Un. Pr., 1985)
- ⁵ Jansen, M.B., *Japan and Its World: Two Centuries of Change*, (Princeton, Princeton Un. Press, 1980)
- ⁶ Beasley, W.G., *The Meiji Restoration*, (California, Stanford Un. Pr., 1972), p. 323
- ⁷ Varley, p. 165
- ⁸ Ward, R.E. and Rustow, D.A. (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, Princeton University, 1964).
- ⁹ Dower, John W (ed.). *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1975), p. 196.
- ¹⁰ Dower, p. 307
- ¹¹ Shiveley, editorial note.
- ¹² Reischauer, Edwin, O., "Not Westernization But Modernization", in Wray H. and Conroy, H (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, Un. Of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 369-75.
- ¹³ Najita, T., (Chicago, The Un. Of Chicago Pr., 1974), p. 69
- ¹⁴ Nagai, M., "Westernization and Japanization: The Early Meiji Transformation of Education", in Shiveley, pp. 35-76.
- ¹⁵ Nagai, M., p. 37.
- ¹⁶ Shiveley, "The Japanization of the Middle Meiji", in Shiveley (ed.), p. 118.
- ¹⁷ Jansen, Marius, "Pan-Asianism", in Mayo Marlene (ed.) *The Emergence of Imperial Japan: Self Defense of Calculated Aggression?* (Lexington, D.C. Heath and Company, 1970), pp. 55-59.
- ¹⁸ Soviak, E. "On the Nature of Western Progress: The Journal of Iwakura Embassy", in Shiveley, pp. 7-34.
- ¹⁹ Soviak, pp. 7-34.
- ²⁰ Soviak, p. 30.
- ²¹ Daikichi, p. 58.
- ²² Reischauer, E. O., *Japan: The story of a Nation*, (Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1970).
- ²³ Fischer, J. K. "The Meirokusha and the Building of a Strong and Prosperous Nation", in Wray H. and Conroy, H. (eds.), pp. 83-90.

III. FUKUZAWA YUKICHI AND HIS THOUGHT

"A truth is often born of a life." Japanese old saying

III.1.a- A Short Biography of Fukuzawa

Social Structure in His Time of Birth: It would be convenient to make the societal structure more clear with a special reference to the feudal culture. In the feudal society of Japan, which was changed and modernized at the Imperial Restoration of 1868, there was a strict caste system in which the samurai were the ruling class. This class included, first, the Shogun. He held a position corresponding to the King in feudal Europe. Second element of the system is the *Daimyō* who corresponded to the Barons (or domain lords), and the lesser of officials and soldiers. Below the samurai were the farmers, artisans and merchants, forming the so-called four castes which comprised the main portion of the population. Above all were the Emperor and courtiers. However, the Emperor enjoyed spiritual respect but little. Political power. Below the merchants were the outcasts, *eta*, the lowest caste in feudal Japan, a sort of untouchables who lived in isolated villages, and beggars. The priests and to some extent, the scholars stood outside the system. Any one could become a priest or a scholar and enjoy a relatively free career. Within the samurai class there was a sharp division between the Upper and Lower strata. There were some promotions and demotions within each stratum, but there was hardly any instance of a man passing the dividing line, nor was there any intermarriage between the them. Fukuzawa's father was among the highest among the Lower Samurai¹.

Fukuzawa was born in 1853 into a family of lower samurai in the province of *Buzen*. In his autobiography, he tells that from an early age he disliked the hierarchical feudal system under which he lived: "I hate the feudal system", he writes, "as though it were my father's murderer". What is more disturbing than poverty and boredom was the strict feudal discipline, which stressed in almost every conceivable context of daily life the lower samurai's inferiority to the upper. "They behaved us like a creature came from other satellites", he writes. Again, Fukuzawa tells that neither feudal system nor education in the line of Chinese principles did anything to reconcile him to his lot. Eventually he decided to leave *Nakatsu* at all costs in the age of nineteen in 1854.

A year later to Commodore Perry arrived in Japan. This date is a turning point in the life of Fukuzawa because like many of his colleges, he went to Nagasaki in the hope of learning the Dutch as the only means of the intercourse with foreigners. In the late

Tokugawa period, he tells us, that "people thought we scholars who read foreign books and thought foreign culture were liars misleading the people and opening the way for the Westerners to exploit Japan

So we also became their prey"². Fukuzawa also informs us about the situation in which the opportunity cost of speaking and writing at that time.

"In that time Wakiyama named person, an ordinary citizen, was sentenced to die because of his innocent letter to a relative. Although it was personal throughout with no reference to a definite matter of state, one passage in it was interpreted as treasonous by the officials. This statement was: 'I am very anxious about the trend of things at present. I do wish some great spirit or clever minister might appear and direct the country to security'. These words implied that the writer must favor the downfall of the present ruler. Therefore he was criminal- a traitor"³.

But Fukuzawa "believed that troubled times are best for doing big things"⁴. He chose his own strategy and decided to live as discretely as possible and spend his time in translating and writing. Actually we will see that writing, translating and teaching is the sole life style that he followed in the course of his life span. Although he did not know anything about the west at that time, he decided to welcome anything, literature or art or anything at all, so long as it gave him an excuse to get away from the "narrow stiffness" of Nakatsu. In Nagasaki, he learned many things about the western alphabet and Dutch language and the mysteries of Western physics, chemistry and medicine. Not only did he learn about the theoretical context of the Western sciences, but he also tried to make practices in the laboratories without expecting that they could make profit by using their expertise in the daily life. The motive which permitted Fukuzawa and his fellows to expend selfless energy on their study of Dutch science and Others was the pleasure of acquiring rare and difficult knowledge. He explains the source of their motivations as follows: "Desirability of knowledge was not because it was difficult. It was as though they were swallowing a nasty medicine, not because it was likely to do them any good. But because they were the only people brave enough to swallow it"⁵. In 1858 Fukuzawa began to teach Dutch to the young clan samurai in *Edo* (Present day Tokyo). Just after his arrival in *Edo*, he walked down Yokohama to visit the foreign settlement and realized that his Dutch language was completely useless, and thus decided to learn English or French.

In 1860, Fukuzawa found the chance of a voyage to America when the Japanese government sent three Japanese for the purpose of ratifying the Treaty of 1858. His second trip to the West took place in 1862 in the capacity of "translator" with the aim of the postponement of the opening of the Japanese ports to the West. In his trips to

America and the West, he lost no opportunity to learn in the fields of politics and economics particularly. He asked about everything concerning the daily life also. For Fukuzawa these were the most difficult to understand. He tells that "I shall never forget the terrible trouble I had in understanding how the postal system worked... Whenever I met any one whom I thought to be any consequence, I did my best to learn something from him"⁶.

III. 1.b- Major Books of Fukuzawa

The information he collected on this tour later went to form the basis of the book which made him famous as an authority on the Conditions in the West (*Seiyō Jijō*). First published in 1866. The book's success out of its practical usefulness in the everyday life uses, puts Blacker as one of the distinguished expert on Fukuzawa, "due also to its literary style, which was so simple and comprehensive. That is why this book established him as one of the foremost interpreters of the West. Fukuzawa was more of a popularizer than a pure intellectual, and as such he made a far greater impact on the people of his time"⁷. *Seiyō Jijō* (Things Western), in 1866 sold no less than 250,000 copies, an unprecedented number for those days. Since Fukuzawa was not writing for intellectuals alone but for the general populace of Japan as well, the language used in his books generally is very simple. Fukuzawa said that he always tried to write so clearly that an "uneducated woman from the countryside would understand the words when they were read to her from the next room through the paper door". That is why he used the popular Jargon prevalent in the time of feudalism.

In this book, he gave the Japanese public exactly the information about the West that needed, such as chemistry, medicine, or gunnery, but hardly any one had any conception of how the people in the West lived their everyday lives, what they wore and ate, and how they were governed. For that reason in this book he described Western hospitals, schools and newspapers, and museums, taxation system, and other ordinary social institutions. This was the first picture of the western society. It is, thus, should not be an exaggeration that he more than any other single individual, influenced the minds of a generation of Japanese in the early, formative years of the modern era.

Out of this book, he published several other books just after the restoration.

Seiyō Tabi Annai (1867) was a guidebook about the Western countries covered interesting topics such as the principles of foreign exchange, the climate and geography. *Seiyō Ishokujū* (1867) is a book on the daily manners of the Western people including clothing, furniture food and like that. *Kyūri Zukai* (1868) tried to explain some scientific principles with illustrations. *Sekai Knizukushi* (1869) is an attempt to describe the continents and countries all over the world with a text-book style.

During the upheaval of the Restoration in 1868, Fukuzawa continued his private lectures in his university and did not join any side of the supporters of *Bakufu* or Emperor because he had no personal ambitions which might have been furthered by supporting either side. Just after the fall of *Bakufu*, Fukuzawa realized his "true mission" in life.

III.1.c- Fukuzawa's "True Mission" in Life

As a result of continuous intercourse with the Western world, Fukuzawa was able to make a deep comparison of both the Confucian and Western civilizations. In the course of this studies he came to the conclusion that for the creation of a real civilization he should awaken his countrymen to the reality of the West. This crucial comparison is that; "The Confucian civilization of the East seems to me to lack of two things possessed by Western civilization: Science in the material sphere and a sense of independence in the spiritual sphere. I see now that this is the reason why Western statesmen govern their countries so successfully and Western businessmen are so successful in their commerce and industry, and why the people are so patriotic and their family circles so happy. If nations and, on as longer view, mankind itself are to survive, we can not ignore the laws of science, and must be placed our trust in the principle of independence. But in Japan these important principles had been quite neglected, and while this was so. I was convinced, Japan could never be on an equal footing with the countries of the West. I was convinced too that this blame for this lay with the Chinese studies-and so, though I could do little with no capital and no facilities for specialized courses in my school, yet I did all that was in my power to base my system of education on the principles of science. Nor did I lose any opportunity of for advocating the principles of independence, in speeches, in my writings and in casual conversations, and tried in all kinds of ways to put into practice in my daily life"⁸.

In his later years he continued to publish his other popularized books. In 1872 he published *Gokumon no Susume* which contained so many startling criticism of the

accepted ideas and unquestioned beliefs of the existing social order. *Bummeiron no Gairyaku* was published in 1876 and written with in an academic manner about the nature of civilization. In *Jiji Shōgen* (1881), he made a longer critique of the trends of the time. In 1898, his autobiography, *Fukuō Jiden* was published.

He is generally acknowledged to have been the leading educator of the new Japan. Above all others, he explained to his countrymen the ideas behind the dazzling material evidence of Western civilization in order to enable Japan to take her place with dignity and confidence among the nations of the modern world. It was also necessary for him to comprehend the learning which in the West had led to the discovery and production of these things. And this would require a drastic reconsideration of some of her most ancient and unquestioned assumptions about the nature of the universe.

To sum up, at the time of his birth Japan was almost entirely isolated from the outside world, with a hierarchical feudal system based on a Confucian code of morals. Her notions of warfare were medieval, her knowledge of modern science was confined to the trickle of Dutch books which found their way into the country through the trading station at Nagasaki. At the time of his death, however, Japan was to all effects a modern state: Her army and navy were so well disciplined and equipped that six years before they had defeated China (1885) and later they were to defeat Russia (1905). On the political and social domain, she had a parliament, compulsory education, rapidly growing industries, and distinguished universities. As Blacker puts,

“For these astonishing changes we can hold responsible both the impersonal force of history and the very personal power of certain individual men. Among the latter Fukuzawa was one of the most remarkable. He was died in 1901 from a stroke. His funeral procession consisting of 1500 students and as many as 10000 mourners, all on foot. 'No style of funeral could have been suited the life of the great philosopher'”⁹.

III.2. THE PHILOSOPHY OF FUKUZAWA

“...people who throw away everything
old as being obsolescent are considered enlightened...
It was like a fire destroying a field of withered grass in the autumn.”
Fukuzawa, 1882

Fukuzawa's adventure in the course of his life span as a sincere believer of 19th century positivism had began in a feudal social structure, progressed as a teacher of "all the

valuable subjects" in the line of Western civilization and ended with a strong feeling of nationalism. That is, his adventure was a radical escape from the traditional toward the appreciation of the enlightenment of 'Caucasians'¹⁰. The story of his life in the final years is about his intellectual return to Japan and Asia.

In the present analysis on the concept of civilization in (section-a), the emphasis will be given to other related concepts such as the *progress* of civilization and the function of *history* in understanding the nature of the Western civilization. One of the central arguments that he put forward is that the progress of civilization could not be undertaken by the private agents and government alone. "The initiation of our civilization", he argues, "will be the joint occupation of government and spiritually independent middle strata which to be widened through massive and extensive preliminary education". The role of government in the progress of civilization will be discussed in (section-b).

Presumably, one of the most important assets in establishing a modern nation with a strong sense of *spiritual interdependence is education*. For this reason, (section-c) was dedicated to this subject. As will be explicit in the following passages, the spiritual independence of an individual is the ultimate objective that Fukuzawa looks for. However, this is achieved by an *orderly education and real learning*. For this reason, independence and the nature of learning is analyzed simultaneously in the third section, that is (section-d). Naturally, since it is impossible to analyze these topics independent of the state due to fact that Japanese civilization had grown under the oppression of feudal values for centuries, Fukuzawa's discussions of the function of government in providing a suitable environment for civilized behavioral patterns and institutions will be considered in the course of the study. In the final two sections (section e and f, respectively), Fukuzawa's understanding of economics and community of nations will be overviewed as a criteria of his liberal outlook which at the same time was considered by Fukuzawa as the new doctrine of Imperial Restoration.

III.2.a- The Concept of Civilization in Fukuzawa

*"Heaven never created a man above another
nor a man below another".*

Fukuzawa, 1872

For a proper understanding of Fukuzawa's philosophy, it is convenient to begin with the basic predisposition of the Confucian doctrine as a set of values prevailed in Japan for centuries.

The Confucian Doctrine: As understood by contemporary people, Confucian doctrine is founded on four basic rules: discipline of the self, management of the family, government of the nation, and pacification of the world. Fukuzawa accepts their validity and usefulness for ancient times, he nevertheless argues that they are not enough for the contemporary societies to progress their civilizations. Fukuzawa believes that science, commerce, and law are the corner stones of today's civilization and as a matter of fact these are lacking in Confucian teaching and thus in Japan. For him, civilization stands on these three pillars, and when they are not developed, a country can not be independent, a fact so clear it requires no explanation by an intellectual, and shows how he should behave in society. The most serious deficiency in Japanese society, he put, was the lack of science and independence.

"The Confucian civilization of the East seems to me to lack of two things possessed by the Western civilization: Science in the material sense and a sense of independence in the spiritual sphere. I see now that this is the reason why Western statesmen govern their countries so successfully and Western businessmen are so successful in their commerce and industry. and why the people are so patriotic and their family circles so happy. If nations and, on a longer view, mankind itself are to survive we can not ignore the laws of science, and must be placed our trust in the principle of independence"¹¹.

He continues to diagnose the reason(s) why Japan lay behind in these matters was because her traditional Confucian learning that neglected these two important principles. As he advocated, the establishment of a base for the new civilization, in the following passages the emphasis will be shifted the analysis of his civilization. Openly, Fukuzawa's central drive was to establish a strong nation in the league of civilized countries with a

strong sense of spiritual independence of his countrymen, an national sovereignty on the ground of mutual interdependence among the world nations. The historically formulated form of this ideal was "strong country with strong army". For Fukuzawa, civilization was not a matter of 'things', but of the way people 'thought'.

"Schools, industries, armies and navies are the mere external forms of civilization. They are not difficult to produce. All that is needed is the money to pay for them. Yet there remains something immaterial, something that can not be seen or heard, brought or sold, led or borrowed. It pervades the whole nation and its influence is so strong that without it none of the schools or the other external forms would be of the slightest use. This supremely important thing that we must call the spirit of civilization"¹².

Fukuzawa made it his task to promulgate his new philosophy in every way possible- in teaching his school, in the policy of his newspapers, in his voluminous writings, and in his private life even further. In his great quest for civilization, he refused all offers of government employment and devoted himself entirely private capacity to the propagation of his philosophy. In his definition;

"civilization is like great theater with political institutions, literature, commerce. etc.. as like actors. Each actor performs his special skill and works at his part in the production...Civilization is like a sea; institutions, literature, etc..are like rivers...Civilization is like a store house in which man's clothing and food, the money and goods he uses in earning a living, and his life energies are stored"¹³.

Outline of Civilization (*Bummeiron no Gairyaku*), published in 1875, is the most scholarly of his works. It contains all discussions of the elements of civilization in general and their implications for Japan's own civilization. Fukuzawa regarded civilization as a continuous growth and introduced a concept of history that was new to traditional Japanese thought. That is why Fukuzawa begins his study with the diagnosis of his civilization. In this study, Fukuzawa attempted to treat Japanese civilization pathologically. He diagnosed its illness and suggested the necessary therapy. He thought that Japanese civilization was diseased after the centuries of feudal tradition and, thus, oppression. In this system all people from the administrators to the commoners of the lowest rank had fallen victim to old customs and traditions. Fukuzawa gives an interesting description of the peoples' character under such an oppressive system.

"Japanese people were brave even to death when under orders of their master's, but when the master died or when they dismissed from the master's service, they often turned docile or helpless, or else were transformed into rogues with no ability to reason"¹⁴.

As a cure, the only hope was to introduce a new and more powerful spirit. He believes the capability of the Japanese people in performing such a change and argues that if the people seemed to lack the spirit of independence now, it was not an inborn defect. They would recover provided that they learn from the Western civilization its immediate goal and its scientific reasoning. Frankly, he advocates the necessity to adapt both spiritual values and material possessions of the West because he believed Western civilization was on the right path toward the ideal goal. This was a radical exploration at the level of ontology and thus epistemology in the sense that he suggested the replacement of all the traditional pillars of value system stemming from the Confucian teachings:

"our civilization today is like fire trying to change into water, or turning to something void into existence. This transformation can be called neither sudden progress nor reformation. Perhaps terms such as *"initiaton"* or *"origination"* would be more appropriate..."¹⁵

Therefore, he argues that "Western studies must henceforth cease to be an inferior though useful appendage to Chinese learning, and become rather a learning in itself with a dignity and moral purpose not only comparable with but substitutable for Chinese learning"¹⁶. Parallel to August Comte's philosophy, he believed that all other civilizations in the world

either wrong or primitive, destined either to extinction or to evolve into the Western type. To remind it, Comte argues in his "three state law" that;

"because human nature is everywhere one and the same, society will always develop in accordance with the same laws. These laws can be discovered through a study of the 'most advanced' human societies. Even the local factors and climate can not change the nature of this development. They merely affect the rate at which the society in question passes from one stage to the next in the social series. For this reason, he believes that non-western societies merely to represent earlier stages of social development through which Western Europe has already passed"¹⁷.

In the same vein, Blacker also argues that;

"Fukuzawa convinced himself as a follower of the true path by reading the major thinkers of the Western enlightenment like Buckle, Guizot and Spencer. They showed that civilization was not merely a means to strength and wealth. It was a stage in man's destiny which being a continual and inevitable, climb upwards towards a final stage of perfect bliss and goodness unimaginable by men today. He had read them to be convinced about the different nature of progress in civilization than was historically understood"¹⁸.

As a matter of fact, Fukuzawa is not ashamed of or feel any feelings of inferiority for this radical rejection of his traditional values in favor of Westernization. He easily justified this because he treated the stages of human progress as a universal phenomenon, and thus concluded that civilization was not Western at all. It is one of the inevitable stages that civilizations have to pass in the course of progress. The superiority of the West might that they progressed in that ladder more speedily than any other nation in the world history. Therefore he believes that his proposal is neither adulation nor emulation of the West, but simply the exercise of the innate faculties given to man that might promote his own destiny. Fukuzawa continues to consolidate his position further. Similarly, it was also, no shame to abandon Chinese learning and all its links with the past because it was not Japanese recognition of the values consistent in civilization. It was an enforced civilization.

In modern times, progress is characterized by an increasing complexity, diversity, and these are the necessary conditions of the civilization. Fukuzawa further argues that greater knowledge might lead to greater diversity, and human nature is originally conditioned on that principle provided that his mind was enabled to function entirely freely. In that case, man would spontaneously and immediately act in accordance with the true and ultimate values. Another important feature of the idea of progress is that it must stretch over innumerable generations. Contrary to that, in Confucian teaching, man's perfection was achieved within the span of a single life time. For that reason, thought hallowed moral words such as Loyalty and Filial Piety are useful enough in the preliminary stages, they have to be discarded with the progress of civilization because only enlightened minds were suitable to the nature of this new era.

This sort of interpretation of civilization, however, should not lead one to the false conclusion that Fukuzawa neglected the relevance of the past experiences totally, but its role was restricted to its contribution to the progress in the sense described above. In fact, the idea of progress, so essential to the classical Japanese learning, inevitably involved a study of the past, though its teachings were scarcely reconcilable with the 'enlightened' views. Blacker argues that his belief in history was shaped again by the distinguished Western philosophers. Blacker puts that ;

'history would have to be made at least reconcilable with the demands of scientific truth. He seemed to be convinced with the writings of Buckle and Guizot who argued that the underlying process of history was one of the progress, and that it was discoverable in the same way as where the truths of natural sciences, that is, constant and immutable realities. The historian's task, he

believed, was to show, that the study of the human nature was not fundamentally different from the study of natural phenomena, and hence to reconcile the two hostile camps of moralists and scientists¹⁹”.

One interpretation of Fukuzawa's belief in the absolute truths of the Western model of evolution and progress may lay in his belief in the basic goodness of the human nature. When nature, complemented with the newly acquired knowledge, science and technology, there would be no doubt that human beings were destined to have a better life and society. As Nakayama puts he was " a thoroughly scientific man of the 19th century"²⁰. This belief of Fukuzawa was shaped during his Dutch studies. In fact, this, and most of his fellow's belief in Confucian teaching was totally destroyed by the study of Sugita Gempaku (1733-1817)'s pioneering role in refusing Chinese medical culture. Fukuzawa, thanks to Gempaku as an expert on the Western medicine, believed that human body was related to the larger order of nature in tidy and satisfying manner²¹.

One can, then, safely conclude from the passage that the destined address for the Japanese enlightenment lies in the Western world. If Japan was to be strong enough to stand up to the threats and bullying of the West, it was not enough simply to learn the superficial techniques of gunnery and shipbuilding. She would have to make many more efforts to alter the spirit and habits of thought engendered by the feudal past. Needless to say, however, this would mean rethinking many of her most unquestioned assumptions of her traditional teaching. This was unavoidable because, it was impossible to understand western science while remaining rooted in the beliefs of the Eastern ethics. His reasoning is that Eastern ethics had produced a certain 'spirit' or mental attitude to the universe, nature and society which was impossible to reconcile with the assumptions of the Western science. This means that he does not believe to the possibility of taking Western technique or science and then reconcile them with that of the Eastern ethics.

Order of Sciences Toward Civilization : Fukuzawa also assigned a program for the 'initiation' or 'origination' of the new civilization that he perceived and was explained above. In the 1880s, he often referred to regular order in education. By this he meant the correct order in which subjects should be introduced to beginning students so that they would grasp and assimilate the nature of modern civilization. This order, for him, was to begin with mathematics and physics. He saw these as basic to all modern knowledge and thinking. These were to be followed by chemistry, geography, history, social studies, ethics, literature, and other subjects²².

By considering the present state of his country and enumerating the points in which it falls short in comparison with the Western countries, he argues that one must first consider science, second commerce, then law. For him, civilization stands on these three pillars. These three pillars are the integral part of an orderly education system, and as a matter of fact government had invested much in to this area and selfless energy to increase the literacy rate all over the country. Sometimes improvements are seen in that field, but in comparison to the amount of labor and money invested, the results are very disappointing. The reason for this is that progress of a civilization of a country cannot be enforced by the government alone.

III.2.b- The Role of the State in the Progress of Civilization

*"The former government violated physical freedom of the people; the present government controls their inner minds".
Fukuzawa, 1872*

*"Even if the government autocratic in name and form, I shall be satisfied with it if it is strong enough to strengthens the country".
Fukuzawa, 1882.*

Frankly, with the proper meaning of the term, for Fukuzawa, government was for the time being resorting to a kind of tactic in controlling ignorant people. It will wait till some progress is made and then have them seek their own way to civilization. This may seem sound but actually difficult to implement in a country under the harsh oppression for a hundred years of feudal regime. In such an empire, as we excerpted earlier from Fukuzawa, people have lost the ability to express their minds, and they have come to consider deception and artifice as necessary devices in human life. Other ill-sided effects of such an oppression is the wide spread insincerity and dishonesty among the people. There, no one is feeling shame of behaving with this manner.

Driving Forces of Civilization in a Society: Fukuzawa asserts that with the imperial Restoration only the leading elite has changed, but the policy of continuous suppression and despotism persists. These can not be seen as good policies. These will not contribute to civilization at all. Therefore, he argues that;

"for the promotion of civilization, one must not look to the power of the government alone. Reasoning from the above discourse, we are led to the conclusion that the first requisite for civilization in our country is the eradication of the roots of the despotism that permeates the minds of our people. What we need for this purpose is a person to stand before others as an example toward

which all others may endeavor to strive. But such a person will not be found among the farming class, not among the merchant class, nor among the scholars of the Chinese and Japanese learning. The only area one may hopefully find someone will be among the scholars of the Western learning"²³.

With this interpretation of Fukuzawa, we have reached an important stage in grasping one of the fundamental dimensions of his philosophy. According to this principle, there is reason for not relying upon on this group because these people, supposedly scholars, seem to recognize the importance of the government alone and do not seem to recognize the importance of the *citizenry*. His drive for the establishment of citizenry, shortly, is the story of his life. There are competent officials in the government but they do not know what it is to live under the government as a citizen. This means that they are still captive of Chinese learning; or they may be described as "possessing the body of a Chinese but wearing Western Clothing". Also little can be expected from the scholars of the Western learning because the only tangible existence in Japan is the government, and the people have not yet attained their "existence".

"All these lead to the conclusion that I, as a private agent, will bear the responsibility for initiating the movement, not only to guide the ignorant but to march before the scholars who claim to be studying Western learning and demonstrate to them what their true aim should be...My intention is to demonstrate that example and to prove to society that the government is not only responsible organ for the activities of the society and that scholars can accomplish work independently, and merchants can conduct their own business individually...When these principles are understood people will learn how to behave and the present atmosphere which separates the people ant the officials will gradually disappear, causing the emergence of what may be called the true citizens of the Japan. This will balance the powers of the government and the power of the people and thus the true independence of the country will be assured"²⁴.

The reason for such an intensive concentration and warning by Fukuzawa concerning government and independence at the level of both individual and society is specified by him as follows;

"the government in old times used power, but the present government uses both power and wisdom. The former governments were ineffective in controlling the people, but the present government is highly efficient in it. The former governments broke the people into submission, the present government steals their hearts. The former government violated the private freedom of the people, the present government controls their inner minds. The people used to fear their government as if it were a demon, but today they worship the government as if it were a god"²⁵.

Fukuzawa says that if a government uses some oppressive policies against the nature's dictates, an individual agent's duty is not to obey it. It is a man's duty to follow the virtuous way of heaven. Fukuzawa's point is that a nation's civilization can not be started from above by the government, not can it be engendered from below by the lower classes. It has to start in the middle of society to indicate the path for the majority and stands side by side with the government in this attempt. This is the sole path toward progress. After that statement, for the vindication of his argument he mentions the name of several European scholars from the middle strata such as Watt, Stephenson, Adam Smith who were born and grew in the middle stratum of their societies. That is why he tries to increase the share of middle class in his society through general education.

III.2.c- Education

"...one can not escape from the 'laws of number and reason'".

Fukuzawa, 1872

The essence of Fukuzawa's interpretation of education was written down in his autobiography:

"In my interpretation of education. I try to be guided by the laws of nature and I try to co-ordinate all the physical actions of human beings by the very simple 'laws of number and reason' (this is the way that Fukuzawa describes scientific method)...In Eastern order education, I find two things lacking; that is to say, a lack of studies in number and reason in material culture, and a lack of the idea of independence in spiritual culture...I believe that one can not escape the laws of number and reason nor can anyone depend on anything but the doctrine of independence as long, as nations are to exist and mankind is to thrive.. ¹¹²⁶

Fukuzawa believed that Western idea of the perfectibility of man in Japan could be achieved through education. Fukuzawa, thus, became an advocate of modern education. With the emphasis particularly on practical subjects he vigorously denounced the social inequities and indignities of Tokugawa feudalism and declared that all men should be free and all countries independent on the basis of "natural reason". The democratic ideals that Fukuzawa thus espoused was concurrently reflected in the new Meiji government attitude toward education. Dedicating itself to the goal of universal primary education on the American model, the government's 1872 Fundamental Code of Education founded a new public school system. The goal of the new system was that in no village will there be a family without learning and in no household will there be an uneducated person²⁷.

The reason why Fukuzawa dedicated himself primarily to the establishment of an environment suitable for general education rather than higher university education was that, the former one contributes to the independence of each individual whereas the latter was appropriate for a few gifted persons who were willing to work for the independence of the country. What is explicit enough in this treatment is that Fukuzawa preferred the individual independence to the country's independence with the belief that,

"only an individual who know the meaning of and also possess his or her independence could purposefully serve to the independence of country. For this reason, he was concentrated on nurturing students with common sense, or citizens conscious of where they stood in the society and what society needed from them"²⁸.

It was also Fukuzawa, however, who established the first private university in the country in 1863 (named *Keio* university today) with the purpose of education applicable to the everyday life uses such as earning money and capability of doing business rather than growing official men. This university had three faculties including law, economics and literature.

Toward the Revision of his Views of the West: By the turn of 1880s, however, government was not alone in its shift to conservatism. Even the radical westernizers like Fukuzawa began to have second thoughts about Japan's previously uncritical acceptance of everything Western. To a large extent, the reason for his revision of the Western civilization in the later years of his life might be the result of his more sophisticated views of the West in theory and practice. It seems with the maturity of his earlier thoughts on the West he came to the conclusion that Western countries themselves were pursuing their own self interests in the world without hesitating to pursue imperialistic policies and they justified this policy on the ground of the so called liberal outlook.

"The ultimate objective that Fukuzawa followed in his life span was expressed in the opening passage of *An Encouragement of Learning (Gakumon no Susume)* (1874). In this book, Fukuzawa points out that under the notion of absolute equality "people should work with their bodies and minds, with dignity worthy of the lords of creation". These are the sole factors that people should pursue to change their positions in society. A natural corollary to Fukuzawa's approach is to recognize the existence of inequalities among people because they either do not have the same propensities nor use them appropriately. That is why he says that there are "wise men and ignorant men, rich men and poor men, men of importance and men of little consequence. Probably more

important from this point of view is that he attributes these differences among people to the lack of "relevant" knowledge. "If a man does not study he will have no knowledge. A man without knowledge is a fool". In addition to that the nature of the job that they do is also a determining factor for the ranking of them.

"Those who undertake difficult tasks are called men of high standing and importance and vice-versa. Naturally those high standing people still live in a more luxurious houses and possess high wealthier life. Therefore, a man is not born with rank or riches. Only those who strife for learning and are capable of reasoning will become men of rank and riches while those without learning will become poor and lowly"²⁹.

He was, however, does not satisfy with this view and continue to clarify his point. Learning is just the tool of achieving the status of "the men of high standing and importance". Learning does not mean knowing strange words...which are of no real use in the world." As a man of practice, Fukuzawa argues that learning will and should be confined to practical uses.

III.2.d - Learning and the Virtue of Agent's Independence

*"..organization of government and education
changed radically with the imperial Restoration, the policy of
ppression still remains"*

Fukuzawa, 1872.

*"Even if the government be autocratic in
name and form, In shall be satisfied with it if it is strong
enough to strengthen the country"*

Fukuzawa, 1882.

For Fukuzawa, learning and education will primarily contribute in three major fields. These are the progress of national wealth, country's strength and agent's independence. Even before going on the nature of learning, thus, his central concern is on the organization of learning so that it can operate independent of the short term political inclinations and

attitudes of governments. More concretely, Fukuzawa believes that education and learning

could be used as tools of despotism as it was the case with the early Confucian doctrine. Fukuzawa asserts that his later observations on citizens confirmed his last arguments, because recently despite the organization of government and education changed radically with the imperial Restoration, but the policy of oppression and

despotism still remains. For this reason Fukuzawa proposes to separate all the public schools in the country from the Ministry of Education and placing them under the supervision of the Imperial Household³⁰.

Freedom and Independence: It is obvious that Fukuzawa's central interest was on the notion of spiritual independence of people. As a matter of fact, independence was the purpose and learning was the means for attaining and preserving it.

"In the old system learning was a moral, almost a religious duty, enjoined on men by his privileged position over the other creatures in the universe. It was learning moreover defined strictly in relation to a certain end. As a matter of fact this learning was quite unpracticed and useless in every day lives. The reason why knowledge of ordinary everyday things were important was not that they only could be put in practice easily, but because the laws of heaven can be seen there. The most fundamental distinction between the Western and the Chinese learning is that the former was securely based on the laws of nature, whereas the latter relied on 'chance skill'."³¹

Indeed, for Fukuzawa, knowledge has to be based on natural laws: From the very beginning of his writings, thus, Fukuzawa were arguing that this was due to lack of interest in the laws of nature that Japan had failed to progress to the blessed state of civilization. It is obvious that the problem of civilization is a problem of knowledge, rather than virtue.

Real and False Learning: Fukuzawa distinguished between two categories of learning: "real" learning (*Jitsugaku*) and "false" learning (*kyogaku*). Real learning was the kind that helped people to attain their freedom and independence. Fukuzawa treats the Western mode of learning in this category. For him, false learning was the kind that molded people into disciplined subjects or vassals. This is useful to the state or lord not to the citizenry or independence. As should be expected, Fukuzawa installed the Confucian learning in that category. It is more training rather than education in its true sense.

Comparison of Western and Eastern Ways of Learning: How did the Western countries achieve that "true" learning, then? For Fukuzawa;

"the rise and fall of learning was affected by the state of war and peace in society, and education could not progress of its own independent power. Learning Was entirely in the hands of the priests who stood more or less aloof from society. This I consider a disgrace to the cause of learning. Also the styles of learning were different in the East and the West. The main streams in the West depends on experimentation, while in Japan the doctrines of Confucius was valued. The two can not be compared according to the same standards, for one finds value in verified truths while the other pays respects to given theories. The outstanding differences between the circumstances under which both existed is that when learning rose after a period of disturbance in a society, in the West it

rose among the general people while in Japan it rose within the government. This was the difference. In the West, learning has been an enterprise of the scholars and in its study there is no distinction between official and private- that is, it is in the domain of the scholars. In our country, learning has been within the domain of the rulers. There is no wonder, therefore, that no independent association could grow or that no firmly rooted opinions developed"³².

Encouragement of Learning also comprised some of the other fundamental ideas that Fukuzawa supported in the course of his life, including education, economics, freedom, independence, dignity of an individual. In the opening paragraph of *Encouragement of Learning* one can find his most sensational words: "*Heaven never created a man above another nor a man below another*". This means that when men are born from 'heaven' they all are equal. There is no innate distinction between high and low. It means, for him, that men can freely and independently use the multiple things of the world to satisfy their daily needs through the labors of their own bodies and minds. Furthermore, as long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others, may pass their days in happiness. Nevertheless, "as we broadly survey the human scene, there are the wise and stupid. the rich and poor, the noble and lowly, whose conditions seem to differ as greatly, as the clouds and the mud.

The most important way of minimization of the ignorance among the people is the introduction of a real learning system through an orderly education base. That is why Fukuzawa spends his life as a founder of schools, publisher of newspapers, and either writer and translator of several books to illuminate his countrymen. This was the sole way of great transformation in the long run. Another problem that associated to the problem of low level of the general education of the populace was the lack of citizenry. For Fukuzawa the reason why Japan is not an independent nation is not because the government had not done well by people. In the less than ten years it has revolutionized the educational and military systems; it has built railroads and telegraphs, and so forth. But the fundamental weakness of the Japanese society, for Fukuzawa, was not its government but its citizenry. The people of Japan were not providing sufficient stimuli to the government to keep the nation in a state of dynamic economic, social and political development. That is why the government is still as despotic as always, and the people are still the spiritless, powerless, and ignorant masses that they have always been"³³.

Virtue of Independence: Although many of his ideas and projects were accepted by the Meiji government, unlike most of the members of *Meirokeisha* (Meiji Six Society),

Fukuzawa refused to enter the service of the Meiji government and insisted upon the importance of maintaining his independence as a social critic. More specifically, Fukuzawa insisted that intellectuals like those in Meirokusha should avoid from any governmental service to devote themselves fully to the task of raising the level of Japan's civilization whereas other members of the Meirokusha maintained that qualified intellectuals were desperately needed in government to lead the nation forward. If historical and cultural realities of that time are considered, one can easily claim that this sort of understanding of the social relationships among the existing social strata constitutes direct and radical challenge to the existing social order. He, thereby, had undertaken a serious risk of speaking in such a troubled period. This put him difficulty as a father of the 19th century modernization. As the passage of time progressed, Fukuzawa's emphasis on individual independence had become evident. The sensitivity of Meirokusha enlightens in general to changes in government attitude, however, was revealed in 1870 when, as the result of issuance by the government of a restrictive press law, they ceased publication of the Meiji Six Magazine and soon terminated the activities of its present society.

This is an important asset in his line of social construction. He clarifies his decision not to join "the arrogant officials". "Why not join forces with the government now that its policy has been definitely established and is being carried out exactly according to my ideas? Yet I have not the idea of seeking a new career in public office. "As long as I remain in private life, I can watch and laugh. But joining the government would draw Meirokusha into the practice of those ridiculous pretensions which I can not allow myself to do"³⁴.

The second reason for this decision is the low moral standards of the average officials. Yet he did not refuse to meet them in case of necessity, he did not accept to live under the same roof. The third reason that kept him from taking office, he puts, was the sad memory that he had of these men at the time of the Restoration. The last but not least he remarked as;

"putting aside the matter of political allegiance and doctrine, I disliked that rush and disorderly struggle for office of the new government. Not only the samurai but even the sons of merchants and farmers-as if they had any kind of education at all-were swarming together like insects around some fragrant food. Some who could not be appointed officials sought other connections for profit as if there could be no chance in the world for anyone outside the government. Nobody seemed to realize there was any virtue in human independence...The independence of a nation springs from the independent spirit of its citizens. Our

nation cannot had its own if the old slavish spirit is so manifest among the people”³⁵.

Independence of an individual and the level of an agent's citizenry is also affected by the family structure. In that respect Fukuzawa also complains about Japan's traditional family structure. For the sake of his interpretation of the spiritual independence of people Fukuzawa harshly attacked the old family system, championing particularly the cause of women, and of children oppressed by too demanding canons of filial piety. As compassionate and sensible also seem Fukuzawa's pleas for a new spirit in the family, in which the members should live together like a 'group of friends', bound by ties of not of hierarchical duty but of mutual love and affection. He calls for respect for the rights of women, for a more reasonable treatment of their position in society than that accorded them for centuries is accepted now without reservation in all civilized countries.

III.2.e -Economics As a Part of Heaven Made Laws

*“Economics in its essentials clearly not a man-made law,
but rather working of the heaven made laws”, Fukuzawa, 1872*

In *An Encouragement of Learning* he also touched on the concept of economics. As it was mentioned earlier, for Fukuzawa economics constitutes one of the three pillars of civilization³⁶. For Fukuzawa, economics explains the management of a household and of a country and of the world. More importantly, economics constitutes one of the corner stone of any civilization, and thus Japanese people have to learn it if they want to see an independent and glorious country. Nevertheless, Japanese people, including Fukuzawa himself, at the initial period of Meiji Restoration did not know even what the term economics would mean in the sense of business with foreigners and competition. In fact, in the course of the Japanese first mission to the West, Fukuzawa also had joined, in 1859, fellow samurai officials had no knowledge of foreign credit or money orders at that time. “They must have thought that, as money would be necessary on the voyage, money should be carried along. So a huge amount of coins had been placed in the captain's locker, and they had broken loose during a storm. Such was the minds of our professional warriors forty years ago”³⁷. Fukuzawa tells of another observation in the West. This is an important observation because it may show the level of economic mentality at that time.

"..For some reason I was having a servant carry the money that day as it was in a great number of small coins. I suddenly realized that the weight of those coins which I paid as seven or eight pounds while the weight of the fire holder was only two or three pounds. Yet both the coins and the tool were of the same metal-cooper. The coins then were of much more less value than the metal object-what a terrible error in our economic system! We could profit by melting down the coins to manufacture the tool"³⁸.

When Fukuzawa compared the Japan's coins gold and silver content with the Western countries' gold coins he realized that, there was terrible bias against the Japanese coin, therefore foreign traders, ever since the opening of the ports were profiting heavily by exporting Japanese gold coins.

One reason of this lack of interest and thus knowledge about economic transactions might stem from the classical samurai mentality that trade and other money bringing activities were considered to be not for a 'brave' samurai. Fukuzawa, in his autobiography, illuminates us about the sources of this avoidance from economics activity.

" to return to my reminiscences of money matters I was very careful and scrupulous in spending money, but in the art of making money I was indeed indifferent. I do not mean that I was not informed, or that I had no knowledge of the general principles of business, but simply that I had no taste of or inclination to engage in buying or selling, lending or borrowing. Also the old idea of the samurai that trade was not our proper occupation prevailed in my mind, I suppose"³⁹.

Fukuzawa's knowledge about economic terminology is due to his readings and translation from the West.

"I was reading Charnber's book on economics. When I spoke of the book to a certain high official in the treasury bureau one day, he became much interested and wanted me to show him a translation. I began translating it when I came upon the word "competition" for which there was no equivalence in the Japanese and I was obliged to use an innovation of my own, literally meant "race-fight". When the official saw this translation he appeared much more impressed. Then he said suddenly "there is the word 'fight'. What does it mean? It is such an unpeaceful word"! "That is nothing new", I replied. That is what exactly what all the Japanese merchants were doing and this is the fundamentals of the world commerce". The official seem to be convinced, but he could not take himself to explain his dissatisfaction of the Western style economic relations. Do not you think there is too much efforts in Western affairs?"

Fukuzawa's interpretation of the official's impression is full of derision and an explicit criticism of the existing economic mentality shaped under the Chinese civilization:

"I suppose he would rather have seen some such phrases as 'men being kind to each other' in a book on economics, or a man's loyalty to his lord, open generosity from a merchant in times of national stress. etc..."⁴⁰

An explicit conclusion that one can draw from Fukuzawa's treatment of contemporary economics at his time is that he advocates an open economy guided fully by the principles of liberal economic doctrine as was understood by the classical economists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and like that. That is why in his university "The Elements of Political Economy" by Francis Wayland was one of the compulsory textbooks. In fact, Fukuzawa argues that economics is in its essentials clearly not a man-made law.

"Since the purpose of economics is to explain natural laws that rise spontaneously in the world, the explanation of its principles is like making clear the relations of geology to descriptive physical geography or of pathology to medicine". On the other hand his conception of private property was also consistent with the belief of the free economic system. That is, his views on the notion of private property says that "it is not only inherent in man but is a characteristics which all living things possess naturally. Thus the bird's private ownership of its nest is like a man's of his house: A nest is built by a birds labor, a house by that of man's gains and losses all follow from basic principles. In the case of human property there are manifold conditions and complications. But there are none that do not stem from nature"⁴¹

When one consider Fukuzawa's understanding of the "law of nature", it would be natural for him to apply these principles to the international economic relations either. In fact, all the book in original or translation that he teaches in his schools were written by the well known Western scholars who were supporting such a natural order. To mention some of them, Peter Parley's *Universal History*, Quackenbos' *Natural Philosophy*, J. Bantam's *Principle of Morals and Legislation*, Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government*, and *On Liberty*. Fukuzawa's liberal outlook at that time was reasonable because he believed that;

"every nation is under the same heavens, illuminated by the same Sun, enjoying the beauty of same Moon, sharing the same ocean. breathing the same air, possessing the same human sentiments". "Therefore", he argues, "whatever we have in excess we should give to them, taken to us whatever they have in excess, teaching each other and learning together, neither ashamed nor boastful, each fulfilling the needs of the other, mutually praying for the happiness of all..."⁴²

These thoughts resembles the ideas of David Ricardo posed upon in his classical book on political economy. This was the division of labor in international transaction on the basis of comparative advantages. Understandably he was in favor of applying the same universal principles to all the other international relations. His advocate of international relations was so radical that even he prepared himself to accept the Confucian doctrine provided that two other parameters are added, and these are the foreign intercourse and extension of the rights. Thus he advocate the community of nations, though with the passage of time there occurred some radical changes in his attitudes towards the West and his neighbors.

III.2. f-Community of Nations

"...mutually praying for the happiness of all.." Fukuzawa, 1872.

"Whenever the Europeans come, to land ceases to be productive, trees and plants cease to grow. Worse still, the human race sometimes dies out", Fukuzawa, 1882.

In addition to his ideas on spiritual independence of an individual, Fukuzawa gives a special reference to national independence, an integral part of which international division of labor and cooperation on a liberal outlook takes place. Fukuzawa argues that for the understanding of the value of international cooperation among the nation state on the ground of mutual dependency, the study of contemporary texts with the "strength letters written side ways" in the West must be translated into Japanese.

In the pursuit of *Jitsugaku* one should be aware of his proper limitations. These are the "reason of heaven and humanity and to attain one's own freedom without infringing upon that of other men": He supported the establishment of friendly relationships among the world nations for the complementation of their needs through the relevant economic and political institutions. This implies that he argues on behalf of international interdependence for the survival of world peace.

The slogan of "expelling the barbarians"(*joi*)⁴³ was thus an outmoded ideology of old times and does not reflect the realities of the present world and even the newly emerging needs of the Japanese society. "These narrow-minded views are not worth of my notes", he adds. Because after opening of the Japanese ports to the overseas

merchants and thus economic and political intercourse, Japan's ancient seclusion policy naturally came to end.

"Because if there is no reason for one man to harm another, there is no reason for two men to harm two, or for a million or ten million to harm each other. The rational principle in things takes no account of numbers...Both individuals and countries possess freedom based on natural reason". Furthermore he went beyond that and accused the Meiji government in its neglect of this fact. After explaining the reasons of an international cooperation, he directs his emphasis to the present government of his country. Since he believes that his government does not fits to the reasons of "Heaven", it has to be modified according the reasons of "Heaven-made laws".

II.2.g - Back To Japan and Nationalism:

When he had written down these sentences, Fukuzawa had just came back to Japan from his second trip to West. With the passage of time he has abandoned his optimistic views about the community of nations. The illusion did not last long, however, for by 1872 he was writing in a very different vein. This time he began to accuse some other scholars because with being unable to make a true interpretation of the West.

"they imagined that international relations were based on a universal moral principle. They believed that countries never meant to harm each other, and there for, it was necessary to leave everything to nature, letting people travel and trade just as they pleased. These are the relevant principle among the individuals but not for communities because it was impossible to get rid of the sentiments which bound a group of people together into clans or nations. It was ridiculous to think that these persistent and powerful feelings will be dispelled by simply invoking a universal moral principle. There is an inherent and irrational bias in favor of one's own nation. International law and treaties of friendships have high-sounding names. It is true, but they are nothing more than external, nominal forms. In fact, international relations are based on nothing more than quarrels over power and profit... When we leave theory and take a look at what is actually happening at present in international relations, we are astound to find that practice bears no relation whatever with the theory. But the point I am trying to make is that our country is in the greatest danger. Moralists may tell us to sit back and wait for the day when war will cease, but as I see in the Western countries have already greatly developed their military techniques...It is not long since the foreigners came to our country and up till now they had not had time to harm or disgrace us very much...but those who truly have their country's welfare at heart must judge the foreigners by what they have done and are doing in the rest of the world"⁴⁴.

Fukuzawa's opposition to the Western countries even became more radical and extreme in the later years.

"Whenever the Europeans come, the land ceases to be productive, and trees and plants cease to grow. Worse still, the human race sometimes dies out. If people understand these things clearly and at the same time realize that Japan is an Eastern country, they must inevitably fear for their future, even though up till now Japan suffered no great harm from foreign intercourse... Western nations call themselves Christian nations and make a clear distinction between themselves and everyone else. The world nations in their so called Law of Nations does not refer to all the nations in the world, but only to those that happen to be Christian. The Law of Nations has never been seen to operate in non-Christian countries... Indeed, if it should happen that one of the small countries of their own kind should suffer calamity someone will always go to their aid. This is what they call the 'Balance of Power'. They tell me that all foreigners believe in future life (life hereafter) but I should judge only very few of those in our open ports will succeed in getting to heaven because, for instance, they eat and drink, and then leave without paying..."⁴⁵

With the passage of time Fukuzawa's humanitarian ideas towards the civilized league of nations changed dramatically. Furthermore, for the sake of strengthening of his national country, he prepared himself to approve the undemocratic and even despotic attitudes of Meiji government. "The object of my life is to extend Japan's national power. Compared with considerations of the country's strength, the matter of internal government and into whose hands it falls is of no importance at all. Even if the government be autocratic in name and form, I shall be satisfied with it if it is strong enough to strengthen the country". Looking at this radical change in the ideas of Fukuzawa towards West and Western civilization, Blacker argues that;

"Fukuzawa established the relevant ground for the expansion of Japanese imperialism. That is, this progressive disillusionment, which by 1878 brought Fukuzawa to the belief that 'international relations were government not by reason but by the principle of strong devouring the weak' landed him at the same time in the quandary, which we have already noticed of advocating two entirely different reasons for the adaptation of Western civilization. If Fukuzawa's sudden neglect of people's rights (*minken*) in favor of national strength at this period might appear illiberal, the policy he recommended Japan to adapt towards the other Asiatic countries was frankly imperialistic"⁴⁶

Fukuzawa is not content with the mobilization of his nation against the Western Imperialism, but tries to mobilize all the Asiatic countries to resist the West, under the leadership of Japan as a sole country capable of taking that responsibility. In this road, it seems that Fukuzawa will not hesitate to use military forces for the mobilization of his

neighbors for that his sort of "alliance". He tries to justify this militaristic attitude with the following proverb: "A man with a stone house was no more secure against fire than a man with wooden house, if his neighbor's house was made of wood".

Having no possibility of knowing what he had in his mind in that time, an explicit interpretation of this proverb would mean that for the security of Japan, its neighbors has to be powerful and should have the desire and capability of resisting the Western powers in alliance with Japan. If they do not obey this overt necessity, then Japan had to enforce them in this way, even with using the military forces as the same policies are used by the European countries. In his own statements, "we can not wait for our neighbors to become so civilized that all combine together to make Asia progress. We must rather break of its formation and behave in the same way as the "civilized nations of the West are doing..."⁴⁷

What were these countries doing in that period? Frankly, in the course of the 19th century, Western countries adapted the policy of expansion through imperialistic strategies. That was the way that Fukuzawa tried to convince the government. This intention explicitly includes the seeds of imperialism, because he believes that it was better to pursue the same policies of the Western imperialism.

Up to this stage, we have caught the key terms in the philosophy of Fukuzawa. The new spirit that he tried to create includes the independence of individual, freedom, rationality, real learning, or orderly education, responsibility, and self reliance as essential parameters to a patriotic citizens. The new spirit therefore was the best possible means of guaranteeing the safety of and integrity of Japan from rapacious foreigners. "To defend our country", he argues finally that, "we must fill the whole country with the spirit of independence, so that noble and humble, high and low, clever and stupid alike will make the life of the country their own responsibility and will play their parts as citizens".

The new *Jitsugaku* did not imply a the substitution of material for spiritual values *per se*. It simply postulated a spirit which should view man and nature in such a way as to require an entirely different approach towards ethical and spiritual values. Man's task might still be to perfect himself like the one in the old Confucian doctrine, but the new learning implied that the road by which he could attain this perfection had entirely changed.

Fukuzawa's long-lasting drive was for the creation of an independent, enlightened country. He proposed to create a spiritually independent citizen who was endowed with the requirements of the citizenry such as national consciousness, scientific inquiry and

enthusiasm. In achieving this end, he offered a radical shift in the classical Chinese civilization towards the natural laws. The most developed form of this inevitable order takes place in the West, and thus there would be no other way than emulating the European countries with the moral and physical innovations. The essence of this new philosophy says that 1) there is a natural order in the universe. 2) the natural laws of science inhere in this order, 3) ethical norms are also grounded in this order; ethics are objective or natural, 4) man is a part of this order and is thus moral in character, 5) the ideal social order is one that completely conforms to the natural ethics. As a final remark to this chapter, what is explicit in Fukuzawa's philosophy is that he does not emulate the West because they are Westerners. In fact the Western here is an instrument of achieving the ideal order of men.

By the end of our adventure through Fukuzawa's writings and speeches, we have faced an intellectual radically different in some significant areas such as the community of nations, mutual praying for each other, liberal outlook. By the end of this life Fukuzawa's some basic thoughts were as follows: The logic of science found in modern civilization was necessary to Japan. But morality and national spirit were also necessary to strengthen Japan internally. The sources of these elements were to be found not in the Western enlightenment but in tradition. He also concluded that Japan should repay the country with loyalty as one of the samurai traditions, for the reasons given earlier. But it would be difficult to maintain morality without a religion. As Confucianism stands against the spirit of science, this religion should be the morality of samurai. By this way, Japan would come to an end as described by the following statement: 'unique combination of feudalistic fealty and chivalric honor with the material efficiency given by modern technology'⁴⁸.

In fact, Fukuzawa's adventure had began as a radical advocate of the Western civilization and countries based on Comptean philosophy of enlightenment but ended by a radical advocate of Asiatic, and particularly Japanese imperialism, colonialism, and an autocratic state in the form and practice. This remained us the Spencerian philosophy of "survival of the fittest". In the words of Craig;

"his early writings were the backbone of the civilization and enlightenment movement of the 1870s...During these years Fukuzawa possessed a liberal utopian vision of what the Japanese nation ought to become and what its proper relations with other nations in the world ought to be. But by the beginning of the

1880s this ideal was scrapped. Fukuzawa had come to see the world as jungle in which the strong were ravening predators and the weak their hapless victims⁴⁹.

Compte's way of thinking induced him to accept Western civilization as a final stage and ultimate goal of human kind that could be reached in this world, that is "the end of history". But it is seen that the end of history had not come yet, at least, by the end of Fukuzawa's life.

NOTES

- ¹ Dower, J. W., *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norrnan*. (New York, Panthcon Books, 1975), and Reischauer, E. O., *Japan: The Story of a Nation*.
- ² Fukuzawa, Y., *Autobiograplty (Fukuo Jiden)*. (1898), revised translation by E. Kiyooka. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1916) p. 142.
- ³ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.161.
- ⁴ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography* p.187.
- ⁵ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography* , p.59.
- ⁶ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p. 127.
- ⁷ Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, Cambridge university Press, 1964), p. 19.
- ⁸ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.217 .
- ⁹ Blacker, c. Introductory note to the Autobiography of Fukuzawa, 1966.
- ¹⁰ This was a term in that period Japanese tend to define non-Japanese white race. particularly the Europeans.
- ¹¹ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.217 .
- ¹² Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4), pp. 29-34, edited and translated by E. Kiyooko. (Tokyo, Tokyo University Press, 1985).
- ¹³ Fukuzawa, *An outline of Civilization* (1872) edited by E. Kiyooko, ((Tokyo, Tokyo University Press, 1985)
- ¹⁴ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography* , p. 78
- ¹⁵ Fukuzawa, *An Outline of Civilization* (1872)
- ¹⁶ Cited in blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p. 29
- ¹⁷ Wernon, R. " Augutt Compte and Development: A Note" History and Theory, V. 17 (1978), pp. 323-326.
- ¹⁸ Blacker, C. 'The Japanese Enlightenment, p.34
- ¹⁹ Blacker, C. 'The Japanese Enlightenment, p. 65.
- ²⁰ Nakayama, Introductory note to Kiyooko, E. , Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education.
- ²¹ For a nice and detailed analysis of the impact of Sugita Gempaku's medical studies on the Classical Chinese doctrine see. Jansen, *Japan and Its World: Two Centuries of Change*, (Prtinceton, Princeton University press, 1980).
- ²² Fukuzawa, *Autobiography* , p. 216.
- ²³ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4), p.34.
- ²⁴ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4), p.48-54.
- ²⁵ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4), p.49.
- ²⁶ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography* , p. 215
- ²⁷ For the detailed analysis of the Meiji period education system see Nagai, M. "Westernization and Japanization: the early Meiji Transformation of Education" in Shiveley D. H (ed.), *Traditional and modernization in Japanese Culture*, (Princeton, Princeton University press, 1971), pp.35-77.
- ²⁸ Fukuzawa, *An Outline of Civilization* (1872), p.159-161.
- ²⁹ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4).

-
- ³⁰ Fukuzawa, *On the Imperial Household*, (1882).
- ³¹ Fukuzawa, *Independence of Learning*, (1883).
- ³² Fukuzawa, *An Outline of Civilization* (1872).
- ³³ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4).
- ³⁴ For the detailed analysis of the Meirokusha (The Meiji Six Society) see, Fischer, J., K. "The Meirokusha and the Building of asserting and Prosperous Nation", in Wray, H. and Conroy, H. (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, University of Hawai Press, 1983), pp. 83-90.
- ³⁵ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p. 310.
- ³⁶ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p. 314.
- ³⁷ The other elements were defined as science and law.
- ³⁸ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p. 108.
- ³⁹ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.282.
- ⁴⁰ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.281.
- ⁴¹ Fukuzawa, *Autobiography*, p.190.
- ⁴² Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4).
- ⁴³ Fukuzawa, *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-4).
- ⁴⁴ This idea was developed during the national seclusion or isolation period of Tokugawa. that was the ideology of "armed expulsion of foreigners before the Imperial Restoration.
- ⁴⁵ Excerpted in Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p.132.
- ⁴⁶ Quoted in Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p.133.
- ⁴⁷ Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p.135.
- ⁴⁸ Cited in Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p.136.
- ⁴⁹ Craig, A.M., "Fukuzawa Yukichi: The Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism", in Ward, R. E.(ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968)., p. 145

IV. A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

*"Adalet Mülkûn Temelidir" (Justice is the foundation of the sovereignty).
Ömer, The First Khalifa*

IV.1- The Classical Structure of the Ottoman State

*"Adet Muhakkemdir" (Convention is fortified), Majalla, 36
"Kadim kâdemi üzre terk olunur" (The eternal perpetuates as it is), Majalla, 6*

The Ottoman administration had effectively functioned under the combined systems of *devşirme* (system for the recruitment of able non-Muslims into the Ottoman army and administrative organs) the *timar* fiefs (the system of land tenure for tax revenue and military service in the provinces), and the *Sharia* (Islamic jurisdiction).

The functioning of the Ottoman empire was based on four elements: "the sultan representing the imperial prerogative, the ruling institutions which aided him in this task, the Janissaries voicing the opinions of favored militia but also echoing the grievances of the less fortunate classess, and the *ulemâ* who were ministering to be 'rule of law'. Yet this equilibrium was newer perfect"¹.

Classical Ottoman system was an expanding world empire; the type of domination exercised by its rulers was patrimonial; and the empire was integrated through the operation of a redistributive-tributary network². This partimonial structure is defined by Mardin as "a system where no feudal jurisdictions intervened between the state and the local gentry"³.

Ottoman administration was not exactly an alien bureaucracy imposed upon society; it ruled more by reciprocal ties of patronage than by direct force. It was political authority which held together and defined the limits of society as a whole. It could be asserted that Ottoman Empire was more a political whole with no distinction between state and society. But in theory, as well as practice, the authority and power of the sultan was circumscribed not only by his responsibility for the welfare (*hisba*)⁴ of the subjects (*reaya*) and a Divine Law (*Sharia*) he could not violate, but also the millet system in which each religious ethnic community was permitted to have a relative degree of autonomy. Political authority penetrated the social sphere of life in such a way that society was subsumed under the state, and economic life was closely supervised by the ruler⁵.

IV.2- Imperial Economic Doctrine: Regulated and Restricted Accumulation Regime

*"Fırat'ta bir kurt kapsa koyunu, Adl-i İlahi Ömerden Sorar Onu"
(Whenever a wolf injures a sheep in Fırat, God will judges me for it)
Ömer: the First Khalifa of Islam*

Empire as a patrimonial society did not have a free market system but a directed and regulated one. This was consistent with the Ottoman Economic doctrine which was subverted to the political goals. The philosophy of the Ottoman economics was analyzed by M. Genç in detail. Genç named his study as the Otoman Economic Dovtrime. According to him, Ottoman Economic doctrine was based on three principles. The first one is provisionalism (*İaşecilik*). This specifies the boundaries of economic activities. Its aim is to supply necessary goods and services of high quality with low prices. Its implication on the ground of international economic relations is that this policy encourages import and discourages export, that was contrary to the mercantilist policies of early 17th century Western Europe. Second pillar of the doctrine is the traditionalism (*Gelenekçilik*) which says that instead of looking for a new equilibrium in a continuously changing dynamic environment, they retain in an experienced and tested realm. And the final principle is fiscalism (*Maliyecilik*) whose aim was to keep state revenues as high as possible for the continuation of the *hisba* services⁶. For this reason, the value of any future economic activity was rediscounted according to this principle.

According to this economic doctrine, perpetuation of private property, that is corporate personality, was also limited. Officials are paid extraordinary salaries for the sake of preventing any kind of favoritism, but their estates were confiscated on their death. As suggested earlier, the ultimate objective of the state was to preserve every one in its predestined place. The principle of "constant pie" was favored as an equilibrating mechanism and thus one can not question this facet of meritocratic or patriarchal structure⁷. That is market was adjunct to the polity as an instrument of maintenance of political objectives such as welfare (*hisba*), justice (*adâlet*). At the broadest level, Ottoman policies of economic supervision and coordination were a consequence of the state's twin functions of maintaining the stratification order and the duty of *hisba* ⁸.

IV.3- Surroundings of Modernization

"İbtidaen tecviz olunmayan şey bekaen tecviz olunabilir"

(Initially prohibited thing might be permitted later)

Majalla, 55

During the 19th century Ottoman society attached special importance to the Western values as a part of its reform process that linked its historical experiences to the history of the West. Both terms westernization and modernization emphasize the role of Western culture in the general transformation of societies for the achievement of an industrial state, the emergence of capitalism, the establishment of centralized nation state, a secular educational system, and the assimilation of secular law and legal reforms⁹. Generally the point in time at which these characteristics of modernism overshadow traditional ones is said to mark the beginning of a country's modernization history.

It is hardly difficult to assign a specific date for the beginnings of transformation and modernization in the Ottoman Empire because transformation is in itself a continuous evolutionary process. In the words of Ortaylı, modernization can be defined "as the change of the existing change"¹⁰, though the rate and scope of change may differ at any given time in different societies or at different times in a given society. Logically, we can attribute the need for change to the chaotic years of the empire. However, from the second half of the sixteenth century when territorial expansion stopped, this efficient administrative system began to lose its efficiency.

As this pattern became more evident, in 1721, the ruling authority decided to send Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet to the West as an ambassador with the mission of studying means of government and education and to report about those that could be carried out in the Ottoman Empire. This would mean that after centuries of belief in the truthfulness of their religion, in the prowess of their sword, and in the justice of their rule which gave them a sense of superiority over the West, it was time for their recognition that they have something, at least in the art of war, to learn from the "despised infidel".

IV.4-Tanzimat: Period of Modernization (1789-1908)

"Ezmanın tegayyürü ile ahkâmın tagayyürü inkâr olunamaz"
(With the change of time, the change of edicts become unavoidable)
Majalla, 39.

For the sake of convenience, historians tend to see the first serious step towards modernization as the late 18th century, particularly in military institutions. In the process of reformation movements the names of three Ottoman sultans have crucial importance. These are Selim III (1789- 1807), Mahmut II (1808-1839) and Abdülhamid II (1878-1908). Among these sultans, Selim III was considered as the initiator of the most serious modernization and/or westernization process. his main motives for reform, however, was his decision for the modernization of the military power of the Ottoman Empire, as Russia who was threatening even the capital of empire, Istanbul. Presumably the most important legacy of Selim III was the trend towards westernization and a sense of the necessity for rapid and progressive change. Another reformating institution that was established by him was the *Nizam-i Cedîd* (New Order). The main purpose of this reform plan was of course to form a European style army. However, this new corps was severely attacked by the Janissary corps whose established status was challenged and also by the provincial notables called *ayan* who had gained power through monopolizing the right of tax collection. What is important to underline is that the resistance to the new order came from the *ulema*, and and later from Janisaries and the local notables (*âyân*s). As a result of this triple alliance between the Islamic scholars, local notables and Janissaries, Selim III was assassinated in 1808.

And in the same year ayans made an agreement with the new sultan (Mahmut II) and this agreemet was called *Sened-i İttifak* (Covenant of Union). According to this agreement, they would be forgiven for their rebellion against the central authoroty in 1808 and in turn they would not infere in the state affairs. This is the first time in the history of the empire that patrimonial authority recognized the powerful existence of other civil institutions. Mahmut II put his whole energy to the restoration of centralism and succeeded in diminishing to a large degree the political influences of the ayans in provinces. The abolishment of the Janissary corps was also realized during the reign of Mahmut II. Thus through the reforming policies of Selim III and Mahmut II the foundation of more systematic reforms were established¹¹.

Mahmut II was a sultan who tried to expand the scope of modernization beyond military institutions to fields such as economics, legal, educational and administrative, and cultural spheres. In 1821 he decided to establish a Translation Office at Bâb-ı Âli, literally, the Greatest Gateway, (Sublime Porte) and to replace the Greek interpreters with the Turks. This office became the school for the education of the leading men of modernization in the 19th century, such as Ali, Fuat and Reşid Pashas. For the achievement of such a radical transformation, however, the ongoing alliance among the ulema, Janissaries and notables had to be broken down. In 1826, during the most critical period of Greek uprisings for independence, Mahmut II abolished the Janissaries. Between the years of 1831 and 1838 he introduced several decisive projects for modernization such as modern postal service, creation of state departments, a council of ministers, secular professional schools and so on.

IV.4.a-The Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838

In 1838, presumably for the alleviation of and rescue from the Mehmet Ali Pasha of Egypt's threats on Empire and the Sultan's sovereignty, the well-known Anglo-Ottoman Treaty was signed which brought the empire a serious "unequal treaty" because it included some serious concessions to Britain such as reductions in tariffs, abolition of monopolies and assuring British merchants the same rights as the most favored local traders. This convention, and the similar ones subsequently concluded with other powers, thus opened the Ottoman market to the industrialized Europe at a critical moment. If one of the critical repercussions of this treaty was the adverse shock on the existing Ottoman industrial base, the second important outcome associated with the first one was that the concentration of political power still made bureaucratic growth possible, even without adequate resources to support it¹². While the Ottoman relations with the West continued throughout the century, the 1838 Treaty led Empire to a further vulnerability to the outside. In this respect the role of the Anglo-Ottoman treaty in opening the Ottoman markets similar to that of the 1858 Treaty of trade between Japan and the Western powers. Both of them were seen as a part of "unequal treaties" with the West.

IV.4.b-The Tanzimat (New Order)

In the 1839, again at a time of crisis, Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun (Gülhane Rescript) known as the Tanzimat Ferman was proclaimed by Sultan Abdülmecid. The central theme of this rescript was that in order to restore the prosperity and strength of the empire a new legislation was required¹³. Its main principles was declared to be based on the security of life, honor, and property of all subjects regardless of the race, religion and any roots. Taxation should be applied according to the law. Trials should be public, and tax farming would be eliminated. The logic behind these reforms was to re-establish the imperial power over the subjects.

Islahat Fermanı (Imperial Rescript): The Second Stage Of Tanzimat: In 1856, the second and a further stage of the Tanzimat was initiated with the proclamation of the Islahat Ferman was proclaimed under the pressure of the great powers such as British and French as a response to their alliance with Turkey against Russia. Under the pressure from the allies, this reform package also continued to make further administrative reform and bring the Christians into parity with Muslims before the law and in the army. In this way, foreigners could strengthen their earlier privileges and set the ground for further intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman state, particularly with the excuse of the violation and preservation of the rights of the non-Muslims.

Thus the date 1839 in Ottoman history roughly corresponds to date of 1854 in Japan which corresponds to the arrival of Commode Perry in the ports of Japan and his achievement of the first unequal treaty of 1858. The second half of the 19th century is known as the expansionary period of imperialism and re-establishment of world free trading system under the hegemonic quarantine of "pax-Britannica"¹⁴. As pointed out earlier, each new convention was opening the way further for the involvement of foreigners within the internal affairs of the empire. Eventually, at the time of uprisings in the Balkan regions of empire, an additional political reform was the proclamation of the 1876 Constitution which will be explained later in this chapter.

IV.4.c- Ottoman Public Debt Administration

In the 1876 Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyûn-i Umûmiye İdaresi*) was established to sort out the accumulated Ottoman debt to the foreigners since 1854. This implied the further opening of the Ottoman economic channels to the Western financial imperialism after the integration of the empire's productive base to the Western markets¹⁵. Some interpretations of this era argue that the Tanzimat era was a prelude towards failure rather than reform. In my opinion, however, one should be careful in judging these reforms as a failure or a success story¹⁶.

Leaving the unfruitful controversy that the reason of such a failure was its defensive or conservative characteristics, I will limit myself with the structural bottlenecks for the strenght of the reforms. "The introduction of new measures and implementation seemed to entail a sequence of basic stages, each more demanding than the last"¹⁷. These were the problem of adoption and associated with the timing and sequencing of the reforms, and the other important point was the implementation of them. The most important elements of modernization process was human and economic resources and they were extremely scarce in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, they should be considered as the fundamental structural deficiencies as responsible for the the weakness of the Tanzimat programme.

By the 19th century, both Japan and the Ottoman Empire had discovered that the great secret of the West lay in economic development. In both, therefore, economic development became a primary cultural value. And yet, while Japan prospered, the Ottoman Empire stagnated and finally collapsed. Karpas argues that this failure, *inter alia*, was due to incapacity and intransigence of the Ottoman bureaucracy in meeting the demands of modernizing forces whereas Sunar suggests that it is better and more explanatory to attribute this failure to a paradigm shift rather than incapacity of the ruling bureaucracy *per se*¹⁸. Tanzimat was a revolutionary change in the conventional philosophy of empire in the sense that it was the first time that equality before law and the security for life, honor, and property for all subjects were recognized.

IV.4.d-Meşrutiyet (the First Ottoman Constitution) and Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)

The reform period began with a set of changes covering the military, bureaucratic, social and economic spheres of the Ottoman society. Of the numerous reforms, however, the establishment of modern educational institutions, the gradual and partial replacement of the customary religious based legal system with a western inspired one, and finally the promulgation of the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876 "stand out as the areas where the infusion of western culture was most controversial"¹⁹. The characteristic of the Tanzimat reforms realized under the leadership of Mustafa Reşit Paşa was the establishment of a new legal system. This effort was followed up by the later generations of Ali and Fuad Paşas and culminated in the promulgation of the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876, although this constitution was soon suspended by Sultan Abdulhamid II who seized absolute political power in 1878²⁰.

In Abdülhamid II the Ottoman Empire had an absolute ruler, who brought to a culmination the long centralizing process which had began in the days of Selim III. Abdülhamid was a patriot and he sought to improve the international position of the empire, but he disliked the the modes of change embraced during the Tanzimat period and later developed by the Young Ottomans and still later by the Young Turks. As underlined earlier, despite the process of change and modernization was set in motion by the sultans, that is by the ruling elite in the Ottoman Empire, in the reign of Abdulhamid II this process was reversed. More precisely, Abdülhamid was a favored modernits reforms towards education, culture, economics but conservative on the domain of politics. Abdülhamid expanded the educational system, made serious attempts to train the bureaucracy, insituted administrative controls, and paid close attention to trade and crafts. That is, he tried to promote material advances while conserving the established order²¹. As Küçükömer suggested, "it was the first time that modernization efforts in the sense of surrounding besides the West was resisted by a sultan". For him, however, this was reasonable because "it was the most important duty of any patriot to resist against the colonization of the country by the Western imperialists a process which was started by Reşid Paşa"²². For the preservation of the unity of the empire, Abdülhamid preffered authoritarian policies and this was supported ideologically by pan-Islamist movements²³. His reasoning for this authoritarian attitude is that:

"I made a mistake in wishing to content myself with the example of my father, Abd ül-Mecid, who sought to carry out reforms by persuading the people and creating liberal institutions. From now on, I shall follow the example of my grandfather, Sultan Mahmut. Like him, I now understand that it is not possible to move the peoples whom God has placed under my protection by any means other than force"²⁴.

IV.4.e-Young Ottoman Movement

Finally as a response to centralism and authoritarian system of government initiated and espoused by Reşid Pasha and his colleagues, the Young Turks were organized secretly in 1867 and defended a romantic nationalism at that time²⁵. As Mardin argues, "...it was the Young Ottomans who were able for the first time to rally the students of theology around the banner of an essentially Western course, such as constitutionalism"²⁶. İnalcık also shares the idea that Young Ottomans were the forerunners of the nationalist and democratic movements in Turkey²⁷. Always worried about domestic and external political problems, the Ottoman modernizers could not undertake reforms on a large scale. As the reform effort became unsuccessful, the accumulation of opposition to the ruling elite turned into an intellectual revolt, namely the "Young Turk Revolution" as a result of which Abd ül-Hamid was sent to an exile in Selonica and the constitutional monarchy was established in 1908.

Ottoman reformation had been undertaken a full century before that of the Japanese one, which however was under the much more unfavourable conditions as discussed in this chapter. By the early 20th century Ottoman Empire was standing before the door of a dramatic dissolution and collapse whereas the progress of the late 19th century allowed Japan to become a modern and independent nation.

NOTES

¹Mardin, Ş., *The Young Ottoman Movement: A Study in The Evolution of Turkish Political Thought in the Ninetenth Century*, Doctoral Dissertation, (Michigan, Xeroks University, 1958), p.32

² Inalcik, H., "Ottoman Social and Economic History: A Review", in Okyar, O., and Inalcik, H., eds.) *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071- 1920)*, (Ankara, 1980), pp.1-8

³ Mardin, Ş., *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962)

⁴ This term is used in the Islamic literature to capture all the behaviours of Muslim men and women, particularly the statesmen, in their attempts to improve the well-being of the Islamic community.

⁵ Sunar, I., *State and Society in the Politics of Turkey's Development*, (Ankara, Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science Publications, 1974).

⁶ Genç, M., "Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün Esasları" (The Principles of Ottoman World View Of Economics), *İstanbul üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyoloji Dergisi* (Istanbul Un., Faculty of Literature, Journal of Sociology, 1989), pp.175-185.

⁷ Inalcik H., "Ottoman Social and Economic History", p. 3.

⁸ Inalcik, "Ottoman Social and Economic History: A Review", p 5.

⁹ This definition is due to Esenbel, p. 146.

¹⁰ Ortaylı, İ., *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (The Longest Century of the Empire), (Istanbul, Hil Yayınları, 1983).

¹¹ Luke, H. S., *The Making of The Modern Turkey*, (London, Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1936), p.46.

¹² Findley, C. W., *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980), p.162

¹³ "...bundan böyle Devlet-i Âliye ve memâlik-i mahrusemizin hüsn-ü idaresi zimmında bazı kavânin-i cedîde vaz-u tesisi lâzım ve mühim görünerek..." Gülhane Rescript.

¹⁴ During the years of 1840-1880, world trade grew at around 5% per annum which was not only far higher than ever before and for a long time thereafter, but also much higher than industrial production. That is free international trade was the driving force of economies at that time, of course in favor of the huge manufacturing industry of the Western capitalism. For further details of the nature of international economic system and the expansion of capitalism, see Holtfrerich, Carl-Ludwig (ed.) *Interactions in the World Economy: Perspectives from the International Economic History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1988)

¹⁵ As it will be exhibited in the next chapter, these years corresponded to the intensive writing period of Ahmet Mithat who was complaining that "we are importing even the stones of pavements of Beyoğlu". And after the establishment of Ottoman Public Debt Administration he argued that "there is not any financial inflow to the country, but they are only using our resources and earning additional money". Berkes, however, by looking from the angle of 20th century economic mentality, criticize him as not being aware of the reality that Europeans, as a rational investors, do not make such an irrational

decision for a country where there is no security and guarantee of any return in a time when they even could not collect their own credits was given to the Ottoman state, see Berkes (1985), p.162.

¹⁶ Sunar, State and Society in The Politics of Turkey's Development (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımavi, 1974), p. 40

¹⁷ Findley, C. W., *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 161

¹⁸ Karpas, K. (ed.), *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1974), p.73.

¹⁹ Esenbel (1994).

²⁰ Another characteristics of the Tanzimat era was the re-centralization of the imperial authority, but this time in the hands of grand Viziers like Mustafa Reşid, Ali and Fuat Pashas rather than the sultans. For the analyses and seemingly positive critique of the Tanzimat statesmen, see Ortaylı (1983), and for a critical perspective on the Tanzimat era including statesmen and intellectuals, see Berkes, Niyazi, *Felsefe ve Toplum Bilim Yazıları (Philosophy and Social Science Writings)*, (Istanbul, Adam Yayınları, 1985).

²¹ Karpas, K. "The Mass Media" in Rustow and Ward (eds.), pp. 255-282

²² Küçükömer, İ., *Düzenin Yabancılaşması (The Alienation of the Order)* p. 73.

²³ For a comprehensive and detailed analyses of the pan-Islamist policies of Abdülhamid, see Eraslan, C., *II. Abdülhamid Ve İslâm Birliği (Abdülhamid II and the Union of Islam)*, (Istanbul, Ötüken, 1992).

²⁴ Abd ül-Hamid II to the delegation of deputies, just prior to his abolishment of the parliament, 1878. For the Ottoman-Turkish version of this statements, see Findley (1980), p. 220 where the English version was excerpted as well.

²⁵ The most famous name of this movement was Mehmet Bey, Nuri Bey, Reşat Bey, Namik Kemal, Ayetullah bey and Refik Bey.

²⁶ Mardin, Ş., *The Young Ottoman Movement*, p. 144

²⁷ İnalçık, H., "The Nature of Traditional Society" , in Rustow and Ward (eds.), p. 62.

V. AHMET MİTHAT EFENDİ AND HIS THOUGHT

V.1. A Short Biography Of Ahmet Mithat

Ahmet Mithat was born in 1844 into a family of a notable in Istanbul. Because of the death of his father in his early childhood, Ahmet Mithat had to grow up under difficult circumstances. Due to his father's close relations with the officials, Ahmet Mithat found the chance of communication with a wider intellectual and official circle which contributed to his intellectual accumulation and experiences.

At the time of his birth, the Ottoman Empire had undertaken several reform programs and their physical and psychological outcomes appeared in every walk of society from military to economics and law. Ahmet Mithat found himself in an environment of massive social turbulence and chaotic changes. As a response to this change there were some groups of people who were the strict opponents or proponents of Westernization and some other people trying to reconcile the good aspects of both Ottoman and Western societies like Ahmet Mithat. We can broadly define these groups as Nationalist, Islamists and Westernists. One can treat Ahmet Mithat as a nationalist, Islamist and Modernist depending on the situation he faced¹. In fact, it can be argued that he had some elements of these three ideologies at the same time. Furthermore, as a true believer of Islam he tried to integrate the good and useful elements of the European enlightenment with the Islamic-Ottoman paradigm. In that respect, Ahmet Mithat could be considered a conservative modernist.

When Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi was sent to France in 1721 as an ambassador with the mission of analyzing the reality of the West, the general attitude of Ottoman intellectuals towards the West was highly superficial and the West was interpreted as a monolithic entity and thus treated. However, further interest towards the West was initiated by these pioneers, though their writings contained a harsh criticism of the West. Ahmet Mithat's interest in the West was based on these initial experiences but he was lucky in the sense that he could find the chance of making observations and readings about European countries.

V.1.a-Life in Balkans: Early Experience of the Real Politics

Ahmet Mithat's life can be separated into three period. After the death of his father, Ahmet Mithat had gone to Rumeli, the European part of the empire, with his step-elder brother and graduated from the Niche *Rüştiye* (secondary school) in 1865. In these years his mind was shaped by both Islamic-Ottoman and Western values simultaneously. Presumably, this experience in the Balkan region provided him with a very important asset in his later formations because he was able to gain a broader vision about the issues concerning the daily agenda of both the contemporary world and of the empire such as nationalism, Europanization and modernization. As pointed out by Ortayli, Balkan regions have a significant place in the history of both the world and particularly in the Ottoman empire. The reason is that initial impact of the Western originated nationalist sentiments was felt in this region of the empire and thus further motivated national independence, decentralization and modernization.

The other importance of this region from the perspective of the world history is that several wars were originated from the complex problems in the Balkans where hegemonic powers were trying to keep the balance of international politics in their favor. Presumably this must have been the chance for the enhancement of Ahmet Mithat's understanding of the world reality at the first hand. One other advantage of Ahmet Mithat in these years was that the great statesmen Mithat Pasha, the grand Vizier, was there and he contributed to Ahmet Mithat's basket of knowledge. As he acknowledged Ahmet Mithat's capacity to contribute to the future development efforts of his country, Mithat Pasha encouraged him for further intellectual accumulation in different occasions. In the course of his life in Niche, Ahmet Mithat also found the change of learning French and eventually Mithat appointed him the head column writer of *Tuna* (Danube) newspaper at the age of 25. This was the beginning of his long-lasting adventure as a famous journalist.

V.1.b- Life in the Middle East: Encounter With the Eastern Civilization

In the second period of his life, Ahmet Mithat was sent to Baghdad, a famous center of culture, art, philosophy and science of the Islamic civilization. This time he was appointed as a column writer and manager of the *Zehra* newspaper. This was another important chance for him because several famous Islamic scholars were living there and thus, he learnt Arabic and developed his

knowledge of Islamic disciplines such as *tefsir* (interpretation of the holy book of Muslims which required to have a good and deep knowledge of other fundamental sub-disciplines), *hadis* (words of the prophet Muhammed), *fiqh* (principles of Islamic law), *kelâm* (logic), and *hikmet* (philosophy). Two famous Islamic scholars contributed to his development very much and they induced him to turn his face to the Islamic civilization as well as the West. These scholars were Muhammed Zühavi and particularly Şirazlı Muhammed who could speak about eight languages of the time including Persian, Arabic, Indian, English and Hebrew. Another characteristics of Şirazli that provided him a wider horizon was that he had believed in and changed several religions. In the course of these changes, he had the chance of exploring other Eastern philosophies, culture and ethics as well. Şirazli was a scholar capable of looking the problems from different perspectives with a comparative and critical view point. Ahmet Mithat was influenced by him very much. During his stay in Baghdad, he began to compare the West and East on the grounds of civilization, ethics and material possessions. The first book he had written, *Hâce-i Evvel* (First Teacher) was published there.

V.1.c-Back to Istanbul: Towards the Synthesis of the Eastern and Western

A year later, in 1870, he returned to Istanbul. It was the time for Ahmet Mithat to publish his ideas on the synthesis of Western and Eastern civilizations. In fact, he had spend most of his time among the mosaic of religions and cultures in Niche, Rhodes, Baghdad, and Beyoghlu in Istanbul. This close intercourse between the Muslims and non-Muslims was inevitable. In the words of Ahmet Mithat;

"...foreigners have already infused our society in every line of the daily life concerning trade, transportation and like that"². "In reality, the contribution of foreigners in the process of my observations on the nature of the Western civilization was significant. My initial impression on the Europeans is that they have deep knowledge on their jobs, capability of and enthusiasm for observation, high sense of responsibility, care and ambition"³.

In Istanbul, as a first task, he bought a printing machine and installed it at his home. This is a decision for a certain life style till the end of his life. As a poor man, he wanted to make money with his own labor. This was inevitable for him not to lose his economic and thus scholarly independence. Independence of an intellectual has crucial importance because "the worth of a truth is burn of a life. Truth can not be separated or desegregated "⁴. In the course of his life,

Ahmet Mithat's central goal was to teach the young generation and thus he tried to put into practice everything he supported. In that sense, one of attitude of him was to work and make money by individual efforts only. He attached great importance to the money gained by the sweat of one's own brow. Probably, his second aim was much more important than the first one. As the literacy rate was too low and only few people were capable of reading, he tried to encourage his countrymen for reading and other intellectual activities. Printing machine also enabled Ahmet Mithat himself to encounter the "machine-like civilian", its material output and think about that. In the final analysis, this printing machine was a tool of spreading his thoughts and ideals among his countrymen in the way of awakening a nation into the possession of *medeniyyet*, that is civilization.

For the realization of his ideals, Ahmet Mithat published several articles in several newspapers and magazines. Most of the time, as underlined above, his central concern was the highly popular and political matters because he perceived them unavoidable in curing deep-rooted problems of the Ottoman society. But needless to say, political dimension of these problems were highly risky to be touched at that time because a great world empire was in a period of demise under the pressure of foreign threats, widespread turbulence, apprisings. It was, firstly, the time to preserve the existing system and then turn to the internal problems. This was the strategy of the leading elite under the sovereignty of Sultan Abdulhamid. Because of his autocratic policies he was known as a despotic sultan. But as one of the most intellectual grand Viziers of Ahmet Mithat's late years Said Halim Pasha puts, this despotism was not stemming from the personality of Abdülhamid, but from the nature of the era. If the mother of Abdülhamid had not gone birth to him, the nature of the existing era would have produced another Abdülhamid⁵. It should also be accepted that one of the central tasks of any intellectual, no matter how patriotic he is, was to explain his views about the present and future conditions and possible salvation of the country. This was a way of life Ahmet Mithat did not hesitate to follow. Eventually he was sent exile to the Island of Rhodes because he published an article in *İbret* (Example) newspaper with other Young Turks, though he was not a member of the Young Turk movement. The life in exile, however, worked in favor of him in the sense that he completed several of his novels and plays, and later on he sent them to Istanbul and transmitted his ideas and earned some money. In Rhodes, Ahmet Mithat accomplished his other instrumental objective by opening a school, named *Medrese-i*

Süleymaniye. In this school he found the chance of teaching whatever technique he wanted with relatively recent books.

V. 1.d- Ahmet Mithat's Major Books and Novels

When he was forgiven by the sultan, he returned to Istanbul in 1876, and then grand Vizier Mithat Pasha appointed him, this time, as director of the official report *Takvim-i Vekâyi*. The year of 1878 was a turning point in his career as a journalist because in this year, he published *Tercüman-ı Hakikât* (Translator of Truth) as one of the most influential and pioneering newspapers. With the declaration of the first Ottoman Constitution, Ahmet Mithat had lost his influence because he was the proponent of the autocratic sultan, Abd- ül Hamid and he also did not favored the way of political ideas of the Young Turks with the claim that Young Turks, somehow, could not recognize the subjective characteristics of the Ottoman Empire and the particular needs of the population in the recovery of the perpetuated backwardness of that time.

Between the years of 1874-1908, he has published more than 28 novels of all sorts. He was one of the pioneers of Ottoman enlightenment and firmly criticized and sometimes made fun of the existing mentality, attitudes, manners and etiquette of his time. For instance he criticizes people for their inability to understand the real causes of victories and defeats in the battle fields. He argues that we can not understand the causes of victory only by saying that the soldiers of our enemy escaped form the battle field like a donkey that saw a lion⁶. In his writings he advocated the dominance and usefulness of the Western progress, and firmly criticized the institution of slavery, particularly in *Esâret* (1289) (Slavery). He also defended women rights in the novels such as *Hemûz Onyedî Yaşında* (1299) (Only Seventeen Years Old) in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* (1304) (An Angel on the Earth). These works put him as one of the pioneer of the contemporary women right movements, though he did not write on their political rights. As a way of exposition, in his writings Ahmet Mithat adopted a comparative method. There always existed conflicting characters in his studies. Having no way of knowing what he had in his mind, the reason that he adapted this method might be that only in this way he could communicate and made the people understand his points and convince them about the urgent needs of society. One of the heroes of his novels is a good and ideal Ottoman citizen endowed with the fundamental values of Islam and of his nationality, and thus he can discriminate between the good and bad sides of the Western civilization. He is contended with the subjective elements of his civilization and thus there is no

feeling of inferiority before foreign cultures. After endowing with these ideal propensities of Islamic-Ottoman civilization, Ahmet Mithat sends his hero to the Western countries to make observation about the material progress of the West. After this learning process, his hero is expected to return to his country and teach about the material progress of the West. This is the most effective way that we can also help the Western people in the stiffness of the "machine civilization" and to make use of the Western achievements in our society. In *Felâtn Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (Mr. A.Felatun and Mr. Rakım) (1291) and *Paris'te Bir Türk* (1293) (A Turk in Paris), Ahmet Mithat makes a comparison of his ideal Ottoman gentleman, Rakım, with Ahmet Felatun. Felatun Bey went to Europe without learning the fundamentals of his own civilization and thus lives under the pressure of irresistible feelings of inferiority vis-à-vis the Europeans. And eventually he became hostile to his own people and their values and thus became an idle mimic of the West. Ahmet Mithat called such peoples as *alafranga çelebiler*, literally meaning "Frankish style gentlemen" (or Frenchified Playboy)⁷.

"As it became fashionable to buy recently published books this gentleman does not neglect to buy them even if he does not read them at all. Felatun writes on the cover of these books the first letters of his first and second name with capital A and P with the style of *alafranga* writings. "A" implies the first letter of Ahmet, and "P" stands for the first letter of Felatun whose Frankish form of writing is Platon. This is the way that Western people sign their own books in their libraries. Felatun is a very kind gentlemen to the second person while speaking, no matter later he speak against him with the bad words. This might be the requirement of his Frankish style kindness based on "two facatedness" or insincerity⁸.

Acâib-i Âlem(1299) (A Strange World) is a "scientific" novel including his observations in his mission to the Europe. In this novel, his main objective was to make his countrymen familiar with the "things Western". *Ahmed Metin Ve Şirzâd* (1309) is one of the most important intellectual books in which Ahmet Mithat makes a detailed comparison of the Eastern (that is Islamic) and Western civilizations. After his participation in a conference on the East (*Şark Konferansı*) in Paris, he realized that there is a mutual ignorance among the scholars of the East and West in understanding and interpreting their respective civilizations. For the material recovery of the Eastern societies, they have to know and learn about the West. But the West also has to take the spiritual values of the East such as ethics of the Islam to cure their psychological defects without being too late because with the progress of industrial society, people are getting alone and they are not able to live and share their happiness and difficulties. This is not surprising because this

problem is stemming from the very bases of the Western civilization whose driving force is competition, self-interest oriented individuals or economic actors. It became explicit also that there is nothing in Christianity for the survival of humanity in this respect. As Christianity can not solve the eternal and spiritual problems of the contemporary men, they are leaving their religions and living as atheists. This is one of the serious observations that Ahmet Mithat made in his visit to France. In this novel, however, he continues to encourage his countrymen about the adoption of the accomplishments in the West. Jön Türk (1326) was his last book published in 1910. In the opening pages of this book he addresses this book as the "national, social, and political novel". While he was writing this book, it is understood that he was under the pressures of the leading cadres of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) who seized the power after dethroning of Abd ül-Hamid II in 1909. As will be argued later, Ahmet Mithat was in favor of Abd ül-Hamid because they both proposed the same way for the recovery of the Ottoman civilization. Both of them were modernist on the grounds of material civilization but conservative on the subjective elements of it. In this book, however, he explicitly writes against the reign of Abd ül-Hamid. This novel also includes the criticism of the European style of life that even the conservatives of the last four decades could not avoid.

Finally, theaters also constituted a significant place in Ahmet Mithat's efforts to explain his progressive teachings to the community. His most famous plays were the following: *Furs-i Kadimde Bir Facia* (A Tragedy in Ancient Iran) (1301), *Açık Baş* (Uncovered Head) (1291), *Eyvah* (Alas) (1288). Finally, after *Çerkez Özdenleri* (Circassian Lords) (1306) was performed in 1889, his theater was attacked by the radical opponents of the Western style of life. It could be argued that Ahmet Mithat was one of the initiators of the theater in Ottoman society.

V.1.e- Ahmet Mithat's Mission as an Intellectual

In the final analysis, it could be argued that Ahmet Mithat was a novel writer and an intellectual of the kind "jack-of-all-trades". He argued that one of the responsibilities of intellectuals is to teach people all the favorable outcomes of civilization. Therefore, the basic subjects that he examined in his novels and other books covered economics, history, law, philosophy and education. He, also, did not neglect to make several translations for the sake of introducing the "good" aspects of the Western enlightenment. Among these translations the important ones are from Dumas and La Fontaine.

At the end of his long discourse about the West, he came to the conclusion that Ottoman Empire needed everything on the ground of material prosperity. That is why he advised the young Ottoman gentlemen that they should learn everything instead of relying on only one subject. To put with his own words;

"My son! you either should learn only one discipline with its full details and expertise in it or you will learn many things but superficially. Viewed for the present conditions and needs of our country and people, according to my opinion, the second alternative should be given priority over the first one. In the same vein, I would like to suggest that you should teach the same lesson to your son. In the future a proper time will be reached to choose the first alternative, that is expertise on a particular issue"⁹.

Ahmet Mithat considered himself a teacher of the young generation and tried to direct the attention of his country men to the realities of the changing world. He induced them to criticize themselves. Also he encouraged them about their capabilities of creating a glorious future like our history. Evaluated from this perspective, we can confess open-heartedly that he accomplished these tasks completely. In the following section Ahmet Mithat's view on the concept of civilization will be analyzed, but this will be handled with the assumption that he was "jack- of-all trades but master of none".

V.2- PHILOSOPHY OF AHMET MITHAT

In the course of analyzing Ahmet Mithat's ideas we expect to understand the nature of controversies towards modernization in the Ottoman empire. In the course of this analysis, the relevant answers to the following questions should also be given: What were the repercussions of the enlightenment on the ideas of intellectuals? How did they perceive the need for modernization? Which elements of the old civilization could be preserved and which of them should be changed in the light of enlightenment? What elements were there to be found in traditional Ottoman civilization which impede the establishment of Western ideas? In fact, to what extent was it possible to take Western technique while leaving the Eastern ethic unchanged?

As common to all discussions on modernization, Ahmet Mithat stresses the notion of civilization and the remaining factors are analyzed within the framework of his understanding of civilization. For this reason, in the first section below his understanding of civilization and its comparative analysis will be examined. In the (*section-b*), his understanding of the concepts

progress, science and technique will be examine. In the *(section-c)*, Ahmet Mithat's nationalism will be discussed. *(Section-d)* will focus on the agenda of education and learning. Section-e will concentrate on Ahmet Mithat's discussions of freedom. and finally, in the *(section-f)* his emphasis on economics will be analyzed.

V.2.a- Civilization

As will be underlined in the course of our analysis, Ahmet Mithat adopted different types of approaches to civilization depending on the nature of problem that he handled, such as family, technique, technology, progress in different novels and articles. Among the most frequently repeated definitions of civilization, the following concepts are included ; love of justice, good and decent living, citizenship, the state of communities whose way of living, social relations, scientific, technological and industrial development have attained a certain level; the way of life which is in accordance with the commands of Islam.

Another dimension of civilization from the view point of material progress is the complexity and new forms of organization. The term civilization is translated into Turkish as *medeniyet* (literally meaning urbanization?), an Arabic term implies the settlement of people in the cities to develop complex organizations and learn to live and share together. This is achieved and sustained through formal and written law based on a social contract. Therefore, it is not enough to develop individualistic perspective alone, Civilizations, by nature, should also include cooperation, mutual support and solidarity. In that sense civilization means the manifestation of shared thoughts and joint communities

Ahmet Mithat argues that when Europeans used the word civilization in the age of enlightenment, they meant only Western civilization that they created after renaissance, which they considered to be eternal and the highest, and that they wrote the word with a capital "C". The most prominent representative of this positivist approach to the conceptualization of civilization is August Comte and this was a common understanding among the Western philosophers such as Bantam, Spencer, Mill and so on. The attribution of universality to the Western civilization constituted the most controversial problem in dealing with the modernization agenda in the Ottoman empire.

Bad Memories About the West: The Most Serious Dilemma: In fact, Ottoman intellectuals faced a dilemma in the period of reform. To put it simply, the nature of this dilemma was that by the end of the eighteenth century it became inevitable to make a dramatic change in the existing institutions and even mentality. Unquestioned assumptions of the old civilization progressed and accepted as the ideal system thanks to the long-lasting dominance over the West. Nonetheless, it became also explicit that this change had to be handled with the similar way of modernization in the West. This implied the acceptance of the dominance of the West over us. What will be the end of such an emulation? Would such a puzzle-like change bring us any sustainable happiness? Was it the kind of happiness and prosperity created in the West that we were looking for? And last, but not least, Would such a modernization process enable us to predominate the West, as it was done in the glorious past?

In the reformation of Ottoman Empire it should not be difficult to find several men to be categorized as modernist and antimodernist. From the stand point of an anti-modernist, their resistance could be understandable because they were, at the same time, intellectual enough to realize that with the period of modernization most of the old values will be overshadowed. In fact this is a tunnel that it is impossible to see its end from the beginning. That is to say, modernization process is a complex and ambiguous period that *ex-ante* evaluation of outcomes of this change is highly difficult. From the view points of the Ottomans, on the other hand, there is another serious reason for caution and suspicion in their approach to the Western originated modernization storms. As is well-known, a good portion of the intercourse of Ottomans with Europe is the history of continuous wars. Most of them were induced under the religious feelings. Ottoman and the Western countries were trying to expand their territories and political influences against each other. For this reason a good portion of the policies formed at both sides based on hostility to others. Several generations were brought up by the stories of either 'barbarians', a prejudice value judgment attached to the Turks by the Europeans, or 'küffars' (infidels), which Ottomans used against Europeans to imply their non-Islamic beliefs.

For the achievement of a certain level of compromise about European civilization, we need to understand its details. If we embark on our subject with the question, what is civilization? Frankly, we will not be able to find an answer on which everyone could be in agreement, at least among the intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century Ottoman intellectuals. In fact, the same chaotic approach prevailed in cases of other key words of the era such as humanism, culture,

secularism, and technology. Hence, Ahmet Mithat was not an exception to this ambiguous understanding of the term civilization.

That is, on the one hand, they realized that it became impossible to survive within the old structure without any change, particularly in the line of modernization. On the other hand, this implied that their traditional values will change. It was crucial therefore to define the scope and direction of change. Ahmet Mithat's teachings were concentrated on this point to induce people that this change is inevitable but one should be careful in this process.

In Hasan Mellâh¹⁰, Ahmet Mithat concentrated upon these concepts in detail. With the treatments in this novel, it is seen that *civilization* implies *progress*. He defined progress as a strategy to *catch-up* with the pioneers in the way of development. "No matter we could reach them or not. At least we will go further rather than being stagnant and idle"¹¹. This interpretation of civilization, presumably, was due to his pragmatic approach to the problems. According to this definition, we can argue that Ahmet Mithat was inclined to see the mere overt outcomes of civilization and neglected the mentality which lies behind these physical appearances. This aspect constitutes one of the distinguishing characteristics of Ahmet Mithat from his colleagues. Ahmet Mithat's dream was to create a strong and wealthy nation, yet for the realization of this dream it was not necessary to abandon the principles of Ottoman civilization. Ahmet Mithat was in disagreement even with the leaders of the Young Ottomans because of their severe emphasis on the political dimensions of modernization. However, Ahmet Mithat was concentrated on culture, education, ethics with the belief that these are the crucial element of a long-term transformation of civilization. That is, by accepting material changes to be unavoidable he tended to believe these should take place within the generally accepted institutions.

Reasons for the Ottoman Backwardness: In Ahmet Mithat's understanding, civilization meant large metropolitan cities, gas, electric, telephone, printing machine and other material outcomes of progress. This means that his interest was centered on the outer reflections of the civilization. Once we accept this definition or perception of civilization, then we can imagine what sort of remedy would Ahmet Mithat propose. In fact, he confessed that Ottoman civilization is underdeveloped compared to the West but this is the problem of last two centuries.

"It is doubtless that in the classical age of the Ottoman empire our civilization dominated the Europeans both in terms of science and technique. Nonetheless, as the level of

satisfaction and content of our people saturated as a result of these glorious centuries, our civilization reached its turning point in the way of decay"¹²

"As a result of this psychology, today we are trying to avoid of being their vassals completely. There is nothing worse than the loss of passion of a nation for progress. In our period of sovereignty over the West, we have conquered even the most glorious and beautiful provinces and countries of the world. As our accumulation of wealth was abundant compared to the West, we did not hesitate to make huge investments and thus flourished these countries even further. Eventually, when we experienced the submission of the West in front of us, we sad that ' Alright! this was our compassion over centuries and it is time to sit back and lie our legs'. One of the major lessons of history says that once a nation lost the passion of progress and content with the existing level of satisfaction, the next step for their civilization is the turning point toward decay. In reality, when this nation wake-up to the reality, this might be too late for their recovery"¹³.

The Advantages of Ottomans in the Way of Progress: After describing the causes of the Ottoman backwardness, Ahmet Mithat shifts his emphasis on the advantages of Ottoman society for progress. Despite its backwardness, Ahmet Mithat congratulates the selfless energy and efforts of the sultans for the establishment of a material prosperity. In fact Ottomans' position is advantageous because, firstly, the concept of progress is not alien to our society. The historical experience of the Ottomans are full of the story of progressive achievements. Therefore, all kind of achievements in that field will be welcomed by our people. Secondly, Ottoman society is not proliferated due to ideological oppositions and class differentiation's. There is a social consensus in achieving the scientific and technological innovations. Despite the superior advantages that the Ottomans possessed, Ahmet Mithat touches upon a vital defect in his countrymen. This is the feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis the Europeans. Because of this inferiority feelings, any modernization movement could potentially destroy some basic values of our society such as the family structure and religious principles. Ahmet Mithat, however, points out that we do not neglect or negate the material superiority of the West, and also we are aware of the necessity of emulating some of these achievements as early as possible.

"What I am trying to say is that, in a relatively short period we have acquired a good momentum in the way of progress. This is one of our assets in the sense that we have a highly flexible mind, mentality and even capability of adopting new breakthroughs. The reason why I mention this aspect of our people is that there is enough reason to get rid of our sense of inferiority towards the West. We should adopt their favorable and good values such as science and technology, but it is not necessary to abandon our spiritual values. It is evident that the spiritual values of a nation is the *raison d'être* of its civilization and can not be abandoned over the night by the simple and superfluous

calculations. Particularly, it is known that our civilization was the driving force behind our achievements in the history"¹⁴.

Ahmet Mithat's plausible hypothesis, then, was a nice synthesis of civilizations. The elements of this synthesis could be formulated only through the right analysis of the concepts of progress and technique.

V.2-b Progress, Science and Technique

Ahmet Mithat was aware of the fact that the glorious stories of history will not guarantee the future of our civilization that we dream of. This is because historical success goes hand-in-hand with the progress of science. Even the success stories of our history based on scientific breakthroughs. It seems, he argues, that our incentive for scientific inquiries is left in the past and that is why our heroic achievements of the past ceased to exist. It was these Muslim assets that the West did not hesitate to emulate. Muslims have forgotten the holy saying of the prophet that "knowledge (or science) is the property of a Muslim which was lost and thus he takes it wherever he finds it". In that sense we should honestly congratulate the westerners for their enthusiasm. It is the only field domain the West dominated us and thus its recovery is relatively more easier.

One of the crucial and also the holy duties of all Muslims is to get their heritage back. It would be an historical and fatal error to reject material innovations of the West just by saying that they are "*gavur icādi*" (infidel innovations). Ahmet Mithat is very glad to see that the import of printing machine in the past had been accepted with little resistance. As a journalist and book publisher Ahmet Mithat appreciates that, but, however, it is not enough because there is not any comprehensive book in our libraries about the achievements of the last century whereas in the libraries of the Western countries one can easily find hundreds and thousands of books in any field. This is one of the aspects of the civilization Ahmet Mithat was talking about. After his visit to the European Libraries Ahmet Mithat sometimes feels a great pain because of loss of hope for the recovery of his national strength under these unfavorable conditions.

"Compared to the Western Libraries, our libraries is full of old books written by religious scholars and the majority of them are not consistent and problem solving for current problems research agenda. Considering their outmoded contents, our libraries look like archeological museums"¹⁵.

There are four criteria for the progress of science. These are first, the development of printing of books and establishment of libraries. Second is the principle of observation and enthusiasm of science. The third one is related to the scientific ethics. And the fourth element is the neutrality. Among these, the first one is related to the objective criteria of science. The other three factors are the subjective criterion, that is context dependence. The ethics of science is related to the objectivity or neutrality. This is the only way that we can find the causes of our dominance and failure. This is the sole way of recovery. Based on these factors, science can be defined as

"the power of subordinating the four natural elements in the nature. These are the weather, water, fire and soil...Our domination or subordination in the world politics will be determined by the level of our control of these four natural elements"¹⁶. "You man! You are endowed with intellect, wisdom and reason! Do not you look at any map of geography to realize that the world is not only the place that you live on?"¹⁷. "In our society, when people come together, even an ordinary citizen continuously talks about everything whether he knows about or not. This is impossible in the West. There, there is a division of labor among the scientist. This is reasonable because one can not know everything. Scientists or scholars should be respected if our nation is to be civilized"¹⁸.

Keeping these elements in mind, we can shift our attention to his understanding of integrating European progressive values into the Ottoman development trajectory.

A comparative Study for the Synthesis of Civilizations: For the sustainability of the synthesis of both civilizations that he advocated, Ahmet Mithat makes an initial comparison to clarify the criteria of that project. For him,

"eastern civilization pays very much attention to the individual and social ethics, but it underestimated the importance of material progress in the last centuries whereas the West recorded an unbelievable level of material progress, but this time their ethical sensitivity was harmed. Then, the civilization of the future should be based on the ethics of the east and material progress of the West"¹⁹

What is important from the viewpoints of both sides is that this synthesis is standing besides us as a crucial agenda. He does not neglect to warn the Ottoman intellectuals about the preservation of our national values in the process of this intercourse, because, Ahmet Mithat believes that, although most of the advanced Western countries passed through a process of modernization, even an initial observation reveals the fact that they have all continued to keep their national prerequisites. That is to say, they purposefully decided to keep their "original colors" while

changing. This is continuity in change. In comparing both civilization in some fields he favors the West and in some fields, the Ottomans.

European manners, for instance constituted an important point in Ahmet Mithat's analysis. His emphasis, however, was not to emulate them directly. His main drive was to understand the essence of the way of life there. Ahmet Mithat mentions the benefits of learning of European manners and the way of life: "First, we can learn the condition of civilization against a marginal domestic group who wish to violate and refuse our own values. The second aspect is related to literature. For a proper translation and adaptation of Western novels and plays we should learn their manners and life styles. Finally, in this way our people will not face some major problems when they go to Europe.

"In fact, European etiquette dominates us in some crucial fields, except for their insincerity. They are, for instance, modest and humble. They speak with extreme care not to offend their audience. Another important aspect of the etiquette is the respect for privacy (*mahremiyet*). As one of the fundamentals of Ahmet Mithat, this was forgotten in our society but it is revitalized in Europe²⁰. The third aspect in European etiquette that Ahmet Mithat appreciates is their morals related to the social life, because he believes that it constitutes one of the outward conditions of civilization. Ahmet Mithat, therefore, concludes that one other field of synthesis that we extremely need is that of etiquette. Table manners in Europe is highly progressed and should be emulated. Interestingly, he does not see any meaningful correlation between civilized behavior and way of dressing. Civilization should not be looked for in the way of dressing. There is no one-to-one correspondence between civilization and the manner of dressing. As a Turkish proverb says "a thoroughbred horse is noticed even when covered by horse-cloth" (*cins at çul altında belli olur*)²¹.

On the other hand, Eastern hospitality, its unique nobility and sincerity should be synthesized with Western refinement or elegance. That is, the ideal or good Ottoman citizen is a man who is endowed with these qualifications. While Ahmet Mithat appreciates these European propensities, he criticizes the people who favor also the bad sides of them and questions non-ethical emulation. He calls them as "*Frenk mukallitleri*" (European imitators). What we try to underline here is that Ahmet Mithat's approach toward European etiquette is highly selective.

V.2.c- Nationalism of Ahmet Mithat

Although Ahmet Mithat did not take place among the Young Ottoman movement of the day, his emphasis on the merits of national values ranks him among the nationalist wing. For instance, in a

rejoinder to N. Kemal, one of the pioneers of the Young Ottoman movement, Ahmet Mithat clarifies his stance.

"According to your letter, you set forth that the future of our civilization will be prosperous provided that we accept not only the external forms of the Western civilization but also their way of life. This, however, is not the form of our glorious and prosperous civilization that I imagine to see in the future. If our future prosperity and happiness will be indexed to the generosity of such people who submitted before our swords in the past, I do not want such a prosperity. The reason is that, my objective is not an idle tool for the preservation of the balance of power among the European countries for the continuation of their hegemony, but to the contrary, my noble drive is to heighten the Ottoman glory alone. In the future, I would like to re-experience the old days in which the leaders of the European countries, like François, were writing official letters to our Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent and requesting his great mercy. My life may not be long enough to see this happy outcome. But, then I would like, at least, to hear about that in my grove. This is my dream for the guarantee of our future. Either it will happen in this way or it never will be. I am justified to be proud of my national propensities. In the past it was reported several times that the Ottoman soldier is the most disciplined, powerful and competent in the world and thanks to the existing strength of the Ottoman military it was impossible even to invade *Tuna* (Danube) and the Balkans and thus approach the Ottoman shores. These are all the evidences of my dream that will be realized definitely"²².

Having no way of knowing what he had in his mind, we can conclude from the previous passage what sort of synthesis Ahmet Mithat would like to see. Frankly, he was saying that Ottomans were so strong in the past that all the world saluted them and his basic task was to re-establish this glory. In fact, Turkish people were brave enough to construct this future. Therefore there is no place for hopelessness and idle submission before the West. The superiority of Islamic civilization was also in favour of the repressed nations of the West because Muslim civilization is benevolent to all whereas Westerners want to see all the world nations to be their vassals for the prosperity of them. It is the most cruel order that humankind has ever seen.

"There are two merits in our Ottomanism. Even one of them would be enough to make us proud, but Allah gave both of them at the same time. This a great fortune to us. The first one of them is our religion, that is Islam, and the second is our nationality. Our history is full of proud and heroic acts under the great synthesis of both the Islamic and Turkic values. Europeans are aware of our assets more seriously than we appreciate them"²³.

For Ahmet Mithat, the text books of history do not tell enough about the heroic achievements of the Turks. The day will come and the real history will be written by long-lasting explorations and

archaeological experiments. Ahmet Mithat gets excited when he thinks of the ancient history of Turks. If it is explored properly, it will be seen that the oldest civilization of China was constructed by the Turks as well. Despite this heroic and extraordinary historical adventure why did not, then, the Ottomans build arches and erect statues? Why did not they even write down their true history? For Ahmet Mithat this much is enough to fortify the greatness of Turks. Construction of such arches and statues is preferred by the nations in whose history victories were rare occurrences. On the other hand, we Turks as the leading people in history for long centuries, do not need to see the memories of the past in the text books of history. We live them in our daily practices. In the following phrases, Ahmet Mithat's nationalism becomes even more radical; "you, the glorious Ottoman, the world has not meet such a man like you. You are sent by God"²⁴.

Why Doesn't Islam Adopt Western Civilization on Spiritual Ground? From a scholarly perspective, Ahmet Mithat does not hesitate to emulate the West on the ground of material prosperity because he believes that this aspect of civilization did not belong to the Europeans alone, this is the common good of all religions and civilizations. Viewed from this perspective, we can argue that there was not any irrevocable incompatibility between the thoughts of Ahmet Mithat and Abdülhamid II²⁵. On the other hand, he makes a clear distinction between the spiritual and material dimensions of a civilization, and even believes in the seperability of these two dimensions. It is the material dimension that he believes, did not belong to the Europeans completely. Ahmet Mithat states that the Muslims have acted coldly towards Western civilization and held back from adapting it. According to him, Islam, whose basis is Divine light, has two fundamental characteristics:

1. Self-sufficiency,
2. Independence.

That is to say, Islamic civilization is not in need of another civilization. It has no deficient sides. It has to be independent. It will preserve its independence so long as it preserves its Islamic characteristics. Ahmet Mithat stated with complete certainty that Islam would also dominate materially in the future, and noted convincing evidence for this. According to him, there are five extremely powerful, unbreakable "strengths," which have bee established in the heart of the Islamic world's 'collective personality': The first is the reality of Islam itself. As seen in the past, this reality is the foundation of all achievements and all the sciences of world civilization. It has the capability of uniting three hundred and seventy million people as if they are single individual.

The Second promising evidence which shows the potential for a new shift is the existence of intense need and complete poverty. As an Arabic old saying puts, "necessity is the mother of invention". In Ahmet Mithat's reasoning, the most important reason of the backwardness of the Islamic world was its saturation or satisfaction with material progress. Contrary to that, now this world needs to make a new push in the direction of scientific frontiers. The third one is freedom which is in accordance with the *Sharia*. This affords high ideals and urges rivalry and competition for the realization of our ideals. The fourth source of our strength is the fearlessness arising from faith. That is, one should neither belittle oneself, and display humiliation before oppressors, and nor humiliate the oppressed. The fifth element is Islamic pride which proclaims and upholds the Word of God. But in this age of scientific revolution, the way of upholding the Word of God depends on material progress.

The End of Western Civilization: There is not any disagreement that Ahmet Mithat appreciated the material dimensions of the Western civilization. But it is also clear that at the same time he was highly suspicious of it and thus careful in his approach even to its material possessions due to the reasons mentioned before. Presumably under the feelings of his nationalistic sentiments, he goes beyond that and continues his critiques further. Ahmet Mithat argues that the seeds of decay are contained in the nature of the Western type of material progress because it is in full neglect of spiritual needs of human kind. Although the physical appearance of civilization is spread all over Europe, its ill-sided effects also reached an alarming extent. This is natural because as the physical needs of man is saturated, then he will look for other sources of additional satisfaction. And furthermore, the minds of people get tired of with the "machine civilization". The human being is substituted by the machine, and alienated in its ontological existence²⁶.

The second major reason for the decay of the Western civilization is its cruelties in the occupied territories or colonies. Whenever Europeans reach a foreign land, they attack the native culture and exploit their natural resources. The reason for such an unjust attitude is due to their belief in the superiority of their civilization, and that the right of living belongs only to civilized man, and not to primitive people. The criteria of civilization on the other hand are defined by obedience to Christianity. That is why they consider ottomans and most other Asian civilizations as barbarians. On the other hand, as underlined earlier, the criterion of civilization, for Ahmet, is the capability of living together under the principles of solidarity and mutual dependency in a community. Historical evidences suggest that the Europeans can not live without war. This is the

historical adventure of the Western civilization. Civilization means collectivity and complexity at the level of organizations. These are required but not sufficient conditions. Some other crucial factors have to be incorporated into this framework such as benevolence, solidarity, brotherhood, and cooperation, but these are the concepts which are irrelevant to Western people. Therefore we should not nothing to emulate the West at the level of ethics.

In sum, Ahmet Mithat held the firm conviction that contemporary Western civilization will collapse, and in its place Asian civilization will prevail because of the facts that European civilization is not founded on virtue and guidance, but on lust and passion, rivalry and oppression. According to him Western civilization was established on negative foundations. For this reason it could not gain the worldly happiness of ninety percent of humanity, and this will be the reason for its decline. Tomorrow's world would definitely adopt Islamic civilization. The salvation of all mankind, not only Muslims, was tied to the raising to life of Islamic civilization, which is based on the belief of Divine Unity, virtue, and good morality. Throughout history, Muslims had progressed and had been dominant so long as they had lived in accordance with Islam. All their backwardness and afflictions arose when Islam departed from their lives. Our civilization had to be raised to life again. While doing this, we should take the virtues of the West, like science and technology, but we should not take their way of life, their immorality.

V.2.d- Education, Order Of Learning and Reading

In the initial stages of the study, we have mentioned that one of the reasons Ahmet Mithat was opposed to the political modernization in the line of Western models and also the reason for his opposition to the wide scale political participation to the ruling circle was the low level of education, the ignorance of people and their lack of enthusiasm in the way of material progress. That is why Ahmet Mithat devoted his whole life as a publisher of newspaper, column writer, teacher at several schools for the sake of inducing people and contributing to improving their level of understanding. He was shouting at his country men that there was another, presumably a more important, world, out side the orbit of the world in which the Ottomans restricted themselves for centuries.

He proposed general education for both males and females. It was one of their national rights and duties to learn and contribute to the overall performance of their country. The education of women was also related to their freedom as well. For Ahmet Mithat the natural place

of women is at home as a mother of her child and the wife of her husband. In his comparison of families, the liberal attitude of fathers towards their children in the Western countries was appreciated by Ahmet Mithat, but he also supported the Ottoman family structure. He argues that due to European's individualistic approach to everything, children feel themselves helpless and could not learn to share and conform to any authority. In this respect, the Ottoman family is much more happier than the Western family.

Another task that Ahmet Mithat accomplished in his life during his exile in Rhodes was to open a private school. With this project, he became one of the pioneers of private education in the country. In this school Ahmet Mithat tried to use modern materials for education. As Karpat puts, "His two-hundred-odd works, written on subjects ranging from linguistic to astronomy, from history to medicine, sought to impart knowledge"²⁷.

What will be the order of learning or reading then? We have learnt from Felatun Bey and Rakım Efendi that the order of science must follow first theology including Arabic and learning about the classical sources of Islam, second, the learning process must include medicine, chemistry, geography, history, law and international politics²⁸. The other important principle in learning and reading is its practical applicability to the daily problems. This was the method that his teacher Şirazlı Muhammed thought him during his stay in Baghdad.

How to Learn About Europe? "When I found the chance of visiting Europe, there was only one problem in my mind! This was the enthusiasm of finding the dominant principle of the European style development trajectory.

"As I had the chance of such great exploration (*tetebbu-i azîm*) in the course of this mission, I tried to leave any personal matters and all other stereotypes for the sake of neutrality. I also forced also myself to behave like a creature of different planet. With this neutrality I described all the good and bad events and compare my findings with my country "²⁹.

In fact, he believes in the benefit of learning the good and bad sides of the European civilization due to fact that in the process of decision mankind we will need to know every aspect of them.

"But, what is dangerous for our people is that the first aspect of Europe that attracts their attention is its attractions and amusements. This is not the Europe that we look for. Ahmet Mithat experienced Europe through these three ways. He concludes that the majority of intellectuals tell us about the bad sides of Europe by exaggerating as if there is nothing else favorable to us. The repercussion of such a mistake is that they cause our people to hate Europe and thus refuse even the good dimensions of the West. Another

misleading error of our intellectuals is that they treat all the European countries within the same vein as if all Europe is a monolithic entity"³⁰.

For the minimization of this superfluous attitude towards the West we should educate our people properly before sending them to Europe.

This lack of correct understanding is not only a defect in our intellectuals but this is also shared by the European scholars. In the same way Europeans treated all the Eastern societies in the same category. This is the starting point for further misunderstandings. The knowledge of Western scholars is not formulated in a scholarly vein because they do not achieve their knowledge through explorations and close observation. As a solution to this mutual lack of understanding, Ahmet Mithat offers a close intercourse between the scholars of both societies. Europeans should invite Muslim scholars to their meetings and conferences organized on the Eastern communities. For Ahmet Mithat both sides have to understand each other. The reason for this necessity does not require an intellectual explanation. Ottomans should understand and learn about the West because the aspects of civilization lies in the West and the Ottomans need this urgently. In reality we need to learn their good and bad sides at the same time in order not to be directed by them. Europeans should understand us because the spiritual dimension of their civilization is already bankrupt even for their own people.

V.2.e- Constrained Freedom

According to Ahmet Mithat, the Muslims' salvation is tied to freedom and consultation. It is only constitutionalism and freedom that will reveal Asia's good fortune and Islam's destiny provided that freedom should remain within the sphere of our conventions. He argues, thus, that freedom should not be interpreted as vice, illicit pleasures, extravagance, aggression, and freedom to follow the base desires of the body. As is clear, Ahmet Mithat recommends not absolute freedom, but freedom within the limits of Islam and related conventions.

But these statements should not lead one to reach the conclusion that Ahmet Mithat was an opponent of the establishment of a liberal outlook in the country including constitutions and wide range of participation to the ruling circle. The time for such a dream lies in the future. Frankly, Ahmet Mithat purposefully tries to avoid of any political discourse. One reason for this is that the immediate needs of our civilization is not here and the interpretation of civilization at this stage must include some other crucial factors such as science, progress, education, culture, family and

etiquette. As it was underlined earlier, his avoidance of such an interpretation of civilization is based on the idea that the time had not come for them yet due to fact that the Ottoman people are in the age of early childhood compared to the Western peoples. He believes also that without achieving a certain level of progress and literacy rate, it will bring more harm to people to enjoy politics.

"In our country people's level of understanding and evaluation of the events is not enough. We have to treat them like children. We should look after them like fathers look after their children to keep them away from undesirable factors. In a similar vein, government and intellectuals should protect our people from the destructive publications and ideas of the West"³¹.

In his analysis of social classes, Ahmet Mithat stresses equality before the law. Ahmet Mithat is proud of classical Ottoman social order because it did not allow the dominance of a certain class as was the case with the feudal European sense. The Ottoman state is ruled by the principles of justice and welfare. There is the rule of "constant pie to all", and the domination of any class through the appropriation of the resources was banned. The same rules of the *Sharia* would be applied to everyone. Ahmet Mithat criticizes people who have claim for nobility.

Is there any relevance of nobility for the progress of civilization? Did not God create all of us? Do not you know that all the human body is composed of the four natural elements? These ideas can only belong to an uneducated man, an educated and illuminated intellectual should avoid such a naive arguments. Those people who are also uneducated assert that they contained sacred blood. Are the blood of nobles sanctified and the blood of low-ranking or ordinary people's rotten! Nobility is something that people believe that they inherited from their ancestors. What benefit would be provided by such a nobility? That is, nobility is not inherited but is gained by individual efforts of man himself (*asalet liyâkattadır*).

But, unfortunately, this idea or belief in equality in Ottoman Society was not achieved when we consider relations between men and women. Because young men and women are not allowed to make their own decisions independently. This lack of freedom towards individuals, however, should not be attributed to the type of regime we have. "In our country we are ruled by Sultan but even the son of a porter might become a grand Vizier like the son of a noble (*Zadegân*)"³².

Generally human rights and particularly women rights are the problems associated with the new order (Tanzimat). As underlined earlier Ahmet Mithat can be considered the pioneer of women rights. But this should not be confused with the feminist movements in Europe. Frankly Ahmet Mithat believes that the rights that our civilization assigned to women are ideal, but they need to be modified a bit more. For instance they should be allowed to make their own decisions about marriage. Unfortunately, he argues, in our country the idea of individual freedom has not been established yet so as to allow men and women marry in accordance with their own decisions. Let them to choose as they wish. Yet, his interpretation of women's role in society is closely related to the Eastern mentality or mind. A woman, in the Eastern World, is evaluated in accordance with her dignity, modesty, honesty and capability at home as a mother and wife. These are the most glorious propensities that our civilization has offered to women. Freedom and independence the Western sense will harm these merits.

V.2. f- Economics

Ahmet Mithat's views of economics can be found in his several books and articles. The reason for this is that he did not prefer a scholarly treatment of the problems and focused on the nature and solution of any problem whenever and wherever he needed. However, the majority of his ideas on economics could be found in the following books: *Ekonomi Politik (Political Economy)* (1291) and *Sevdây-ı Say-ü Amel (Enthusiasm For Working and Labor)* (1296), *Para (Money)* (1304).

Background to the Writings of Economics: Before shifting our attention to the detailed analysis of his ideas in the field of economics, it might be convenient to draw a picture of the times when he was writing in this subjects. His views of economics were generally shaped during the years of 1870-1890s. In these years there were two major problems. One of them was related to the technical aspect of the problem. This was stemming from the wrong economic policies undertaken under several necessities as will be explained below. As it was explained in the fourth chapter, these years were the longest and most difficult times of the empire. A world empire was living its last days before its demise and both the intellectuals and statesmen were aware of that, and they were unable to reverse that situation though they spend their massive selfless energies. On the one hand the leading men were trying to preserve the unity of the country by the "politics of balance" between the Western countries and Russia which was threatening even the capital of the

empire, Istanbul. On the other hand intellectuals both in and outside of the official circles were looking for and offering new policies and reforms to the Sultan. Some of these reform were undertaken under the pressures of the Western allied powers and some adapted by the advice of the intellectuals most of whom, for Ahmet Mithat, were thinking under the pressure of a feeling of inferiority vis--à-vis Europe. Thus, their ideas were not based on a healthy synthesis of eastern and Western values but they were the mere translators of the Frankish style ideas like a parrot. In these years, our intellectuals did not know the details of the ideas they were advocating. This was also relevant for the men talking about the merits of the laissez-faire economics.

Eventually, already implemented reforms were of the past period the kind that Ahmet Mithat was advocating. He proposed reform in education, in military, in science and technology, in the postal service³³. But he opposed the reforms in the political field. He argued that our people have not matured or were conscious enough yet so as to join political movements. This process does not contribute to the newer needs of our country, but dissolves our empire, and create ideological oppositions.. Unfortunately, most of the ideas of reform packages prepared under the pressure of the great powers were inductive to such a fragmentation. He believed that with the Anglo-Ottoman treaty of 1838, the existing Ottoman domestic industrial base was weakened. Even the factories that our glorious ancestors established were shut down, now we are importing everything, including the stone of pavements in Beyoghlu, and sulfur (kibrit) from the West. In addition to that, our debts accumulated so much that we are not able to repay them and the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was proclaimed and was controlled by the foreigners. This meant that after the integration of the empire's manufacturing base to Europe, now financial channels were also left to them. The dramatic result is that;

"The fez (ottoman style hat) which covers our heads, the shirts in our back, the sulfur (kibrit) that we fire, the pavement stones of Beyoghlu, are being imported from the West. Furthermore the old industrial base was destroyed and the workers employed there had to earn money for bread as porters and/or oarsmen. These are the inferior jobs and require only arm power. There is a similar situation in the agricultural sector. There is no agricultural surplus that we could sell in the coastal cities. While we can export some little amount of cereals in major ports, in return even the flour that the people need in the capital is often imported from Russia and other foreign countries. If we compare the agricultural structure of the Europe where agriculture has already been mechanized, we realize that the Ottomans agriculture is still at a primitive level. Thus it becomes easier to understand our dramatic situation. Furthermore, in the field of trade, we are totally absent. Even a comparison is impossible in that field. In the European economic

textbooks, the concept of foreign trade was used to imply the activities of their native people who are going to abroad and selling and buying there, whereas, in our country, foreign trade aside, even trade is done by foreigners. Is it an exaggeration to argue that this constitutes one of the major reasons of the collapse of our national wealth? It is well-known that several people, though they were the vagabonds of their own societies, came to Istanbul and became millionaires. They did not bring such an amazing amount of money from the West, did they? They have found it in our country. Furthermore, they passed even beyond that and cause our state's indebtedness to 200 million debt. This means that, after appropriation the national accumulation, they have extracted 10 Ottoman liras per capita. Eventually, the natural corollary of supporting the principles of political economy in our country would implies the elimination of capital, agriculture, industry, trade, and even human factor, that is skilled labor required for the establishment of an industrial base. Thus, before applying the principles of laissez- faire economics to our country, we should reproduce all of these factors"³⁴

Backwardness in Economic Mentality: In my opinion, this aspect of the problem set forth above, however, was related to the technical aspect of the wrong policies adapted under either the pressures of the great powers or due to some necessities. The most important disadvantage of the Ottoman society lies in their ignorance of working, entrepreneurship, and earning money. This problem is directly related to the people's mentality and it is difficult to change this over night. One point was clear: This is not the natural requirement of neither our religion, nor Ottomanship. Because in history, argues Ahmet Mithat, under the guidance of these principles our ancestors established relatively great factories, employed hundreds and thousands of workers controlled the world trading channels and so on.

As should be realized, Ahmet Mithat's pride of his civilization in its old form was not extended to its spiritual dimension alone but also to its material dimension. He was talking about the restructuring, reestablishing, re-achievement, reorientation, and rehabilitation of the old ethical structure, industrial base, trade routes, and material well-being. Hence, his prescription for the revival of the economic life of the empire.

That is to say, there is no inherited defect in our civilization to make money, to accumulate wealth and to conduct trade. Even the prophet of Islam married a rich woman making trade and he himself did the same thing for some years. Then we should look at the near past for the diagnosis of this change in our mental attitude towards economics. People often prefer to get an employment at the state offices and they dislike hard working and avoid of taking any serious risk.

The risk taking nature of the people in the West causes another difference in favor of the West which can be seen in business life. One of the factors which make this difference is the utilization of time which is an important factor in industrial society in the absence of which production losses emerges.

"It is well-known that we do not try to evaluate even the minutes. Such a short time period makes no difference. This neglect of time implies that Turkish people do not have tendency towards job and hard working. We should defeat Europeans on the ground of manufacturing, selling and earning. Europeans try to find an optimum balance between the desires of life for working and working for life whereas we only look at the side of life without working. In fact official employment is a chance for such a lazy people who favor shirking"³⁵.

"Private entrepreneurship and the culture of trade is wide-spread in Europe whereas such an idea had not come into existence yet in our country!"³⁶. Anyway, he wishes that a day will come in the future that the idea of trade will be glorified and appreciated among our people. Of course, in this revival the rôle of novel/fiction writers should not be neglected because they will teach our countrymen the importance of trade. Actually, they will declare the obvious (*malumu ilâm*). What is a striking point in his treatment is that the progress of civilization can not be achieved only through the government efforts. The driving force behind civilization is civil and individual enthusiasm. Europeans had brought about a highly specialized business life and working relation in industrial plants and trading relations through private activities rather than those of the state..

The European Economic System and its Feasibility in the Ottoman Order: As it was explained above, Ahmet Mithat's economic policy suggestions were shaped under the dramatic experiences of the post-Tanzimat era. Considering the specific needs of the empire in his time, Ahmet Mithat became the first intellectual advocated the benefits of a protectionist economic policies in an underdeveloped country such as the Ottoman Empire. In his time there were also some strong experts of economics such as Sakızlı Ohannes whose ideas dominated the intellectual circles. But Ahmet Mithat did not believe that this system could save us. European policies were designed according to results of their economic system based on the tradition of Smith-Ricardo-Mill. We realize that Ahmet Mithat was aware of the important economists. He argues that their system is designed according to the level of their economic development, the mentality of their

people and their particular interests. The first Industrial Revolution was created in the West and they have shifted to machine production. This enabled them to shift to mass production. The capacity of their market was not enough, however, to absorb such a huge quantity of supply. That is with the existing level of income and the consumption patterns this supply was "unable to create its own" demand. This is reasonable because, Ahmet Mithat argues that in the old times people were living at the level of subsistence and thus this necessitated the demand to be low. But Western civilization produced several needs artificially and forced us to feel psychologically that we really need them. Western style advertisements were necessary for the creation and fashioning of these artificial needs. Moreover, this massive factory production induced the Western states to expand their overseas markets with the purpose of both marketing their manufactures and to extract the raw materials of the underdeveloped countries as inputs for their huge factories. The natural end of such an expansion is existing capitalism and thus imperialism. When we consider our economic situation, it is out of the question that our situation is not compatible with the Western case. Therefore, we need to develop our own model of economic development.

The Ottoman Economic Model: Based on such a bad experience of the Ottoman Empire and the close observations he made in the Western countries, he firmly advocated a system biased in favor of protectionism³⁷. Ahmet Mithat set forth two major reason for the establishment of a different economic system than that of the liberal one. The first one is related to the relative backwardness of the Ottoman Empire and the expansion of the capitalist countries against the underdeveloped ones. The second barrier is the state of mind of our people which has it impossible to follow the similar economic patterns of behavior in the sense of consumption, saving, trading, entrepreneurship and so on. Under these conditions if we open the doors of our country to the developed countries for the sake of free economic intercourse, its result will be discouraging in the sense of destroying and eliminating even the rest of our merits and possessions. The experience of post-1838 is enough to vindicate that argument.

Therefore the plausible system, at least in the short term, would be to first protect our possessions, and then develop them enough to get ready for a free economic system. One repercussion of this sort of approach to the problem, however, means that Ahmet Mithat was not against the free international economic order at least theoretically. He was trying to convince the leading people about the outcomes of an "open door policy" towards the West. His policy of protectionism, on the other hand, implied a transitory stage.

In such a general framework of protectionism, his idea of economic development resembles the conventional import substituting industrialization (ISI). This means that he advocated the establishment of a domestic industrial base with the particular initiatives and subsidies of government with the protective barriers for import via higher tariff rates and import duties.

Ahmet Mithat, however, was aware of the negative effects of such a protectionism. "It is argued that in case of heavy protectionism, European industrialists' entry to our market becomes impossible which at the same time impede our progress as well"³⁸. He does not believe that the right of free import would contribute toward such a project, rather this will impede our development. The reason is that, if free importation is allowed then they will not come to our country with the purpose of manufacturing here. Therefore, we should order the most essential goods and services and assign lower duties for them, and higher premium for the rest of the importable". Clearly, Ahmet Mithat was talking about an "optimum rate of protectionism" depending on the country's import dependence in key intermediary and final goods. The second method of importing foreign industrial methods is to send students abroad to learn about agriculture and industry. The third way is to induce foreign investors provided that they accept the given package programs"³⁹. Ahmet Mithat's economic policy, thus, could be summarized as the policy of domestic protectionism and regulation through subsidies and other incentives, achievement of foreign investment through several related tools. The merits of self-sufficiency is stated in the following phrases of Ahmet Mithat;

"When the time comes that instead of importing, we could produce own weapons in our factories, and for this production our domestic producers compete among themselves, then the future of our civilization will be quarantined...(In another passage says that) if we could produce our own weapons, we can trust them. In the old days we produced our swords and inscribed them with the sayings of our holy Kur'an: "certainly we (God) will offer you a great victory" ⁴⁰.

To sum up, Ahmet Mithat in the course of his long lasting adventure tried to acquire the good sides of the Western civilizations. This was unavoidable for the revival of the Ottoman Empire. The relative backwardness of Ottoman society was due to their saturation and satisfaction with the level of their material progress and accumulation of wealth in the past. This, was naturally the turning point of their demise, as a proverb says, "do not stand! or you will fail down".

If the Ottoman people realized the need of restructuring they would have been able to rehabilitate their glorious past. Here is, however, a "knife-edge situation" that in this process of adapting Western material achievements, Ottoman people should save themselves from an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the West. Because under such feeling they will not be able to select the beneficial and favorable aspects of European civilization and they will hate their national identity. Instead of taking the necessary needs from Europe, they will bring to this nation only their "*alafranga*" etiquette. This is one of the fatal errors that an intellectual would make against his nation because our people are seeing such "Frenchified Playboys" and naturally suppose that this is the real face of the infidel Europeans who could have nothing to give to our civilization. They, thus, psychologically tends to refuse any thing Western. This is an unforgivable injustice to both our nation and Western civilization. Because this is not the real face of Europe. Europe is not a monolithic entity. There are good Europeans who obey the rules of the true teachings of Christianity and their own conventions or traditions as well as bad Europeans. There are also developed and underdeveloped European countries.

The essence of the message that Ahmet Mithat was trying to make could be summarized as follows; Ottomans definitely needed the material progress of the West, but that was all. For the achievement of the European physical possessions, Ottoman society does not to negate its historical, cultural and national values. These are the makings of a nation in the absence of which it becomes difficult to survive. This argument is fortified by historical experience. In sum, our people are capable of recreating the glorified old days provided that they adapt the true teachings of Islam and the progressive achievements of the West. Even the West is in a dramatic need of such a synthesis of civilizations. This is because of the fact that material wealth is not enough for the eternal well-being of the human kind. It is evident that with the present secular form of Christianity it is impossible to provide necessary agenda for the eternal questions of the Western people⁴¹. The plausible formula for the survival of the East and West in the longer term lies in the amalgam of the spiritual knowledge of the east and the scientific knowledge of the West

" If the the Europeans have a slide of intellect and did not lost their mind, they should change some aspects of their way of looking at men and the life and thus should make a considerable reformatoin in on the domain of epistemologic valuation of them and in this process they should take from the Eastern civilization because it has became explicit that their civilization has nothing to give to the human kind in the way of happiness. This problem is extended both to

the spiritual and material aspects of the life in the West. While they made a big push on the material ground, welfare effects of this were not distributed to the majority of the society equally. That is, a minority of the society is expanding against the majority. In such a system, even this part of the society will not be happy enough because this system purposefully created several artificial needs which are impossible to satisfy. This system is conducive only to the creation of further dissatisfactions. Can you generalize the happiness of such a minority to the rest of the human kind?^{42,}

NOTES

- ¹ Mardin and Ortaylı both argue that he could not decide where to stand between the East and the West. Mardin, Ş., *Bediüzzaman Said Nursi Olayı: Modern Türkiye'de Din Ve Toplumsal Değişim (Religion and the Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi)*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1992), p. 222. Ortaylı (1983)
- ² Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa Adâb-ı Muâşeretî (European Style Etiquette)*, (İstanbul, İkdâm Matbaası, 1312), p.3-4.
- ³ Ahmet Mithat, *Jön Türk*, (İstanbul, Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1326), p.124.
- ⁴ "Hak'kın hatırı alîdir ve tecezzi kabul etmez"
- ⁵ Said Halim Pasha was one of the most enlightened intellectuals of the official circles of his era and published several scholarly books on the institutions of the East and the West. He also analyzed the sources and essence of problems and demise of the Ottoman Empire. For his illuminating articles and books, see particularly *Buhranlarımız (Our Crises)*, (edited by Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ), (İstanbul, İz Yayınları, 1993), *Batıda ve Türkiye'de Siyasi Kurumlar (Political Institutions in the West and Turkey)*, (İstanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1987).
- ⁶ "Öyle "cüyüş-i derya-hürüş ile hareket olunarak düşman üzerine tufan-ı bela gibi rumhu nize yağdırılmış olduğundan aslan görmüş eşek gibi meydan-ı vegadan firara şitaban oldular" demekle galibiyetin sebep ve hikmeti anlaşılamayacağı gibi "bi-hikmeti Teala galebeye müyesser olamadı. Günahlarımızın seyyiesi olarak mağlubiyet bizde tecelli eyledi" gibi kuyudi tarihiyye ile dahi mağlubiyetlerin hikmetleri anlaşılamaz" in Ahmet Mithat, *Menfa (Place of Exile)*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1293), p. 24
- ⁷ Mardin has shown, that "these playboys live on ignominy, while more earnest modernists, noble in purpose and dashing in frock coat and crimson fez, stand before a society woefully sort of heroes as little less than the beau ideal", in Findley, p. 210.
- ⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Felâhın Bey ile Rakım Efendi*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1292), p.135.
- ⁹ Okay, O. Ahmet Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Mithat Efendi (*Ahmet Mithat Efendi vis-à-vis the Western Civilization*), (İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1991), in introductory note.
- ¹⁰ Ahmet Mithat, *Hasan Mellâh*, (İstanbul, Şark Matbaası, 1291)
- ¹¹ Ahmet Mithat, *Hasan Mellâh*, p.3.
- ¹² Ahmet Mithat, *Hasan Mellâh*, p.5.
- ¹³ Ahmet Mithat, *Menfâ*, p.49.
- ¹⁴ Ahmet Mithat, *Menfâ*, p. 55
- ¹⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Üss-i İnkılâp (The Bases of Revolution)*, (İstanbul, Takvim-i Vekâyî Matbaası, 1294), v.1, p. 121.
- ¹⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Ahmed Metin Ve Şirzâd*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1309), p.5-6.
- ¹⁷ Ahmet Mithat, *Acaib-i Alem (The Strange World)*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1299), p.26.
- ¹⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa Adab-ı Muâşeretî*, p.56-7.
- ¹⁹ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelân (A Journey in Europe)*, (İstanbul, Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1307), p.104.
- ²⁰ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa Adâb-ı Muâşeretî*, p. 630-1.
- ²¹ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa Adâb-ı Muâşeretî*, p. 631.
- ²² Ahmet Mithat, *Menfâ*, p. 59.

²³ Ahmet Mithat, *Ahmet Metin ve Şirzâd*, p.39.

²⁴ "Ah ey ulüvv-i şân-ı Osmani! İşte sen, cihan cihan olalı bir misli daha hiç bir yerde, hiç bir zamanda görülmemiş olan bir mânây-ı mukaddessin! Bir emr-i celil mübareksin!.." Ahmet Mithat, *Ahmet Metin Ve Şirzad*, p.40.

²⁵ Abdulhamid II was send to exile in Selonica after he was dethroned by the Young Turks in 1809. And there he kept his daily notes about problems and difficulties of the Empire in his reign. These notes was published under the title of *Hatıratım (My Memories)*, edited by İsmet Bozdağ, (İstanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1985)

²⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Ahmet Metin Ve Şirzâd*, p.40.

²⁷ Karpat, "The Mass Media", in Rustow and Ward (eds.), p. 266.

²⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Felâtin Bey ile Rakım Efendi (Mr. Felâtin and Mr. Râkım)*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1292), p. 12.

²⁹ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelân*, p.65.

³⁰ Ahmet Mithat , *Menfâ*, p. 56.

³¹ Ahmet Mithat , *Menfâ*, p. 50.

³² Ahmet Mithat, *Pariste Bir Turk (A Turk in Paris)*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar, 1293), p. 318.

³³ In his analysis of the postal service system he was amazed with it, but he did not lend in difficulty in understanding the internal mechanism of the system as Fukuzawa. He writes that "in America, there are some standard numbers for letters and this is enough for a letter to reach its destination. In our country, unfortunately, it is difficult to send our letters to its destination even by a detailed address such as "this letter should be reach to Mrs. Fatma Nazife who, currently, is a resident in Istanbul, Ayasofya district, Yerebatan quarter, Çıkırıkçı street, Ahcızade residence, number 14", cited in Orhan Okay, p. 86.

³⁴ Ahmet Mithat , *Ekonomi Politik*, (İstanbul , Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1297), p.116-118.

³⁵ Ahmet Mithat, *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelân*, p. 828.

³⁶ Ahmet Mithat, *Müşahedat (Observations)*, (İstanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1308), p. 133.

³⁷ For the detailed and scholarly analysis of Ahmet Mithat's views on economics, see Sayar Ahmet Güner, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması (The Progress of the Ottoman Economic Thought)*, (İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 1986); Çavdar, Tefik, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm (1860-1990) (Liberalism in Turkey)*, (İstanbul, İmge Kitabevi, 1992).

³⁸ Ahmet Mithat, *Ekonomi Politik*, p. 133.

³⁹ Ahmet Mithat , *Ekonomi Politik*, p.131-135.

⁴⁰ "Biz ne zaman Hanri Martini'yi mi yoksa Şaspo'yu mu ithal edelim nokta-i nazarından, acaba şu yüzbaşının icad-kertesini olan nümuneyi mi imal edelim, yoksa bu kol ağasının kertesini mi? Mübahesesine ulaşabilirsek O zaman muhafaza-i istikbalimizden emin oluruz", In another passage he explains his desires for the favor of domestic production; "Silâh kendimizin silahı olsun ki güvenelim. Ziya-ı şemse mukabil geldiği zaman her hatt-ı şuaî düşmanın gözüne beynine saplanan palaları, yatağanları biz yapar ve üzerine dahi "innâ fetehnâ" veyahut "vecâhedü" yazardık *Menfâ*, p. 60-61.

⁴¹ Although the concept of secularism was not used explicitly in Ahmet Mithad's writings, his way of interpretaion of the problems associated with the western civilization reminds its contemporary nature. In fact, by this approach he underlined the reality that with the period of Renaissance and enlightenment christianity was reformed and its spiritual dimentions were abolished to a large extent.

⁴² Ahmet Mithat, *Ahmet Metin ve Şirzâd*, p.698.

VI. A COMPARISON OF FUKUZAWA AND AHMET MITHAT

It was stated in the introductory chapter that these intellectuals were chosen for their role in introducing a new world to their society by utilizing all the available communication tools such as newspaper, printing machine, books including novels, plays, translations from the forerunners of the modern period in the West. In addition to these, they also became a teacher of economics, philosophy, history at several high schools and universities. They showed the merits of entrepreneurship and individual enterprise in the way of development and progress of civilization. Both of them did not neglect to carry their views into the practice. As men of practice, they established private schools and thus both became the pioneer of private education in their country. In their schools, they had the chance of introducing the most up to date books with contemporary contents to the students. By relying upon the income from the sales of their books they reflected a belief in the self-reliance of the individual through personal efforts. Eventually they became the teachers of their nations and thus their names became prominent as the pioneers of modernization efforts in their countries. At the end of their life, they clearly left their imprint in the history of modernization.

An overall assessment of both intellectuals is that Fukuzawa is more philosophically and scholarly oriented compared to Ahmet Mithat. Both of them tried to become explicit and put their ideas in the simplest and clearest way possible. Both of them tried to use a popular jargon for the purpose of simplicity. Fukuzawa is much more well-disciplined, comprehensive, and capable of classifying his views whereas Ahmet Mithat preferred to deal with the agenda more superficially. In fact this was his purposeful choice because the literacy rate was too low in the Ottoman Empire, the people were ignorant of the contemporary matters and unconscious of the seriousness of the subjects that he dealt with. Therefore, Ahmet Mithat tries to be attractive as much as possible. One of the methods of being attractive and interesting is to make a comparative study through several case studies. As it was stated earlier in the previous chapter, Ahmet Mithat did not prefer to make an intellectual or scholarly effort to illustrate or prove his arguments. Instead, he contended with the related examples for the fortification of any argument. The reason for this preference was the low literacy rate, ignorance and unconsciousness

of the Ottoman population. Another basic reason for his avoidance from such an intellectual attitude is that Ahmet Mithat himself was not a scholar, but he was rather "jacks of all trades, but master of none". Considering the present needs of his country, Ahmet Mithat preferred and suggested this way to his followers as well. His main concern was on the practical dimension of every action and activity. That is why when he set forth any argument, he did not neglect to support this with several daily life practices from the Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, Ahmet Mithat had a deeper understanding and knowledge of the West compared to Fukuzawa's earlier life, perhaps, due to the historical and geographical position of the Ottoman empire. Ottomans were the neighbours of the West and were in close interaction for several years. Before Ahmet Mithat's experience on the West, the Ottoman Empire was in intercourse with Europe for centuries. This intercourse included several serious wars, economic transactions and treaties, voyages and official missions, Ahmet Mithat's early observations and readings on the West were based on such a long historical accumulation of experience and consciousness.

Social Surroundings: In fact, Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat were born into a totally different social structures. In Japan there was a strict feudal order while there was not such a class differentiation in the Ottoman system. The nature of their way of looking at life were shaped under such radically opposed surroundings. Fukuzawa hated the feudal system "as it were his father's murderer" whereas Ahmet Mithat appreciated the underlying principles of the existing order, though he criticized several aspects of it as well. Fukuzawa's drive for the learning of "new things" was for the purpose of escaping from the stiffness of the existing repressive environment where there were no concept of right and equality among the people. Finally, Fukuzawa did not aim to learn and teach about the West to his countrymen initially. On the other hand, in Ahmet Mithat's society, the very bases of Ottoman sovereignty was based on the justice and equality among the subjects.

The existence of such a radical difference between their societies' social order had several repercussions on their approach to the Western world. Since Fukuzawa's knowledge about the West was little compared to Ahmet Mithat, his early escape from the stiffness of the feudal order was not based on a specific purpose. The mere purpose of

Fukuzawa's voyage was to escape and even to show some other countrymen that he was capable of learning and practicing some difficult texts and languages such as the Dutch. This attitude, however, began to change in Nagasaki where he understood that without learning English there were no possibility of communication with the foreigners and thus learning about their practical achievements. On the other hand, as explained above, even at the initial stages of his explorations on the Western world, Ahmet Mithat was aware of this inquiry and this was the emulation of the material and progressive achievements of the West.

Familiarity With the West: Not only the social structures were different but at the same time their familiarity with the Western civilization was not compatible. Fukuzawa did not have enough experience and historical accumulation about the real face of the things in the West. He was strange to the institutions, organizations, scientific methods, social order, and the mentality behind these "strange" outcomes of the Western civilization. In fact, under the isolationist policies of Tokugawa for centuries, Japan closed the doors of the country to the foreigners. Even the worst, the ruling elite of Tokugawa declared that foreigners should be hated and the "barbarians should be expelled" from the land of samurais. The opportunity cost of such a policy was to live under the oppressions of the Chinese dominated Confucian doctrine which was inconsistent to the material and spiritual developments of the West.

On the other hand, at the time of Ahmet Mithat's birth, 1844, the Ottoman empire was in a process of a reformation. With the selfless efforts of the Ottoman sultans like Selim III, Mahmut II, the Ottoman society experienced the introduction of the several modern institutions and organizations of the West on the ground of economics and military. With the declaration of the Tanzimat (New Order) in 1839 this pace of transformations reached to the political and other social domains of the society. Anglo-Ottoman Economic Treaty was signed by 1839 and thus empire's integration to the developed West was reached its peak. Beyond all of these recent developments, however, there was the long history of encounter with the West. Ahmet Mithat possessed the experience of long history about the West and thus knew what was the nature and real identity of the West. In short, Ahmet Mithat's position besides the West was to preserve his traditional civilization whereas Fukuzawa's main drive was to escape the stiffness of

his traditional civilization. If we consider Ahmet Mithat as a reformist, we had better to identify Fukuzawa as a radical revolutionist.

Two Men of Practice as Pioneers of Civilization: Both Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat both accept that human kind is capable of using the multiple things of the world to satisfy their daily needs through the labors of their own bodies and minds provided that they are free, independent and have the responsibility not to infringe upon the rights of others. In this case they may pass their life in happiness. As common to them again, in their early observations on the European world, both of them looked at the everyday life issues such as postal service, gas, electric and so on. As men of practice both emphasized the practical aspects of everything, because these would make life easier.

This initial observations, also constituted the contents of their early books. They had written about as almost nobody had any conception of how the people in the West lived their everyday lives, what they wore and ate, and how they were governed. For that reason, it is safe to argue that these books constituted the first real pictures of the Western societies in Japanese and Ottoman society.

Their efforts in the creation of a culture of entrepreneurship should constitute an important asset in societies where such a culture either did not develop or was still weak. Both of them also tried to convince people about the merits of making money through production and trade. Their views on business in their societies were the same. Both of them complain about the lack of interest in economic activities and earning money with the personal efforts. It could be argued that in both societies, according to conventional mentality, any activity towards the accumulation of capital and wealth was not justified. Therefore economic activity could be considered among the less appreciated fields in these societies. The reasons for such an avoidance of economic activity and money making in Japan was explained by Fukuzawa. For him, one reason for this lack of interest and thus knowledge about economic transactions may stem from the classical *samurai mentality* that trade and other money making activities is not for a 'brave' samurai. On the other hand, Ahmet Mithat's explanation of this lack of interest to the economic activities lies on a different reasoning. He explains this by the contentment of people about the material well-being, and shirking, avoidance of hard working, and the spirit of nobility that induced indolence.

Civilization in the West and the East: As their purpose of approaching the West did not overlap exactly, Ahmet Mithat's and Fukuzawa's understanding of the nature of civilization differed dramatically. Fukuzawa believes that there are heaven made laws in the universe. Not only the principles of physical sciences were consistent with this natural order, but also the principles of the social sciences should be explained with this order. Civilizations start from a primitive level and acquire maturity as they progress. Eventually all civilizations converge to one and the same form. In his time, Fukuzawa believed, Western civilization was the most progressed in the ladder of ideal order because they conformed to the principles of heaven made laws. His understanding of civilization is stemming from the universality claims of positivism in Comptean sense. As a scientific man of the nineteenth century, he extended his belief of universality to human nature, politics, economic, social order and so on. As the human conduct is the same everywhere, they are motivated and directed with the same parameters. That is why he proposes a universal mode of governing. For him, civilization is like a sea and all the contributions of nations are like rivers. All these contributions come together in the sea of civilization. In that sense civilization is not Western at all. Because if there is no reason for one man to harm another, there is no reason for two men to harm two, or for a million or ten million to harm each other. The rational principle in things takes no account of numbers...Both individuals and countries possess freedom based on natural reason. This universality claim is also relevant for economics. Fukuzawa argued that economics is not a man-made law. Since the purpose of economics is to explain natural laws, the explanation of its principles is like making clear the relation of geology to descriptive physical geography or of pathology to medicine.

The universality argument of positivism on the moral domain was also approved by Fukuzawa with the belief that both the material and moral dimensions of the Western civilization is like the body and the spirit of a man which is impossible to separate from each others. Thus, it is meaningless to discuss the relevance and merits of taking their material achievements and retain the moral values of the Japanese.

On the other hand, Ahmet Mithat clearly opposed this idea. He made a strict distinction between the material and moral dimensions of civilization. While he advocated the emulation of the progressive elements of Western civilization, he argued that this did

not entail the abolition of the spiritual and moral elements of his own society. Without going into the detailed discussions whether such a project would be feasible or not, with several examples from the daily life, he tried to convince his readers that there was not one to one correlation between these two dimensions. Yet his main drive was to eliminate the inferiority feeling of his countrymen vis-à-vis the West. He did not believe that the traditional elements or convention might be responsible for the relative backwardness of his society. This failure is related to the general human propensities all over the world. That is, after a certain point of progress and accumulation of wealth, people's desires are satisfied and thus the dynamism of their civilization is lost eventually. This sort of approach to the demise of civilizations resembles the Haldunian way of interpretation. Ibn-i Khaldun is known the founder of the sociology, at least, in the Islamic world and he argued that there is a certain life span of all civilizations. After reaching their peaks, they inevitably turn toward decline and even any policy and precaution is incapable of preventing or reversing this process. It seems that Ahmet Mithat was under the influence of the Haldunian interpretations. This sort of approach to the evolution of the civilizations was not only contrary to the Comptean positivism but it was also contrary to the Hegelian way of unidirectional evolution of the civilizations, an "open ended" process which is expected to end with the creation of communal life among the people and thus the abolition of all classes¹.

When he dealt with the moral dimensions of the civilization, it seems that Ahmet Mithat made his final decision that Ottomans had nothing to take from the West. Contrary to this, he believes that the very bases of the Western civilization were not consistent with the inner needs of human being, and without satisfying the eternal questions of human, material well-being will demise and humanity will not find the ultimate happiness. Western progress would bring us the expected happiness provided that they enrich the narrow horizon of the machine civilization with the richness of the Ottoman-Islamic value criteria. As the basic principle of life is competition for the sake of maximizing the material self interests of individuals against the others, this makes the life more difficult and eventually it becomes an unbearable jungle. The history of the West is composed of continuous wars which vindicate Ahmet Mithat's arguments. It is, thus, also crucial for them to adopt Eastern knowledge as well.

Views of Economics: As consistent with his views on the relative aspects of civilizations, Ahmet Mithat argues that economics and thus economic policies of a country does not necessarily contain universal elements as a social science. Although there is an intensive calculus and other econometric models in economics, this does not change its characteristics as a social science. It is a context bound, and value laden subjective science. Therefore, the principles of economics could not be derived from the workings of the physical world. That is, the rules and order of material world can not be generalized to the economic field. From this argument, Ahmet Mithat concludes that Ottoman intellectuals must find the principles and policies of their own economic models. This model must be created according to the particular and conjunctural needs of the empire, which he suggested to be *protectionism*.

This point also constitutes another contrasting features of Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat. Since Fukuzawa believed that economics is also belong to the heaven made laws, its principles should be in conformity with this order. That is, economics must be explained with the universal principles rather than subjective ones. The natural corollary to such an approach is the acceptance of a radical liberal economic outlook as it was in the West at that time.

In the second stage of his life., however, Fukuzawa revised his thoughts about the relevance of such a liberal outlook in Japan. With these recent changes in his ideas, like Ahmet mithat, he came to the conclusion that in preparing any economic policy prescription the level of economic developemt of countries shoul be taken into consideration.

It should also be interesting enough to note that Fukuzawa's endless efforts for the establishment of an outward-oriented economic system might be the first and serious attempt in the creatoin of an economic mind in favor of export rather than import and capture the largest share of the world markets. The logic of export-oriented economic policies continued from the late nineteenth century to the present with a dynamic approach to the changing needs of the international and domestic economic order whereas the Republic of Turkey as a natural successor of the Ottoman Empire could not make a reasonable shift to the export substitution policies and contended with import

substitution industrialization alone till the outbreak of some political and economic crises associated with a set of internal and external pressures of the 1980s.

The Role of History and Conventions: As might be expected, under the assumption of a universality claim, Fukuzawa confined his appreciation of the conventions and history to their contribution to the establishment of a universal order in accordance with the heaven made laws. Fukuzawa did not completely neglect the relevance of the past experience, but its role was restricted to its contribution to progress. History would have to be made at least reconcilable with the demands of scientific truth. The underlying process of history was one of the progress, and that it was discoverable in the same way as were the truths of natural science, that is, constant and immutable realities. The historian's task, he believed, was to show that the study of the human nature was not fundamentally different from the study of natural phenomena, and hence to reconcile the two hostile camps of moralists and scientists. Explicitly, in Fukuzawa's understanding, the mere function of history should and will contribute to the universal march of the human kind towards the Western kind of order.

On the other hand, Ahmet Mithat's emphasis on historical experience due to its role in eliminating the feelings of inferiority in Ottoman intellectuals. For him, a right exploration of history would vindicate that the light does not come from the West, on the contrary the sun rises from the East. The real source of all sciences, philosophy, moral and all other enlightening thoughts originated from the East. In fact, there are several universal elements in the west that the Ottomans should emulate as much as possible. In other words, while Ahmet Mithat tries to consolidate the national and subjective elements of his civilization by paying attention to the historical achievements, Fukuzawa confines the role of history to its role in turning the face of his country to Western civilization.

Order of Sciences: In the attempts of Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat to explain the order of sciences, their criteria was based on their premises towards the ideal man that they perceived. Since the ideal man of Fukuzawa is a person who is endowed with self-respect, responsibility, spiritual independence and the mere way of acquiring these propensities is Western learning, thus he proposed that the correct order in which subjects is introduced to beginning students so that they would grasp and assimilate the nature of modern civilization. Considering the state of Japan and enumerating the points

in which it falls short in comparison with Western countries, he considered first, science, second commerce, then law. these are the cornerstones of civilization. In detailing these three main fields, he notes further that mathematics and physics were basic to all modern knowledge and thinking. These were to be followed by chemistry, geography, history, social studies, ethics literature, and other subjects.

This was not an order that Ahmet Mithat would accept. The ideal man is the person who is conscious and proud of his own civilization and values. For the creation of such a man, it is necessary to introduce initially the basic Islamic sciences and national history. Actually, he believes that these sciences are required also for the proper understanding of the West, because it is impossible to perceive the true nature of the European civilization without learning about the basic principles of Ottoman civilization.

As a man of practice, Ahmet Mithat also tried to introduce the material achievements in the West. Therefore his march towards the Western kind of enlightenment must begin with the introduction of Islamic sciences, Ottoman culture and history. After the consolidation of this need, in time all the progressive elements will be introduced. What he was trying to underline is that even before dealing with the positivist sciences that were appeared in the West in the last centuries, Ottoman people should learn about the fundamental principles of his own civilization for not to surround besides the West. After this stage, Ottomans must concentrate on the physical sciences which were not strange and alien to the Ottomans. And then the elements in both fields might go side-by-side.

Freedom and Equality: Both Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat argue that everybody is created by the same God and that people possess the same blood. Nobility is not inherited but it is gained later by the merits of one's own personal efforts. For that reason, under the notion of absolute equality people should work with their bodies and minds, with dignity worthy of the lords of creation. These are the sole factors that people should pursue to change their positions in society. A natural corollary to their approach is to recognize the existence of inequalities among people because they do not have the same propensities nor they use them sufficiently or appropriately. When we pursue their ideas on different subjects such as family structure and women rights, however, their different view points become explicit.

Family System: Both Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat criticized the old family system, championing particularly the rights of women, and of children who were oppressed by non-pedagogic attitudes. They also argued for the establishment of a new spirit in the family, in which the members should live together like a 'group of friends', bound by ties of not of hierarchical duty but of mutual love and affection. This is the way of child rearing in the West that Ahmet Mithat observed. He calls for respect for the rights of women, for a more reasonable treatment of their position in society than that accorded them for centuries. What he saw in the Western countries, Fukuzawa immediately advocated the recognition of them without hesitation.

Ahmet Mithat argues, however, that the notion of women rights should not be confused with the Feminist movements of the West. The central role of women is realized at home as mother and wife. But they should be allowed to work outside the home whenever needed and also it is one of their inborn rights to determine and choose their husbands. That is, Ahmet Mithat did not approve any kind of arranged marriages. In the final analysis, Ahmet Mithat believed that Ottoman family system brings more happiness to the child, parent and thus society. His explanation of this point is that the Ottoman family had not dissolved into the nucleus family yet. In such an environment members may share their happiness and problems, both of which increases the overall well-being of the family. Fukuzawa's approach to women is consistent with the general framework of civilization that he received. There should be no any form of discrimination against the women. But this should not be confused with their tasks related to their sexual reality. They give birth child and take care of them and this is imposed upon them by the heaven made laws. But they as an organic part of the Japanese society should be allowed to contribute to the creation of the new civilization. Once they obtain their spiritual independence, like men, they will be able to defend their rights and resist the oppressive attitudes of both state and men.

Changes and Continuity of Ideas: As his knowledge about the West matures, Fukuzawa begins to make a quite a harsh criticism of the West. One of the important fields of discontinuity in Fukuzawa's thought is that of his nationalism. To a large extent, the reason for his revision of the Western civilization in the later years of his life was the result of a more sophisticated view of the West in theory and practice. It seems that after

the recovery of initial period's lack of knowledge about the West, Fukuzawa came to conclude that the Western powers themselves were pursuing their self-interested policies of world imperialism and they justified this policy on the ground of a liberal outlook.

Nationalism: The End of Universal Brotherhood: Fukuzawa changed his earlier belief in favor of the community of nations. In this period he argued that principles of the community of nations are relevant principles for the individuals but not for communities because it was impossible to get rid of the sentiments which bound a group of people together into clans or nations. It was ridiculous, he now confess, to think that these persistent and powerful feelings will be dispelled by simply invoking a universal moral principle. "There is an inherent and irrational bias in favor of one's own nation. In fact international relations are based on nothing more than quarrels over power and profit...When we leave theory and take a look at what is actually happening at present in international relations, we are astounded to find that practice bears no relation whatever with the theory. Moralists may tell us to sit back and wait for the day when war will cease, but as I see in the Western countries have already greatly developed their military techniques"²

When we consider the element of nationalism in Ahmet Mithat, one also ranks him among the movement of nationalism in his period, though Ahmet Mithat did not explicitly mention such a name for himself. Ahmet Mithat's national feelings become explicit when he deals with the glorious past. Most of the time Ahmet Mithat's interest in history and past achievements was due to his effort to convince the people that Ottoman Turks are capable of achieving whatever they want. They contributed very much to world civilization in the past, and thus, there is no reason for any kind of feeling of inferiority concerning the West. One of the radical assessment of Ahmet Mithat towards the West was his belief that the present-day Western civilization will collapse, and in its place Asian civilization will prevail because of the fact that European civilization is not founded on virtue and guidance, but on lust and passion, rivalry and oppression.

It is convenient to underline another important contrasting features of their understanding of resisting the Western imperialism. Fukuzawa's nationalism forced him to favor the imperialistic policies like the Western countries were doing. In this sense we may argue that Fukuzawa was a Westernist because he justified his imperialism with the

belief that for resisting the Western powers Japan should also follow the same policies intowards other nations. Ahmet Mithat's nationalism, however, did not include such an imperialistic attututes, but rasther to crerate an independent and a prosperous nation who were benevolent to the Europeans in its glorious times.

In sum, by the end of their intellectual journey to the West, both Fukuzawa and Ahmet Mithat ended with the firm idea that the fruits of science could be used, but they also believed that the opportunity cost of such a reformation is not to abandon the ethical and spiritual values of their respective civilizations. The most important continuity in Fukuzawa's thought was that even at the end of his life, he was still favoring the superiority of institutions, organizations, mentality, spiritual independence of the Europeans. He did not abandon his view that Japan should continue to work according to the principles of positivist methodology. The radical change in his ideas was in that of his belief in universal brotherhood that, he believed, thus the West pioneered according to the heaven made laws. His final decision was that despite Japan should continue to work according to the principles of positivist interpretation of science, Japan should adjust itself against the attacks of the imperialist Europeans. This was a return to Japan's historical ideology of "strong nation with strong army".

What is explicit in the philosophy of both intellectuals is that they do not emulate the West simply because they are Westerners. In fact the role of Europe is to be an instrument of achieving the ideal order of men for Fukuzawa and to overcome the problems of material backwardness of the Ottomans in the last few centuries for Ahmet Mithat.

NOTES

¹ For the detailed, comparative and comprehensive analysis of Haldun's views on civilization see Canan, I., *Ibn-i Haldun' a Göre İnsan, Toplum ve İktisat (Haldunian Views of Human, Society and Economics)*, (Istanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1986)

² Fukuzawa, cited in Blacker, C., *The Japanese Enlightenment*, p. 132.

VII. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

This study is a comparative intellectual history of the two leading figures, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Ahmet Mithat Efendi in Japan and in the Ottoman Empire respectively. Both intellectuals were comparable in the sense that they became the forerunners of modernization attempts as teachers, journalists, writers, orators, and even the initiators of entrepreneurship in some other fields.

Considering the state of affairs in Japan and in the Ottoman Empire, their aim of initial investigations were based on highly practical considerations. To overcome their countries' relative backwardness, they tried to understand the dynamics of European development basically for the creation of an independent and a strong nation. In the course of their investigations on the Western countries, they ended with the proposition that the introduction of material possessions of the West in their country for the creation of a strong nation was inevitable. This was the sole way of resisting Western imperialism.

Nonetheless, the relevant prescriptions that both intellectuals offered in the way of modernity were differed dramatically. Ahmet Mithat argued that for the creation of a modern nation, it would be enough for the Ottomans to emulate the material progress of the West, which was based on physical sciences, and retain the traditional Ottoman teachings and Islamic knowledge. The problem of backwardness of the Ottoman Empire is an outcome of the last few centuries when people became content with their order as if there could not be anything outside the orbit of their civilization and eventually, they lost their encouragement for the discovery of new ways of learning, exploration, observation and so on. In the final analysis, however, he did not attribute the causes of this demise to the fundamentals of his civilization, but rather to the satiation and neglect of people in their obedience to the teachings of the Islam.

For this reason, he proposed a certain way of synthesis between the Eastern and Western civilizations. Ahmet Mithat also argued that for the survival of the Western civilization they had to borrow from the moral values of Islam because people even in the most developed countries in Europe are not happy despite their material well-being thanks to their progress. This unhappiness of Western people is stemming from the lack

of relevant answers in Western civilization to the eternal and moral questions and the needs of humankind.

On the other hand, in the first stage of his life, Fukuzawa favored a radical transformation of Japanese civilization on the ground of its spiritual teachings, moral values, institutions and organizations. He believed that civilization is universal and its principles were discovered in the West. Although they created this ideal and progressive model, this did not belong to them. Frankly, Japanese civilization was also imposed upon them by the Chinese. Therefore, there is no shame in abandoning the Chinese civilization and to adopt the Western one. As the ideal form of civilization was specified by Fukuzawa to be the West because they discovered the heaven made laws, in his initial stages of life both the process of modernization and Westernization, thus, overlapped.

With the passage of time, however, he revised his earlier optimistic views of the Western civilization and radical liberalism. By the end of his intellectual adventure, he ended with the strong feelings of nationalism and believed that old moral values of the Japanese should be reintroduced for the survival of material progress.

The dynamics of the nineteenth century modernization process contributed to the reformation efforts of Japan while the same dynamics and changes magnified the existing problems of the ottomans and increased the pace of their demise. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the collapse of Ottoman empire by the end of 19th century was due to negative impacts of the modernization programs alone. It is also difficult to argue that Ottoman failure of reformations, if any, was due to its defensive or conservative nature. What might be argue at this level is that by the end of nineteenth century Japanese modernity was completed on the ground of material progress compared to the Ottomans.

The most important lesson of this study is related to the modernization project itself. As it is known, the backbone of the conventional modernization theory was based on the argument that any attempt of modernity will end up with Westernization. This prediction based on the ~~positivist~~ dogmas that there was unidirectional progress in civilizations and they will end up with the positivist structure as an ideal order. Both the cases of Japan and the Ottoman Empire confirmed that modernization does not necessarily entail such Westernization. The final judgment of this study enables us to be

suspicious about the claims that tended to describe the great changes of Japan as being merely a process of modernization rather than Westernization

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES :

- Ahmet M, *Hasan Mellâh*, (Istanbul, Şark Matbaası, 1291).
- , *Felâatun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, (Istanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1292)
- , *Pariste Bir Turk*, (Istanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1293)
- , *Üss-i İnkılâp*, (Istanbul, Takvim-i Vekayî Matbaası, 1294)
- , *Ekonomi Politik*, (Istanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1297)
- , *Acâib-i Alem*, (Istanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1305)
- , *Avrupa'da Bir Cevelân*, (Istanbul, Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1307)
- , *Ahmed Metin Ve Şirzâd*, (Istanbul, Kırkanbar Matbaası, 1309)
- , *Avrupa Adâb-ı Muaşeretî*, (Istanbul, İkdâm Matbaası, 1312)
- , *Jön Türk*, (Istanbul, Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1326)
- Fukuzawa, Y., *On the Imperial Household* (1882), edited by Kiyooko, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- , *Things Western* (1866) edited by Kiyooko, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- , *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872-75) ed. by Kiyooko, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- , *An Outline of a Theory Civilisations* (1875), edited by Kiyooko, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- , *Independence of Learning* (1883), edited by Kiyooko, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- , *Autobiography (Fukuo Jiden)* (1898), Revised Translation by Eiichi Kiyooka, E., (New York, Columbia University, 1966)

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abdülhamid II *Hatıratım* , edited by İsmet Bozdağ, (Istanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1988).
- Avcıoğlu, D., *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*(Istanbul, Dün-Bugün Yayınları, 1987)
- Beasley, W.G., *The Meiji Restoration*, (California, Stanford University Press, 1972)
- Blacker, C., "The First Japanese Mission to England" in *History Today*, (1957) V. vii.
- , *The Japanese Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University, 1964)
- Canan, İ. *İbn-i Haldun' a Göre İnsan, Toplum ve İktisat*, (Istanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1986).
- Çavdar, T., *Türkiye'de Liberalizm (1860-1990)*, (Istanbul, İmge Kitabevi, 1992)
- Clough, S. B., *European Economic History: The Economic Development of Western Civilization*, (London, McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1968)
- Craig, A. M. "Fukuzawa Yukichi: The Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism" in Ward, R. E (eds.). *Political Development in Modern Japan*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968), pp.99-149.
- Daikichi, I., *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Translation edited by Marius B.Jansen, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985)
- Dalton, G., *Economic Systems and Society*, (London, Penguin Education, 1975)
- Deane, P. , *The State and The Economic System*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Dower, J. W (ed.). *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1975)
- Fischer, J. K., "The Meirokusha and the Building of a Strong and Prosperous Nation", in Wray H. and Conroy, H (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, Un. Of Hawai Press, 1983), pp.83-90

- Genç, M., "Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün Esasları", İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyoloji Dergisi, 1989, pp.175-85.
- Hane, M., "Agrarian Japan and Modernization" in Wray and Conroy (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, University Of Hawai Press, 1983), pp.26-34.
- Holtfreich, C.L (ed.), *Interactions in the World Economy: Perspectives from the International Economic History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1989)
- Huffman, J. L. "Take of Time for Modern Japan" in Wray and Conroy (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, University Of Hawai Press, 1983)
- İnalcık, H., "The Nature of Traditional Society", in Rostow and Ward, (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, Princeton University, 1964), pp. 42-63.
- , "Ottoman Social and Economic History: A Review", in Okyar, O. and İnalcık, H. (eds.) *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071- 1920)*, (Ankara, 1980), pp.1-8.
- Jansen, M..B., *Japan and Its World: Two Centuries of Change*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980)
- , "Pan-Asianism", in Marlene, M. (ed.), *The Emergence of Imperial Japan: Self Defense of Calculated Aggression?* (Lexinton, D.C. Heath and Company, 1970), pp.45- 59.
- Karpat, K (ed.), *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1974).
- , "Mass Media", in Rustow and Ward (eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, Princeton University, 1964), pp.255-82.
- Kiyooka, E., *Fukuzawa Yukichi On Education: Selected Works*, Introduction by Nakayama, K., (Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1985)
- Küçükömer, İdris, *Düzenin Yabancılaşması*, (İstanbul, Alan Yayıncılık, 1989).
- Kırbaş D., *Osmanlı Toplum düzeni ve Kemal Tahir* (İstanbul, Arba, 1987).
- Levenson, J. R., *Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China*, (London, Berkeley, 1970)

Luke, H. S., *The Making of The Modern Turkey*, (London, Macmillan and Co., Limited ,1936).

Mardin, Ş., *The Young Ottoman Movement*, Dissertation proposal, (Michigan, Xerok University, 1958).

-----, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962).

-----*Bediüzzaman Said Nursi Olayı: Modern Türkiye'de Din Ve Toplumsal Değişim* (Religion and the Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi), (Istanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1992)

Morishima, M, *Why Has Japan Succeeded: Western Technology and the Eastern Ethos* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Nagai, M., "Westernization and Japanization: The Early Meiji Transformation of Education" in Shiveley D. H. (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971), pp.35-76.

Najita, T., *Japan: The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1974)

Okay, O., *Batı Medemiyeti Karşısında Ahmet Mithat Efendi*, (Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1991)

Ortaylı, İ., *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (Istanbul, Hil Yayın ,1983).

Reischauer, E. O., "Not Westernization But Modernization", in Wray H. and Conroy, H (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, University Of Hawai Press, 1983), pp.369-75.

-----, *Japan: The story of a Nation*, (Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1970).

Said Halim Pasha, *Buhranlarımız*, edited by Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, (Istanbul, İz Yayınları, 1993).

----- *Batıda ve Türkiye'de Siyasi Kurumlar*, (Istanbul, Pınar Yayınları, 1987).

Sayar, A., G., *Osmanlı İktisadi Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*, (Istanbul, Der Yayınları, 1986).

Shiveley, D. H. (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971).

Soviak, E., "On the Nature of Western Progress: The Journey of the Iwakura Embassy", in Shiveley D. H. (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press 1971), pp.7-34.

Sunar, İ., *State and Society in the Politics of Turkey's Development*, (Ankara, Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science Publications, 1974).

Trimberger, E.K., *Revolution From Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development In Japan, Turkey, Egypt, And Peru*, (Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ, 1978).

Varley, H.P., *Japanese Culture: A Short History*, (Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1973)

Vernon, R., "August Comte and Development: A Note" *History and Theory*, (1978), v.17

Ward, R.E. and Rustow, D.A. (eds.) *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Princeton, Princeton University, 1964)

Wray H. and Conroy, H (eds.), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1983)