THE SAMURAI SPIRIT:
The Powerful Force Japan Did Not Surrender
Published by Hellgate Press
(An imprint of L&R Publishing, LLC)

Hellgate Press
PO Box 3531
Ashland, OR 97520
email: sales@hellgatepress.com

Interior Design: Michael Campbell, MC Writing Services
Cover Design: L. Redding
ISBN: 978-1-954163-39-3

Printed and bound in the United States of America
First edition 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

THE SAMURAI SPIRIT

The Powerful Force
Japan Did Not Surrender

ALLAN WAGNER

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The devastating storms of World War II battered the Pacific and left the warriors of Japan physically exhausted, defeated and in disarray. In defeat the civilian population became disillusioned by the death and destruction the militarists had brought on. Years of propaganda glorifying the imperial empire were shattered and destroyed.

But the end of the war did not bring an end to Japanese culture. A way of life built upon moral training and traditional values would not perish so quickly. Although the humbled nation was forced to rebuild in the postwar era according to the terms of the victors, led by General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, the ethos of generations past remained in many Japanese hearts.

The prewar militaristic regimentation, and a glorious tradition of battle, could not be forgotten. At times prewar rituals were remembered in dark, somber shades reflecting bitter memories; on occasion they sparkled in bright tones recalling moments of refined pleasure, as in the tea ceremony or cherry blossom viewing. Some colors in the mosaic of Japan's past culture were still seen, though their original luster no longer shined as brightly as it once did.

One segment of Japanese culture which has survived and evolved since the seventh century is that of the samurai, the sword-fighting hero who stood for right and justice. Japan`s neighbors in Asia have criticized it for creating warlike tendencies; the government and militarists have praised it for instilling perseverance and diligence in the nation's subjects. This spirit, a powerful force of inner direction, is

innate to the Japanese. The samurai spirit in postwar Japan — whatever it may be — will be analyzed through the lives of Emperor Showa, Japanese Army stragglers, Yukio Mishima, the yakuza, the businessmen, and through other discrepant events, although these are not its only manifestations.

The late Professor Alvin Coox of San Diego State University, a noted historian and author of eight books on Japan's military past, scoffed at the idea of a postwar samurai spirit. "They don't even know what it means any more," he said.[1] Professor Coox based his opinion on the current state of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) and on his personal view of the generations born since 1945 into a world of booming trade, economic affluence, and growing luxury-oriented consumerism.

Such criticism may not be entirely fair. There are limitations placed on the JSDF by article IX of the postwar "peace" constitution, which forbids Japan's use of force to settle international disputes. Further interpretation by the Government led to a resolution that Japanese forces would not be used for offensive purposes. Under the PKO (Peace Keeping Operations) law troops can be sent overseas only for peacekeeping missions and must be withdrawn if there are active hostilities. The JSDF also eliminated such strong disciplinary aspects of prewar military training as striking and beating recruits to create an organization different than the Imperial Japanese Army. More emphasis is given to using troops for relief from earthquakes, terrorist attacks and other national disasters. Nonetheless, today's army is equipped with modern field weapons, advanced jet aircraft, close to 300 ships, and operates under a military budget that for many years was the fourth largest in the world. (Note — Surpassed by China in 2009.) Yet within the restrictions placed on it, the JSDF still strives to recall the spirit of the past and inspire today's military with a *bushido* willingness to defend their country.

True, the hordes of fashionably clothed Ginza shoppers, sing-along bar drinkers, golfers, baseball fans, or souvenir-hungry tourists traveling abroad do not give the impression of a Japan that follows the

samurai code. The only samurai-like tendencies that Westerners may see in the Japanese are those used to develop trade policies designed to protect against foreign inroads while promoting the motherland's interests overseas.

However, there are indeed many Japanese who adhere to the traditional values cherished by their ancestors. Former Ambassador to Japan the late Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer portrayed the contemporary Japanese personality as containing a strong spirit of loyalty, duty, self-discipline, and self-denial,[2] all traits a samurai would prize highly.

Professor Coox's criticism brings out the widely held view that the samurai spirit exemplifies a militaristic, war-like attitude. In the past the code of bushido meant exactly that: the way of the warrior. But as recently as the Tokugawa era (1610–1867) the appeal of bushido became widespread and evolved as the ethic of society. In his authoritative history of Japan, Sansom states that the code was by no means the monopoly of the samurai; it set high ideals for all classes.[3]

With the advent of the Meiji Restoration, the samurai fell victim to the democratic process, losing status and becoming no more than an equal among the citizenry, during the de-feudalization of Japan. The new Japanese government introduced laws that did away with the warrior class and banned the carrying of swords, the symbol of the samurai, in public. As a legally recognized class, the samurai ceased to exist although their influence has continued on for another century.

The role of the samurai may have dimmed but their spirit remained untarnished. Starting with the emperor, the leader of the nation, the ethos carried on. During the postwar period the symbolism of the emperor remained largely intact. Emperor Showa retained his symbolic position, if not his theoretically absolute political power. The ethics and morality that he stood for in prewar years were still there for his subjects to emulate. His postwar actions were in large part traceable to the samurai code covering the responsibilities of one's lord.

The exploits of diehard soldiers such as Lieutenant Hiroo Onoda give a different perspective of the code, a view presented by the

warrior in the field. The lonely heroism of Onoda, who had been trained to avoid capture and to operate undercover as a guerrilla, stirred the admiration of the public in Japan. Onoda carried on for thirty years after the war had officially ended. He became one of the few heroes of the war for the nation's youth, which belatedly learned of his exploits. The adventures of army stragglers, whose actions reflected values central to the samurai code, were relived and applauded in the minds of millions of Japanese who took pride in the achievements of Onoda and others.

Author Yukio Mishima was too young and too sickly to adhere actively to the code during the war. His studies of *Hagakure*, Japanese history, and the postwar accounts of the Pacific War inspired his transformation into a spiritual, if not a de facto samurai. The samurai ethic motivated him during his life, and he chose to die in samurai style in 1970.

The underworld yakuza organizations claim that they, too, are of samurai descent. These criminal groups have adopted the code of behavior with a particular emphasis on loyalty. Although they represent a small segment of the population, their existence is widely acknowledged.

The appetite of the public for stirring tales of samurai derring-do created a new genre in the motion picture industry: the samurai film and its swashbuckling swordsmen. Popular television adopted the genre too. Movie and television screenplays responded to the postwar search for a national identity, and developed new heroes with characteristics akin to those of the ancient samurai.

The samurai code that the business world followed made good business a benefit for the country. Both the new entrepreneurs and the prewar company executives worked hard in the postwar period to revive Japan. Their efforts were along the same trail blazed almost a century before by the Meiji era samurai. Senior businessmen such as Matsutaro Shoriki represented a renewal of the establishment, while fledgling upstarts such as Giichi Sugimoto created a fresh start under a new democracy. Both were trained in the code of bushido.

Other widely varied events also displayed samurai charisma. Sports figures, terrorists, and bit players in the drama of life all became entwined in the modern samurai culture.

After analyzing each of these aspects of the samurai spirit in postwar Japan, the concluding chapter will touch upon the implications for those who deal with Japan and the Japanese. The existence of a samurai spirit hovering over Japan, a hologram clothed in tradition, encompasses the energy and imagination of much of the nation. The players portray samurai roles — in a sense becoming cultural icons — in the context of modern Japan. They no longer carry swords, but their actions identify them as kindred members of a once-fabled clan.

NOTES

1. Professor Alvin Coox, interview by author, San Diego State University, Fall, 1990.
2. Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese Today* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 59.
3. Sir George Bailey Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1615–1867* (Stanford University Press, 1963).

THE SAMURAI CODE

The samurai are gone. Their swords are sheathed, sought after only as antique treasures. The spilled blood of samurai campaigns has drained from the battlefields, leaving only memorial tablets and scrolled records of their storied past. In succumbing, the swashbuckling warriors of yesteryear have bequeathed their descendants with the samurai *konjo* (spirit). The fearless swordsmen left behind the code that governed their lives and commanded their deaths. It is a legacy that reverberates to present day Japan.

The warrior class, which comprised about 6 percent of the population, including soldiers, clerks, and feudal hierarchy, was abolished following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The modernization of Japan meant that it was no longer acceptable to stride about with swords at one's waist, ready to cut and slash at their lord's beckoning. The glory days of the samurai, fading slowly during the two hundred and fifty year Tokugawa reign, were officially extinguished by government decree. Long feared, but admired by the farmers and tradespeople, samurai were reduced in rank to become part of the new classless society. The value of being a samurai no longer lay in their force of arms, but in their position as generally literate, aristocratic members of society, and in the samurai heritage, which emanated from the code of bushido. In defining the code, as well as the moral principles involved, it is also necessary to discuss such related factors as Zen and the Japanese concepts of *on*, *giri*, and shame.

What is often referred to as the unwritten code of the samurai really has numerous written sources to authenticate it. Primary

among those is *Hagakure,* the reminiscences of Tsunetomo Yamamoto, a retainer of the Nabeshima clan. When his lord died in 1700, Yamamoto, who had served him for forty-two years, longed to join his lord in death (*junshi*) by committing disembowelment (*seppuku*). However, he was not allowed to do so, because of the reforms introduced during the Tokugawa period. In an attempt to gain central governmental control of the samurai, retainers were forbidden from practicing *junshi* upon their lord's death. Instead, Yamamoto retired to a life as a temple priest and, over a period of years, told his story to a young samurai, Tashiro Tsuramoto, who recorded the events and his elder's teachings. Tsuramoto gave the resulting work the title *Hagakure* (Collection of Leaves).

Hagakure provided a standard for ideal samurai behavior. The teachings were used by the Nabeshima clan to train their retainers, serving as a primer to teach, admonish, and advise. Yamamoto wanted future generations to know the proper manner in which to serve. He passed on the thoughts that he felt were important. "Every morning," he said, "one should first do reverence to his master and parents and then to patron deities and guardian Buddhas." The mental aspects of complete service, body and mind, were emphasized. "For a warrior there is nothing other than thinking of his master."[2]

Yamamoto quoted Hyobu Ooki: "If one's sword is broken, he will strike with his hands. If his hands are cut off, he will press the enemy down with his shoulders. If his shoulders are cut away, he will bite through ten or fifteen enemy necks with his teeth. Courage is such a thing."[3] Years later, in World War II, General Akira Mutaguchi launched an offensive against the British at Imphal by encouraging his troops with those very words. Mutaguchi embellished them by adding, "if there is breath left in your body, fight with your spirit. Lack of weapons is no excuse for defeat…"[4] On that occasion the spirit responded inadequately, however. The Japanese were defeated.

Loyalty, bravery, death, revenge, shame, harakiri, personal grooming, and even the proper way to bring up a samurai child are all covered in *Hagakure*. The only thing lacking is a detailed description

of the skirmishes Yamamoto participated in himself. The work so clearly delineates the ethic of the samurai that many of Yamamoto's sayings appear elsewhere in later sources.

Hagakure ends with four vows:

> *Never to be outdone in the Way of the Samurai.*
>
> *To be of good use to the Master.*
>
> *To be filial to one's parents.*
>
> *To manifest great compassion, and to act for the sake of Man.*[5]

Fulfillment of the first vow meant a spartan life of dedication, training, and privation, with eventual death in service a near certainty. A deep resolve to die in a clean, appropriate manner was considered proper. According to Yamamoto, the way of the samurai requires practicing mentally every day, many times over, the experience of death.[6] On a daily basis one should meditate being torn asunder by swords and spears, ripped apart by arrows, shot by rifles, carried away by ocean waves, shaken to death by a giant earthquake, falling from cliffs, dying of disease, or following one's master in death by committing *seppuku*. Every day one should think of himself as dead.[7]

In chronicles dating from the eleventh century, Paul Varley finds that the true warrior thought of his life as having "no more value than a feather."[8] Long odds with only the barest chance of survival meant nothing because the samurai was prepared to end his life fighting. As a point of honor, he eagerly sought to do combat with the fiercest of enemies.

The samurai code was consistent with the teachings of Zen Buddhism, which reached Japan in the seventh century. Zen rejected rational planning in favor of action that was emotive and intuitive, yet disciplined and controlled. The ultimate sacrifice would be made as an automatic reaction without regard for the consequences.[9]

The samurai rightfully expected to be rewarded for honors won on the battlefield. His reward would not only be personal spiritual fulfillment but also knowing that although he may die, if he served his

master well, his wife and children would be cared for as "children of the household."[10] There are also tales of samurai who were rewarded immediately with pieces of gold and silver upon presenting the heads of enemies slain in battle.[11]

A samurai who expected death would be ready for it if he failed in his mission. Without the least hesitation he could cut open his stomach to die, rather than live on in shame. This method of forfeiting one's life, which was considered the most painful, became the samurai's special way of dying with honor. It would smear his name and that of his family, his ancestors, and his descendants with disgrace if he showed any regret at giving up his life.[12]

Seppuku could be committed as an "admonitory disembowelment."[13] If the samurai's advice to his lord were ignored, or to call attention to what he thought was an error in his lord's behavior, the samurai could display his *magokoro* (sincerity) by committing *seppuku*. There was no other way to express a deeply held, but contrary, conviction. Loyalty prevented the samurai from criticizing his lord.

To be of good use to the master meant loyalty to an intense degree. "If a warrior makes loyalty and filial piety one load, and courage and compassion another, and carries these twenty-four hours a day until his shoulders wear out, he will be a samurai."[14]

Varley refers to unswerving devotion as the most redeeming feature of the medieval samurai.[15] Such loyalty became the locus of involved plots and counter plots, spying, and assassinations. Loyalty (*giri*) to another, higher cause could lead to a betrayal or to a sacrifice. Because of the high moral value placed on loyalty, any violation of it was a shocking event. But lies could be looked upon as part of a strategic plan, according to Mitsuhide Akechi, who betrayed Nobunaga Oda in 1582. Akechi's infamy was revenged only days later when he too was slain, assuring his place in history as "the Thirteen Day Shogun."[16]

In the Japanese interpretation of Confucianism, loyalty to one's lord overcame any other allegiance. From Confucius's words, "act

with loyalty in the service of one's lord," total devotion and service to the point of self sacrifice became the samurai creed.

The Chinese took loyalty to mean serving their lord while being true to one's own conscience.[17] The Confucian virtue of filial piety was also interpreted differently. Whereas the Chinese honored family and ancestors, the samurai achieved filial piety by loyally serving his lord. A "suprafamily" group under the lord took precedence, becoming more fundamental than the family itself.[18]

Shoin Yoshida (1830–59), the samurai-philosopher in the late Tokugawa period, wrote "that which has the greatest import for a man is *kun-shin no gi* (duty of lord and subject)."[19] The seven principles he evolved for the samurai made loyalty part of the first three, with obligations to Amaterasu, the Emperor, and one's lord listed before those owed to one's parents.[20]

If a samurai did not show his attachment to the clan, his conduct then evidenced a lack of loyalty, according to Yukichi Fukuzawa.[21] Fukuzawa's autobiography provides first person insights into samurai values. Born in 1835 to a low ranking samurai family, Fukuzawa broke with his samurai roots and left Japan to become exposed to the West. He learned Dutch and English, travelled to Europe and the United States, and studied abroad. Upon returning to Japan, he became the founder of Keio University. During the Tokugawa period, of which he writes, retainers were expected to die with the Shogun. "That was the way of the faithful warrior."[22]

The famous "Tale of the Forty-Seven Ronin" (*Chushingura*) illustrates well the loyalty of retainers to their lord. As a play, this story of forty-seven samurai who follow their lord to death by committing seppuku still retains its popularity. Performances are held regularly during each New Year's holiday festivities.

Samurai commitment and loyalty to a cause was demonstrated vividly in October 1876. Some one hundred fifty samurai who felt degraded by the government's commutation of pensions, the ban on wearing swords, and the adoption of foreign clothes and hair style, which did away with the samurai's top knot, made a night attack on a

government army garrison at Kumamoto. They killed and wounded three hundred imperial troops. But the samurai were disappointed that their action did not lead to a general uprising to do away with foreign influences. As a show of their sincerity, eighty-four of them committed *seppuku*.[23]

The moral training of samurai during the Tokugawa period was in accordance with the Japanese interpretation of Confucianism. This philosophy emphasized the virtues of loyalty, righteousness, and propriety for the ruling warrior class, but considered them inapplicable for the lower-ranked farmers, artisans, and tradespeople.[24] Former samurai used their moral training, reading and writing skills, and social position to become the core of the government bureaucracy in the succeeding Meiji era.

The Meiji Restoration had an interesting effect upon the samurai code as well as upon the samurai. It resulted in what Kazuko Tsurumi refers to as "the samuraization" of non-samurai classes.[25] The common people (*heimin*) were conscripted into the imperial army and became warriors, although officially there was no longer a warrior class. These new soldiers, under the tutelage of samurai officers and European military instructors, adopted the samurai ethic of loyalty and courage in battle. Military service was considered crucial to the building of the new government in Japan, for it embodied selfless devotion, even to the point of death. The life of the warrior thus continued to be viewed as having great merit and symbolic importance, while the way of the samurai became open to all in the new class-less society.[26]

Although the Satsuma samurai, led by Takamori Saigo, were defeated in 1877 by the imperial government's conscript army, the Satsuma Rebellion did much to enhance the stalwart image of the samurai warriors. Saigo's exploits and stratagems in combat earned for him the ranking as Japan's greatest samurai. He died in the last battle of the rebellion. Even in defeat Saigo's forces, which were far outnumbered and outgunned, received recognition for their bravery. His valiant stand to retain the rights and position of the samurai,

and the ultimate esteem which Saigo gained, were foretold in his own words:

> *"A man of true sincerity will be an example to the world even after his death. When an insincere man is spoken well of, he has, so to speak, got a windfall; but a man of deep sincerity will, even if he is unknown in his lifetime, have a lasting reward: the esteem of posterity."*[27]

The imperial forces, which had been trained by European officers, were eager to prove their discipline and efficiency. They were motivated to meet the same valiant standards as their opponents. In addition to the *heimin* (common people) conscripts, the imperial army in the early years of the Meiji era was also comprised of many former samurai.[28]

The Imperial Rescript on Education, issued October 30, 1890, gave governmental endorsement to concepts inherent in the samurai code.[29] Loyalty and filial piety as expounded in the rescript became part of the country's national education, included in the curriculum for morals classes in the schools. Loyalty officially started with fealty to the Emperor as the symbol of the national polity. Dying for one's lord was transferred to a higher plane: the goal of dying an honorable death for the Emperor.[30] The samurai ethic of feudal days was thus carried forward into the Meiji era and beyond.

Hagakure Nyumon (*The Way of the Samurai*) by Yukio Mishima is an introduction to *Hagakure*, which explains much of the original with comments by Mishima. Written in the post-World War II period, it cited examples of samurai-like behavior, such as the kamikaze pilots of the Pacific War. Mishima lamented the tarnished image of the kamikaze pilots, but offered them as the best example of samurai. "The spirit of those young men who for the sake of their country hurled themselves to certain death is closest in the long history of Japan to the clear ideal of action and death offered in *Hagakure*," he stated.[31]

Mishima interpreted and redefined the samurai code, but could add nothing to it, as the age of the samurai had long since passed. But he did not consider it passé. With his own nationalistic bent, Mishima sought to use the code to influence Japanese public opinion. "I see it as showing human beings in certain fixed conditions, the guiding principles… universal teachings, practical knowledge based on practical experience," he wrote.[32]

Ruth Benedict in her classic study *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* defined Japanese morality as a morality of shame, one in which the samurai would value external appearances.[33] Mishima agreed with Benedict, stating that morality which concentrates on external reflection is the essential characteristic described in *Hagakure*.[34]

Mishima criticized the post-World War II Japanese, regretting the passing of the samurai and the demise of the samurai spirit. "Strict samurai instruction from father to son is completely neglected… the father is reduced to a machine that brings home a paycheck," he said.[35]

A more conventional description of the way of the samurai appears in Inazo Nitobe's *Bushido, The Soul of Japan,* originally published in 1905. Nitobe, one of Japan's first post-restoration scholars, wrote in English with a view to explaining his country's traditions to the Western world.

Nitobe described valor, loyalty, honor, the ceremonial process of *seppuku*, and other rituals of the samurai and was lavish in his praise of the bushido code of ethics. "Bushido was and still is the animating spirit, the motor force of our country," he wrote.[36] Nitobe thought the entire nation to be imbued with this spirit. "Scratch a Japanese of the most advanced ideas, and he will show a Samurai," Nitobe said.[37] As a code of ethics, bushido may disappear, but according to Nitobe "its power will not perish from the earth; its schools of martial prowess or civic honor may be demolished, but its light and glory will long survive their ruins."[38]

The history of Japan leading to World War II, the destruction of the country, and its rebirth in the postwar period appear to reflect

Nitobe's prediction. The power of the samurai code motivated many Japanese during the war and continued to do so in the postwar period.

Writing at about the same time as Nitobe, Lafcadio Hearn, who knew Japan as well as any Westerner of his day, expressed similar thoughts about what he termed "the religion of loyalty," an integral part of the samurai code although it is not generally referred to as a religion. In *Japan, An Attempt at Interpretation*, Hearn considered the combination of loyalty and filial piety as a factor of "incalculable worth" following the Meiji Restoration. "What wonders it has wrought, within the space of thirty years," he wrote.[39]

The feudal samurai code did not fade away with the Meiji Restoration, but became more widespread through the equalization of the social classes and its incorporation into the national educational system. Allegiance to the samurai's lord was transferred to the Emperor with the resurgence of the imperial position during the Meiji period. The obligations owed to the Emperor were reiterated until they virtually became a way of life for his subjects. The willingness to die prescribed by the samurai class continued on as a main pillar of the military code of the new imperial army. Japanese warriors who engaged in battle in the modern era retained the image of their ancestors by fighting to the death, rather than facing the humiliation of surrender.

NOTES

1. Reischauer, 72.
2. Tsunetomo Yamamoto, *Hagakure*, trans. William Scott Wilson (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1979), 23.
3. Ibid., 107. Evidently Ooki was a contemporary figure. He is not listed in *Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who*, nor is he cited in the indexes of *Battles of the Samurai* or *The Samurai, A Military History*.
4. Arthur Swinson, *Four Samurai* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1968), 141.
5. Yamamoto, 169.
6. Ibid., 73.
7. Ibid., 164.
8. Paul H. Varley with Ivan and Nobuko Morris. *Samurai* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), 22.
9. Ibid., 45.
10. Ibid., 23.
11. S.R. Turnbull, *The Samurai, A Military History* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977), 191.
12. Ibid., 72.
13. Varley, 33.
14. Yamamoto, 95.
15. Varley, 67.
16. Turnbull, 162–165.
17. Michio Morishima, *Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 7. In China benevolence was the central virtue of Confucianism, while in Japan no special importance was given to it.
18. Reischauer, 58.
19. David Magarey Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), translation by Earl from *Yoshida Shoin Zenshu*, 131.
20. Ibid., 182.
21. Yukichi Fukuzawa, *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi,* trans. Eiichi Kiyooka (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 183.
22. Ibid., 195.
23. Augustus H. Mounsey, *The Satsuma Rebellion* (London: John Murray, 1879; reprinted by University Publications of America, Washington, D.C., 1979), 92.
24. Morishima, 49.

25. Kazuko Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 86. Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (New York: The Free Press, 1957) says that the common people were "bushido-ized."
26. Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (New York: The Free Press, 1957), 97. Bellah's work is based on the writings of such leading historical figures as Soko Yamaga (*Bukyo Shogaku*), Shoin Yoshida, and Shingen Takeda, as well as the Nabeshima clan which Yamamoto depicted in *Hagakure*. Bellah terms bushido a religion of loyalty, but as a caveat notes the influences of Confucianism, militarism, and a preoccupation with death (91). Zen is encouraged to lead the samurai in his mental preparation toward the acceptance of death. "The practice of the Zen has no secret, except standing on the verge of life and death," wrote Shingen Takeda, a sixteenth century warlord.
27. Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 243, quoting Moriaki Sakamoto *Nanshu-O's (Saigo Takamori's) Posthumous Words*, unpublished manuscript, 32.
28. Mounsey, 118.
29. U.S. Department of the Army, SCAP, *Political Reorientation of Japan, Sept. 1945-Sept. 1948* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), trans. Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, compo *The Japan Yearbook, 1935* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha Press, 1935) 781–782.
30. Bellah, 82.
31. Yukio Mishima, *The Way of the Samurai*, trans. Kathryn Sparling (New York: Putnam Publishing Group, 1983), 101.
32. Ibid., 40.
33. Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), 222–224.
34. Mishima, 59.
35. Mishima, 64.
36. Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido, The Soul of Japan* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 171.
37. Ibid., 188.
38. Ibid., 192.
39. Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan, An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1904), 329.